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TUNG CHUNG-SHU

Volumes I and II

by

R. K. NORRIS

A thesis submitted in fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

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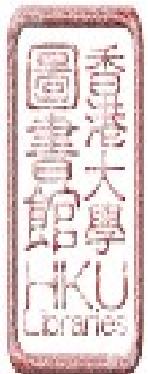
DECLARATION

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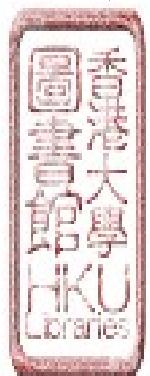
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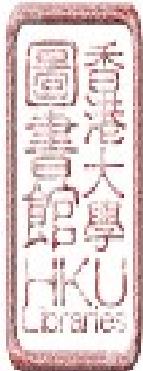
TUNG CHUNG-SHU

VOLUME I

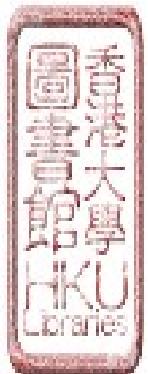


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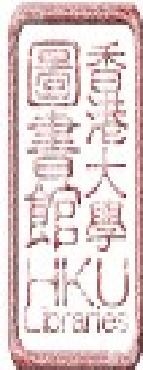
least, I must thank my parents whose support and encouragement never failed. Except where otherwise noted, however, this thesis represents no other research than my own, and for it and the errors in it which remain <sup>even</sup> <sub>A</sub> after much excellent guidance, I accept the sole responsibility.



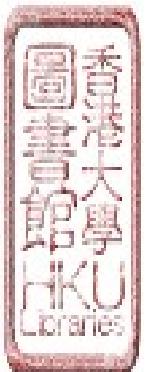
Abstract of thesis entitled "Tung Chung-shu" submitted by  
R. K. Norris for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the  
University of Hong Kong in September, 1973.

The main body of the thesis consists of an annotated translation of all the extant writings of the Han Confucian, Tung Chung-shu, with the exception of three short sections which are fully translated elsewhere. The majority of the translation is of the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu, a work of eighty-two chapters. The final section of the thesis, discusses Tung Chung-shu's life, sets it in its historical and Confucian background, introduces a new methodology for judging the textual integrity of Tung's writings, and evaluates his contribution to the history of Confucianism in China.

On the basis of the limited evidence available, it was found that Tung Chung-shu's dates were rather earlier than the c. 179 - c. 104 BC which are generally accepted. It is more likely that they should be c. 187 - c. 115 BC. As an active Confucian between these dates, his career spanned the early recovery of the New Text versions of the Classics and the beginnings of the ascent of Confucianism to form the state ideology of empire. He lived in that era which saw the Emperor Wu consolidate the power of the central court, undermine the entrenched power of the landed aristocracy, and push



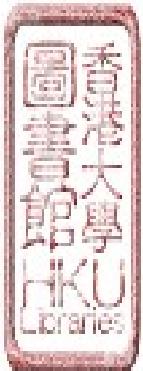
the borders of China well beyond its historical limits to that time. Although it may never be possible to be certain, with present methodology, it would appear likely that much of the writings attributed to Tung Chung-shu are indeed his. It was found unlikely that those writings which used the theory of non-action, and that some of the writings on the Five Elements, were his. His major contribution to Confucianism was his force as a teacher during the rise to imperial power of that school of thought.



## FOREWORD

The thesis which follows is not intended to be the last word on the Han philosopher, Tung Chung-shu, but rather a preliminary look at the man, his times and the extant writings which are attributed to him. Apart from those short sections in the two earliest of the dynastic histories which deal with him, the remainder of his writings are, and have been, the subject of considerable controversy, as we shall see in the final sections of this dissertation. What has been attempted below, then, has been a full translation of all his works so that, for the first time we have an annotated version of all of them in one place in which the most reasonable of the textual criticisms of the last three centuries of annotators have been followed. In order to create a more complete picture, the translations are followed by critical discussions of Tung's chronology, the historical and ideological age in which he lived, the development of a new technique for evaluating the textual integrity of Tung's works, and an evaluation of his historical contributions. What has been attempted, then, is the creation of a new and more solid point of departure for further research on this the most influential of early imperial Confucians.

No new policy of translation has been attempted here.



translations of the traditional Confucian concepts have followed Waley, and those of bureaucratic rank have followed Dubs. It is to be noted that the correct practice of using square brackets to indicate "bridge-word" additions by the translator has not been followed. As a rule, all brackets within quotation marks indicate such bridging. It will be found that this does not lead to any confusion. For the frequently used secondary sources a consistent series of abbreviations have been used in the footnotes. A list of these follows:

Abbreviations:

CCFL - Tung Chung-shu, Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu. Su Yü, ed., Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu Yi-cheng (1910), and the Ssu-pu Pei-yao (SPPY) editions were used and textual differences noted.

HHS - Fan Yeh, Hou Han Shu, Peking: Wu-ying Tien, 1747.

HS - Pan Ku, Han Shu, Ch'ang-sha: Pei-k'uei Yuan, 1900.

KLC - Ku-liang Chuan. The Harvard-Yenching Sinological Series Concordance was used, and its numerical sequence was the one which was followed.

KYC - Kung-yang Chuan (as for KLC).

Legge, Classics I-V - Legge, J., The Chinese Classics 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd ed., 1893.

SA - The Spring and Autumn Annals (as for KLC)

SC - Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Shih-chi, Peking: Wu-ying Tien, 1747

TC - Tso Chuan (as for KLC).

TPYL - Li Fang, T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan

YTL - Huan K'uan, Yen-t'ieh Lun



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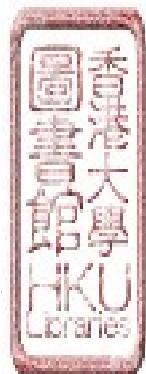
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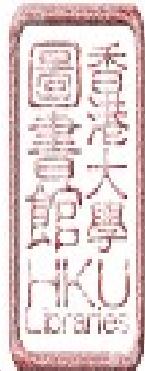
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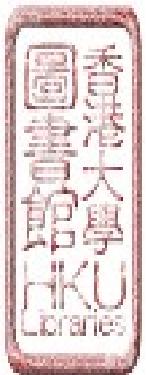
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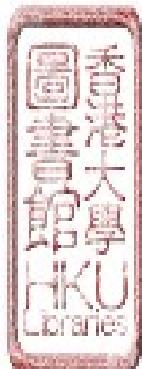
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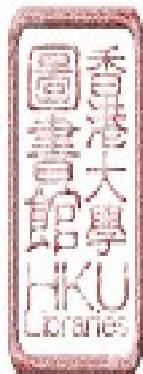
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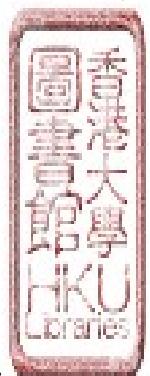
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PART I

SECTION I

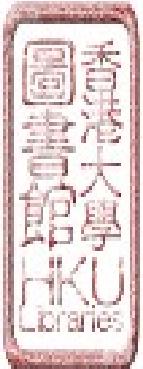
"HAN SHU MATERIALS"



Tung Chung-shu was a man of Kuang-ch'uan (廣川)<sup>1</sup>. As a youth he specialized in the Spring and Autumn Annals and in the time of Emperor Ching (BC 156-140) he became an Erudite. He would lower a screen and lecture (from behind it) and his disciples would teach each other in order of their seniority. Some had never seen his face. Such was his diligence that on one occasion he did not (even) look into his garden for three years. In deportment and bearing he never acted contrary to ritual. All students and scholars revered him as a (great) teacher.

(After) Wu-ti ascended the throne, altogether one hundred scholars were recommended as being good, virtuous, cultured and learned. Tung Chung-shu, by reason of being good and virtuous (was one of those who) replied to (Wu-ti's) questions.

(Wu-ti's) edict said: "I have (now) obtained succession to the goodness and virtue of the (position of) Son of Heaven. The responsibility for transmitting this without end is great; it is difficult to ensure that it will last forever. For this reason I have no rest or peace both early and late. I have long pondered the problems of government and still I fear there will be deficiencies. I have therefore extended a broad invitation to the distinguished people of the four quarters. The feudal lords and dukes of the commanderies and states are to select scholars who are virtuous, worthy, morally upright, and widely read. I wish to ask them the important points of the Great Way and to discuss its essence. If such gentlemen would now come forward I would be extremely

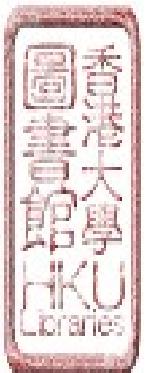


pleased. To such gentlemen of clear mind and profound thought I will deign to listen and I will question them.

Now I have heard that Way of the Five Emperors and the Three Kings<sup>2</sup> was to change the system and compose music.

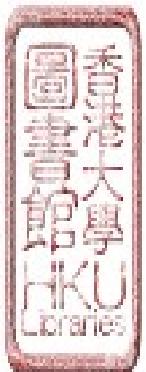
(Consequently) the world was in harmony and the one hundred (subsequent) kings followed them. However, of the music of Shun, none surpassed the shao (韶), and of the music of the Chou, none surpassed the chuo (翫)<sup>3</sup>. (Later) when the sage kings had passed away, the sounds of the music did not weaken, but the Great Way deteriorated a little. It deteriorated to the actions of Chieh and Chou<sup>4</sup> and the Kingly Way was destroyed. In the interim period of five hundred years there were a great many rulers who protected culture, and a great many officials in power who wished to pattern the laws on those of the former kings in order to sustain and aid their times; but still they could not get back to it. Gradually they were destroyed and after the final king it came to an end. Was it because what they held to as correct was perhaps not so that they lost their rule? Or was it that it is impossible to regain the Mandate of Heaven that their rule was compelled to decay and eventual rest? Alas! Would it still be useless if we were to copy the ancients in every little thing (from the time) we arise (early) in the morning (until the time) we retire (late) at night?

The Three Dynasties received the Mandate, but where is the proof? What is the reason for the terrestrial and astronom



ical portents? The facts that life is short or long, and that human nature is humane or mean are questions of which I have long hear, but still I do not understand the reasons. I wish only that law should be carried out as (naturally as the blowing of) the wind and the flowing (of water), that punishments should be light, yet vileness corrected, that the common people should be harmonious and happy, and that (good) government should be displayed. How can I complete and transmit (my virtue) such that a fertile dew will descend, causing the one hundred grains to flourish; (so that) virtue will benefit (all within) the four seas and reach (even) the grass and trees; (so that) the Three Lights (i.e. the sun, moon, and stars) are completed; cold and heat are balanced; (so that) we receive Heaven's blessing and propitious influence of ghosts and spirits; so that virtue and benevolence will become (so) widespread) that it is granted (even) to foreign places, permeating all living things?

"You gentlemen understand the teachings of the sages of old, the changes in custom and culture, and the order of succession (of dynasties). You have discussed and heard about virtuous things for a long time. All this you will illuminate in order to make it clearly known to me. Put everything in its proper order. Do not be reticent or incomplete. Select from the classics and take care about what you submit. Write fully about that which is unjust and incorrect, disloyal and useless, about that which is wrong in the handling of (government)



affairs and submit it to me without fear of being harmed afterwards. You gentlemen must be exhaustive and hide nothing. I will personally examine (your replies)."

(Tung) Chung-shu replied saying:

"Your Majesty has spoken with great virtue and passed down a brilliant edict asking about the Mandate of Heaven and about Life and Nature. To none (of these questions) has your humble servant an adequate (answer). I have carefully examined (what is in) the Spring and Autumn Annals and viewed the events which took place in preceding ages. From this I have seen that the way in which Heaven and Man influence each other is very much to be held in awe. When a state was about to suffer the ruin of loosing the Way, Heaven first sent a disaster to announce a reprimand. If (the ruler) did not recognize his personal liability, (Heaven) then sent an anomalous occurrence to warn and frighten him. If he still did not know enough to change, final collapse resulted. From this it can be seen that the mind of Heaven (harboured) humanity and love for the rulers of men and that it wishes to put an end to their disorders. If it was not an age in which the Way had been greatly lost, Heaven completely wished to support and pacify it. It depended on (whether or not positive) effort was being made. If you put effort into learning, then what you hear and see will be extensive and your knowledge will be brilliant. If you put effort into practising the Way, then your virtue will increase daily and you will have great success."



Both of these cause results which are immediately apparent.

The Book of Songs says: 'Never idle night or day.'<sup>6</sup> The Book of History says: 'Ought we not to be earnest in it? - Ought we not to be earnest in it?'<sup>7</sup>. Both of these (quotations) speak of making positive effort.

The Way is the path (to be followed) in order to govern properly. Humanity, righteousness, ritual, and music are the implements (to be used in following it). Therefore when the Sage kings were dead, their sons and grandsons (preserved) peace for several hundred years. This was all due to the civilizing achievement of ritual and music. In the ages when the king had not yet composed music, he used the music of the previous kings which was suitable to the times. This had a far reaching effect on the common people. If the civilizing (effect) was insufficient to the circumstances, then correct and beautiful music was not being produced, and the king would compose (his own) music after achieving success. Music (manifested) his virtue. Music is that which corrects the habits of the common people and is that which transforms their customs. This correcting of the people is easy and their transformation becomes manifest. The tones (of the music) issue forth from harmony and they are based in (actual) circumstances. It is joined to the flesh and is stored in the marrow. Therefore, even when the Kingly Way had become slightly deficient, the sounds of reed and string had not yet become weak. When the likes of (Emperor) Shun had long ceased to reign, the heritage of his music and hymns continued to exist. This is the reason that Confucius was able to hear the Shao in Ch'i.



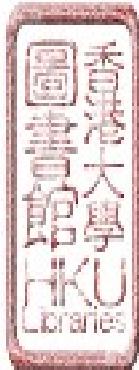
There is none among the rules of men who do not hope for a peaceful existence and who do not hate great danger. Nevertheless government which became disordered and states which (fell into) dangerous (situations) have been very numerous. The reason that government daily comes closer to disaster is that those in (positions of) responsibility are the wrong people and that which is followed is not the (true) Way. (The reason that) the Way of Chou weakened under Yu and Li<sup>8</sup> was not that the Way had been lost (but rather) that they did not follow it. In the case of King Hsüan<sup>9</sup>, he longed for the virtue of the previous kings and caused to florish (that which had been stopped) and repaired abuses (in government). He illuminated the achievements of Kings Wen and Wu. The Way of Chou was gloriously restored, and poets, thinking it beautiful, wrote (of it)<sup>10</sup>. Above, Heaven protected him and sent worthy assistants. Later generations sang his praises and they continue even to this day. This is what happens when (a king) does not cease day or night to do good works. Confucius said: 'A man can enlarge his Way; but there is no Way that can enlarge a man'<sup>11</sup>. Therefore (good) government, disorder, decline and restoration rest on oneself. It is not that it is impossible to act contrary to the mandate sent down from Heaven. It is because that which is held to as correct is (in actual fact) wrong that they lost their rule.

I have heard that those whom Heaven appoints as king must have (signs) arrive for them personally that human strength cannot cause to arrive. These are proof that he has received the Mandate of Heaven. The people of the world will be of the same mind in turning to him as though they were turning to their parents. Therefore heavenly omens arrive in response to



his sincerity. The Book of History says: 'A white fish (jumped) into the king's boat. Fire covered the king's house and changed into a crow' This is almost certainly proof that he had received the Mandate of Heaven. The Duke of Chou said: 'You are rewarded! You are rewarded!'<sup>12</sup>. Confucius said: 'Moral force never dwells in solitude; it will always bring neighbours'.<sup>13</sup> All these are the results of storing up good (deeds) and virtuous (conduct). (However) in later generations there was lewdness, indolence and decline, and (the kings) were unable to govern the people (properly). The feudal lords rebelled and harmed good people in contending over the rich land. They abandoned virtue and culture and employed punishments. If the punishments were not correct, then an evil aura was engendered. (Thus) this evil aura accumulated below, while hatred was stored up above. If upper and lower are not in harmony, then Yin and Yang become disrupted and supernatural appearances occur. This is the origin from which come disasters and anomalous occurrences.

I have heard that Mandates are Heaven's orders; that Nature (性) is the (basic) material of Creation; and that Feelings (情) are man's desires. Whether (one's life) is long or short, and whether (one's nature) is humane or vile (all depends on) the mold which fashions (life) and (these molds) cannot all be good. There are those who are born in (times of) order and those who are born in (times of) disorder, and therefore they are not the same. Confucius said: 'The essence of the gentleman is that of the wind: essence of the small people is that grass. And when the wind passes over the grass it cannot choose but bend'.<sup>14</sup> Thus when Yao and Shun put their virtue into practice



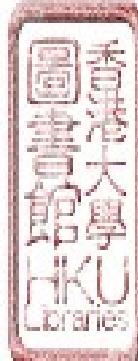
tice, the people were humane and had longevity, (whereas) when Chieh and Chou put their violence into practice, the people were vile and died young. Superior influences inferior and inferior follows superior. (This) is similar (to the fact that) the clay on the potter's wheel can be worked only by the potter; and the metal in a die can be cast only by the founder. "He gave them security and they came. He moved them and they were harmonious."<sup>15</sup> refers to this.

I have carefully examined the wording of the Spring and Autumn Annals, and in searching for the principle of the Kingly Way have found it to rest in Rectitude. 'Rectitude' follows 'King' and 'King' follows 'Spring'.<sup>16</sup> Spring is an act of Heaven. Rectitude is an act of the King. This means that (the king) receives acts of Heaven from above so that he can rectify his own actions below. This is to say that rectitude is the principle of the Kingly Way. Thus if the king wishes to perform some act he ought to seek for some principle from Heaven. The greatness of the Way of Heaven lies in the Yin and Yang. Yang creates virtue, while Yin creates punishments. Punishment is the ruler of killing, while virtue is the ruler of life. For this reason Yang dwells constantly in the height of summer and acts as (that which) produces and gives growth; while Yin dwells constantly in the depths of winter and accumulates in empty and useless places. From this it can be seen that Heaven uses virtue and does not use punishment. Heaven sends Yang forth above to give copiously, and to control the year's achievements; while it sends Yin below to lie in wait and to occasionally come forth to assist Yang. If Yang did not receive the



aid of Yin it could not alone complete the year. In the end result (however), Yang gives the year its name because it completes it. This is the will of Heaven. A king receives the will of Heaven and in accordance (with it) conducts his affairs. Therefore he uses virtue and does not use punishment. Punishment cannot be used to govern the world any more than Ying can be used to complete the year. Using punishment in order to govern is not in accord with Heaven. Therefore none of the former kings were willing to use it. Now (the kind of) officials (who would have been considered) by former kings have been dispensed with and only officials who enforce the law are used to govern the people. Is not the meaning of this that punishment is being used? Confucius said: 'Putting men to death without having taught them (the Right); that is called savagery.'<sup>17</sup> If a savage government is used towards inferiors while you hope for virtue to be general (within) the four seas, it will be difficult to accomplish.

I have carefully examined the Spring and Autumn Annals for the significance of the (words) 'one' (-) and 'origin' (元).<sup>18</sup> 'One' is that from which all things begin, while 'origin' shows that the beginning is regarded as important and (shows) a desire to rectify that origin (i.e. of the Kingly Way). The Spring and Autumn Annals gives profound examination to that origin, but in the end (what it holds as) most noble is the beginning. The ruler rectifies his mind and thereby rectifies his court; he rectifies his court and thereby rectifies all officials; he rectifies all his officials and thereby rectifies all his people; and, he rectifies all his people and thereby rectifies (the countries) on the four sides. When the four sides are



rectified, far and near there is no one who dares not unite in rectitude and no evil aura invades this sphere. Therefore Yin and Yang are harmonized and the wind and rain are seasonal. All living things are in harmony and all people prosper. The five grains ripen and the grass and trees flourish. (All) between Heaven and Earth is enriched and there is great luxury and abundance. All within the four seas hears of the rules flourishing virtue and come to become subjects. All fortunate occurrences and appropriate auspicious omens cannot but arrive and the Kingly Way is complete.

Confucius said: 'The phoenix does not come; the river gives forth no chart. It is all over with me!'<sup>20</sup> He was grieved that these things which ought to have arrived could not do so because of his humble position. Now Your Majesty has been honoured as the Son of Heaven, and you are enriched by possession of (all within) the four seas, you have the position, the power, and the natural ability to cause (the good omens) to arrive. Your conduct is superb and your benevolence is generous. Your knowledge is brilliant and your will is good. You love your subjects and treat scholars well. You can be called a righteous ruler. But why is it that Heaven and Earth have not yet responded and why is it that auspicious omens have not yet arrived? It is all because moral suasion has not been established and because the people have not been rectified. People follow (personal) profit like water flowing downwards. If you do not stop this with moral suasion it cannot be stopped. For this reason, when moral suasion is established vileness is completely stopped and prevention if it is completed. (But) if moral suasion is done away with, vileness emerges, punish-

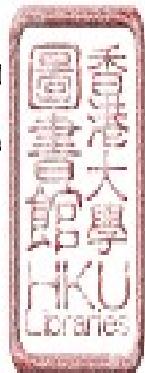


ments cannot defeat it and prevention of it breaks down. The ancient kings understood this and this is the reason that in facing south and ruling the world there were none that did not make moral suasion the greatest necessity. They established 'universities' to educate in the state (capital) and set up local schools to educate in the cities. They imbued the people with humanity; influenced them with righteousness; and restrained them with ritual. Therefore, even though punishments were very light, their prohibitions were not transgressed. Education was put into practise and custom and habit became good.

When the sage kings inherited the disorder of the previous age they cut off all traces and completely did away with it. They reestablished education and raised it to a high (position). After education became brilliant and (correct) habits were completed their sons and grandsons carried it on and practised it for five or six hundred years without losing it. Towards the end of the Chou (dynasty, however) they lost the rule of the world because the Way had been greatly lost. The Ch'in dynasty continued after this and not only was it unable to carry out reform, but also did they make things even worse. They heavily forbade literature and did not allow the owning of books. They neglected and did not use ritual and righteousness and (in fact) hated to hear of them. Their intention was to completely destroy the Way of former kings and they used nothing but self-indulgent and careless rule. Therefore fourteen years after being established as the Son of Heaven, the state was destroyed. Ever since ancient times it has never happened that disorder relieve disorder, or that the people of the world were as greatly harmed as (in the case of) Ch'in. This evil inheritance of excessive



violence, even now, has not yet been extinguished. It has caused habits to be mean and evil: the people are noisy and greedy, inconsiderate and shameless, alienated and hostile. Their advanced corruption is thus extreme. Confucius said: 'Rotten wood cannot be carved, nor a wall of dried dung be trowelled.'<sup>21</sup> Now the Han continuing the heritage of Ch'in is like rotten wood and walls of dried dung. Even though you wish to govern well there is nothing you can do. When laws are put forth, perfidy is engendered. When statutes are handed down, deception arises. It is like using hot water to stop water boiling or adding firewood in order to put out a fire it (simply) makes it worse and is useless. I venture to make a comparison with the ch'in and seng<sup>22</sup> being inharmonious. When it is extreme, you must loosen and restretch (the strings) before they may be played. (This is like good) government not being put into effect. When it is extreme, it must be changed and reconstructed before rule can be (correct). If you ought to restretch (the strings) and do not, then even though there are good players they will be unable to produce good harmony. If you ought to reconstruct (government) and do not, then even though there are highly talented (officials) they will be unable to govern well. Therefore, although the Han has wished to rule well ever since it gained the world, it has not, to this day, been able to rule well. (This is because) it has been deficient in that it has not reconstructed that which ought to be reconstructed. The ancients had a saying which goes: 'Standing by stream and longing for a fish is not as good as retreating and making a net'.<sup>23</sup> Now (the dynasty) has been in power and wish to rule (well) for over seventy years. It would be better to withdraw and reconstruct. If you reconstruct, then you can

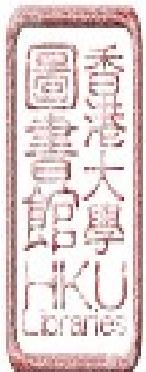


govern well. If you govern well, the days of harmful disasters will be done away with and happy and prosperous days will come. The Book of Songs says: 'He orders rightly his people, orders rightly the officers, And receives his dignity from heaven'<sup>24</sup>. If you cause your government to adapt itself to the people, then you will certainly receive prosperity from Heaven. The Way of the Five Constants, that of humanity, righteousness, ritual knowledge and trust, is what the king must regulate. When the five are regulated, you will receive the assistance of Heaven and the efficacy of the spirits and demons. Your virtue will reach beyond your borders and extend to all living things."

The Son of Heaven examined his reply and was intrigued by it. Accordingly he sent back a question in written form which said:

"The edict says: Now I have heard that in the time of Emperor Shun, he took his ease on the balcony (of the palace), and letting down his robes did nothing. Yet the world (enjoyed) great peace. King Wen of Chou, (on the other hand), did not take time to eat until late in the day, and (all) within the universe was also (well) governed. Surely it is not (the case) that the Way of Emperor (Shun) and King (Wen followed) the same principles? How (is one to) differentiate between stillness and diligence?

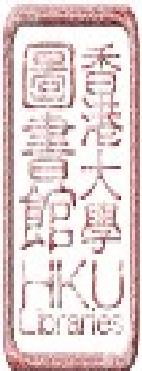
Now (the former) was frugal and did not create the ornaments of the black and yellow banners (of Heaven and Earth). Yet the House of Chou constructed the two towers (beside its city gates) rode in a grand chariot, and (carried) a crimson shield and a jade battle-axe. The eight (rows) of dancers



were arrayed in their court and the sound of hymns arose. Does this not point out the differences between Emperor (Shun) and King (Wen)? Some say that good jade should not be carved. Others say that without culture there is nothing with which to support your virtue. (These) two principles differ.

The officers of the Yin (dynasty) used the five punishments in order to control perfidy and they mortified the flesh in order to punish evil doers. (Kings) Ch'eng and K'ang (of Chou) did not use (them, yet) for over forty years the world did not break (the law), and the prisons became empty. The State of Ch'in used them and those who were executed were extremely numerous. The punishments were continuous and the destruction (of life) was pitiable.

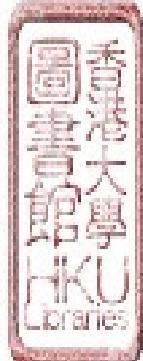
Alas! When I awake in the early morning and arise, I have used only the former emperors and kings as a pattern and contemplated the means by which they received their supreme (position) and carried out their kingly career. (I have concluded that) it all rests in devoting energy to things basic (i.e., agriculture) and employing worthy men. Now I personally plow the crown land in order to give primacy to agriculture. I encourage the filial and brotherly and venerate (those who) possess virtue. Emissaries, caps and carriages are continuous (i.e.) the court is very active in state affairs). I inquire about diligent actions and take pity on orphans and widows. I use my intelligence to the utmost, (but) it cannot yet be said that merit, majesty, goodness or virtue have been attained. No the Yin and Yang are dislocated and evil auras fill (the world). All living things are (only) slightly fulfilled and the Black-



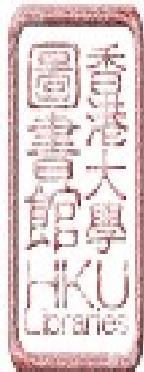
haired people (i.e. the people of China) are not yet relieved. Purity and shame are mixed up and upright and vile are confused. We have not yet obtained truth. Therefore I have carefully engaged outstanding scholars. Is this (not) near (to good government)? Now (among) you nobles and court scholars (who number) more than one hundred men, some have spoken of the affairs of the world and (their) not yet being relieved. You have searched for its differences with high antiquity and examined it in the present, yet this is difficult to apply. Is this not because you have been excessively bound to literary form and not been free; or because you have based it on different ways and listened to various methods? Each of you reply minutely, writing it in an essay. Do not avoid mentioning those in power. Illuminate the plans you recommend; make them cultivated and complete. Thus you wil accord with my wishes.

(Tung) Chung-shu replied:

"I have heard that (when) Yao received the Mandate he was grieved for the world and was not yet happy with his rule. Consequently he did away with disorderly officials and devoted his attention to seeking the worthy and the wise. By this means he obtained Shun, Yu, Hsieh, and Kao-yao. The many wise upheld his virtue while the worthy were able to assist (him in) government. Education flourished and the world became harmonious. All his subjects were peaceful, humate, happy and proper. Each did what was fitting (for him to do), the suitable rituals were perform and they easily attained the Way. Therefore Confucius said: 'If a Kingly Man were to arise, within a single generation



Goodness would prevail<sup>25</sup>. This refers to it. After Yao had been on the throne for seventy years he abdicated in favour of Shun. What Yao died the world turned not to his Tao Chu but to Shun. Shun knew he could not avoid it and consequently took the position of the Son of Heaven. He made Yü his Prime Minister and relying on Yao's supporters (of virtue) and assistants (in government), continued his rule. This is the reason (he could) let fall his robes and do nothing yet the worlds was (well) governed. Confucius said: 'The (music of the) Shao was completely beautiful and also completely good'<sup>26</sup>. This refers to it. When we come to (King) Chou of the Yin (Dynasty, however,) he disobeyed Heaven and did violence to things; he killed the worthy and knowledgable; and injured and robbed the common people. Po-I and T'ai Kung<sup>27</sup> both were worthy men of that age, (yet) they hid away and did not become officials. All men (fit) to govern fled away and (hid themselves along the banks of) rivers and (the shore of) the sea. The world was in confusion; and the people were not peaceful. Therefore the world did away with the Yin (Dynasty) and followed the Chou. King Wen (of Chou) acted in accord with Heaven and regulated things. For ministers he used the worthy and wise. This is the reason that such people as Yung-Yao, Ta Tien and San-I Sheng<sup>28</sup> flocked to his court. Love was bestowed on all people and the world turned to him. Therefore T'ai Kung came up from the sea-shore and became (one of the) Three Dukes. At this time, (however, King) Chou was still on the throne. Honoured and mean were confused and the common people were scattered and lost. Therefore King Wen was grieved and wished

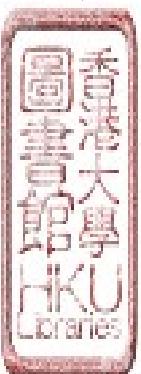


to pacify them. For this reason he did not take the leisure to eat until late in the day. Confucius wrote the Spring and Autumn Annals (to show how) the former righteous kings tied together the ten thousand things and to show (that he himself had) the characteristics of the uncrowned king. Looking at it from this (point of view, we can see that) the principles of Emperor (Shun) and King (Wen) were the same. Stillness and diligence differed, however because the times that they encountered were different. Confucius said: 'The Wu (music) was completely beautiful but it was not completely good'.<sup>29</sup> This refers to it.

I have heard that ornamenting with the black and yellow (banners of Heaven and Earth) is that by which the honoured and the mean are illuminated; the noble and the vile are differentiated; and (those who) are virtuous are encouraged. Therefore in the Spring and Autumn Annals (it implies that after) the Mandate of Heaven is received, the first things to be done are the changing of the first month, and the altering of the colour of (official) clothing in order to respond to Heaven. (Only) then will the system of palaces and banners have order and be completed. Therefore Confucius said: 'Just as lavishness leads easily to presumption, so does frugality to meanness'.<sup>30</sup> I have heard (with respect to) good jade not being carved, that if its natural disposition is smooth and beautiful and it is not carved, then it is no different than the villager from Ta Chüan<sup>31</sup> who did not study yet had natural wisdom. Thus if jade is not carved it does not complete its beauty; while if a ruler does not study, he does not complete his virtue.



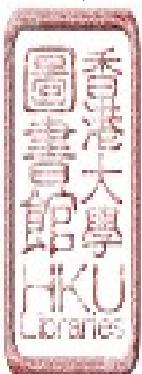
I have heard that the sage kings who rules the world studied when young and used their talents to rule when they became older. They used nobility and emolument to encourage virtue and used punishments to discourage evil-doers. Therefore the people became knowledgable in ritual and propriety and were ashamed to transgress against their superiors. King Wen practised great righteousness and pacified the lawless. The Duke of Chou created ritual and music to make it (more) refined. (When we) come to the glorious (reigns) of (Kings) Ch'eng and K'ang, the prisons were empty for over forty years. This was a result of (causing) education, humanity and righteousness to flourish. (When we) come to the Ch'in (dynasty, however), it was not like this. They followed the laws of Shen (pu-hai) and Shang (Yang) and put into practise the theories of Han Fei. They hated the Way of Emperor (Shun) and King (Wen). Greed and cruelty became habit, and culture and virtue were not taught to the world<sup>32</sup>. People were punished without investigation into the real (facts of the case).. Good people did not necessarily escape and evil-doers were not necessarily punished. Therefore the officials all deceived with meaningless words and paid no attention to reality. On the outside they performed the ritual of obeying the ruler, but inside their minds turned away from the ruler. They told lies and quickly profitted (themselves) without shame. In addition, (the ruler) was fond of employing cruel and oppressive officials. Taxation and levies<sup>33</sup> without limit exhausted the peoples money and strength. The common people were scattered and lost and they were unable to carry out (their) occupations of plowing and weaving. A host of bandits arose. The reason for this was tha



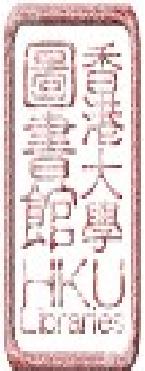
punishments were extremely numerous and the dead could be seen on all sides. Perfidity did not stop and (common) habit was forced to comply. Therefore Confucius said: 'Govern the people by regulations, keep order among them by chastisements, and they will flee from you and lose all self-respect'<sup>34</sup> this refers to it.

Now Your Majesty has the world and within the four seas there is none who does not follow and obey. Your perception is broad and you listen to both sides (of a discussion). You use all the knowledge of your inferiors and you use all the goodness in the world. Your great virtue is manifest and granted (even) to (places) beyond the borders. (In) Yeh Lang and K'ang Chü<sup>35</sup> and various (other) places which are very distant they speak of your virtue and turn to your rectitude. This is the ultimate of great peace. However your merit has not been granted to the common people and (this is) only (because) Your Majesty's mind has not yet granted it to them. Tseng-tzu said: 'If you honour (that which is correct of) what you hear, you will be lofty and intelligent. If you practise (that which is right of) what you know, you will be glorious and great. (Becoming) lofty, intelligent, glorious and great rests nowhere else but in the will to grant it'<sup>36</sup>. I (respectfully) recommend that Your Majesty follow and use (what is right) of what you hear. If you establish sincerity within and practise it (without), then how will you be different from the Three Kings?

Your Majesty personally plows the crown land in order to give primacy to agriculture. When you awake in the morning and arise, you concern yourself about the common people. You medi-

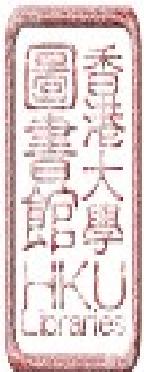


tate on the past and make it your business to seek the worthy. This is how the (Emperors) Yao and Shun used their minds. But that which has not yet been attained is that scholars are not encouraged. If you do not constantly support scholars, yet wish to seek the worthy, then this is similar to not carving jade and wishing for ornament. Anciently, (of the) important (institutions) for supporting scholars, none was more important than a university. (This) is (intimately) connected with (having) worthy scholars and is the very origin of education. Now, the lack of replies (to Your Majesty's edicts) from all the many commanderies and kingdoms (is the way that) the Kingly Way is always broken off. I wish that Your Majesty would cause a university to flourish and appoint brilliant teachers so as to support the scholars of the world. If you test and question them often in order to use them to the utmost, then you will have gained talented, superior, and proper (assistants). Now it is the prefects of commanderies, magistrates of districts and leaders of the people (i.e. junior local officials) who receive and transmit (your commands) and proclaim reform. Therefore if the leaders are not worthy, then Your Majesty's virtue is not proclaimed and your benevolence is not transmitted. Now (junior local) officials do not instruct their inferiors (i.e. the populace) and some do not receive and use Your Majesty's laws. They harass the common people and by vile means profit (themselves). (Thus) the poor, the orphans, the weak, the oppressed, the suffering, and (those who) have lost their patrimony are not at all (treated) in accordance with Your Majesty's will. This is the reason that the Yin and Yang are



dislocated, that (the world) is filled with an evil aura, that few living things are completed, and that the Black-haired People are not saved. All of this has been caused by local officials not being intelligent.

Many of the local officials have been promoted from (among) the Gentlemen of the Palace and the Gentlemen of the Household. Sons and younger brothers of officials of the two thousand bushel (rank) are selected for these positions. It is also because they are rich and propertied and not necessarily because they are worthy. In ancient times, that which was called meritorious was that they employed as officials (those who) were able to undertake the responsibility. It did not depend on seniority. Therefore those of small talent did not depart (from the position of) junior official even though they had seniority and they were not afraid (to promote) those with high talent to the (position of) councillor even though they had not yet (accumulated) seniority. Thus, those in power worked with all their power and exhausted all their knowledge. They devoted their attention to the business of governing and merit was advanced. Nowadays it is not like that. Seniority is attained in order to gain riches and wealth. This is the reason that pure and corrupt are confused and that truth has not yet been obtained. I humbly consider that (you) should have the feudal lords, prefects of commanderies and (Officials) of the two thousand bushel (rank) select the worthy from among their (junior) officials and subjects and yearly send two men to become palace guards, so that (you) can see whether or not they have the ability (to become) high officials. If those



who are sent are worthy, then reard (their nominators), and if those who are sent are degenerate, then punish (their nominators). If it is like this, then the feudal lords and the (officials) of two thousand bushel (rank) will all exert themselves in seeking for the worthy, and the scholars of the world will be obtained and (good) officials will be employed. If the worthy men of the world were to be used everywhere, the abundant (rule) of the Three Kings will be easy to carry out, and the fame of Yao and Shun can be attained. Do not judge merit by seniority, (but rather) test their worth and ability in actual (situations) in order to promote them. Weigh their talent and make them officials; choose the virtuous and establish them in (high) position. (If this is done), then pure and corrupt will (walk) different roads, and worthy and degenerate will (occupy) separate places. Your Majesty is greatly benevolent. Forgive my crime. You told us not to be bound by literary form and to make (our replies) cultivatated and complete. I have dared to be less than completely stupid."

To this the emperor sent back a question in written form:

"The edict says: Now I have heard, 'Those who are good at talking about Heaven must have proof in mankind; and those who are good at talking about the past must have experience in the present.'<sup>37</sup> Therefore I have handed down questions on the relationship of Heaven and Man. I have, on the one hand, admited (Emperors) T'ang and Yü, and, on the other hand, grieve for (Emperors) Chieh and Chou, (and I have asked you) the way which there is gradual decline and gradual destruction; gradual (increase in) brilliance and gradual (increase in) glory. Wit



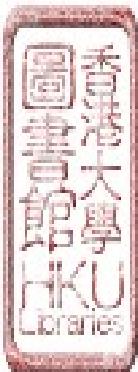
an unprejudiced mind (I would like to) reform. Now you gentlemen understand the changes wrought by the Yin and Yang, and are knowledgable in the Way of the Sages of Old. Still, culture is not yet at its acme. Isn't this because you are in doubt about what (ought to be) given attention in the present age? Neither your logic nor your succession (of ideas) was complete. Does this mean that I am not clear-sighted? Does this mean that I do not hear clearly? (It is said that) the origins of the teachings of the Three Kings were not the same and that all had short-comings. (Yet) it is said that the Way is that which is constant and unchanging. Surely the meaning (of these two sayings) is not the same! You gentlemen have already written about the extremity of the Great Way and set forth the principles of (good) government and (the reasons for) disorder. Now put it down in detail; examine it; complete it; and go over it again. Does not the Book of Songs say:

'Ah! Ye gentlemen!  
Do not reckon on your repose being permanent.  
So shall the Spirits hearken to you,  
And give you large measures of bright happiness.'<sup>38</sup>

I will personally examine (your replies). Gentlemen, be industrious in illuminated them!"

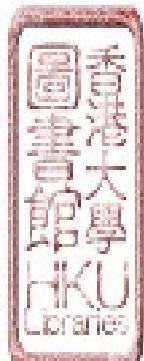
(Tung) Chung-shu replied saying:

"I have heard that (in the) Analects it says: 'It is only the Divine Sage who embraces in himself both the first step and the last.'<sup>39</sup> Now Your Majesty shows even greater benevolence by retaining and listening to your servants who have (only) inherited their learning. You have handed down an illustrious edict (asking us) to make clear our meaning and to complete (our ideas) on the Virtue of the Sage. To this your humble servant



is incapable. In my previous replies neither my logic nor my succession (of ideas) was complete. My words did not make clear discrimination and (what I advocated) was not set forth clearly. This is your servant's vile crime.

(Your) edict said: '"Those who are good at talking about Heaven must have proof in mankind; and those who are good at talking about the past must have experience in the present."' I have heard that Heaven is the originator of the myriad things. Therefore it covers, wraps and contains everything and leaves nothing out. It established the sun, moon, wind and rain in order to harmonize them. It regulates the Yin and Yang, cold and heat, in order to complete them. Therefore the Sages copied Heaven and established the Way. They loved everything and were unselfish. They displayed virtue and practised humanity in order to give them well-being, and they established propriety and ordained ritual in order to lead them. The Spring is the means by which Heaven produces. Humanity is the means by which the ruler loves. Summer is the means by which Heaven (allows things to) grow. Virtue is the means by which the ruler nurtures (the people). Frost is the means by which Heaven kills. Laws are the means by which the ruler punishes. Speaking from this (point of view), the fulfilment of Heaven and Man is the Way of past and present. Confucius wrote the Spring and Autumn Annals to follow Heaven above and to put it into practise in human nature below. He examined it in the past and tested it in the present. Therefore what the Spring and Autumn Annals criticised was the cause of disasters, and what the Spring and Autumn Annals hated was the cause of



anomalous occurrences. He wrote of the faults of states and the causes of disasters and anomalous occurrences. From this we can see that the actions of men whether extremely good or extremely evil communicated with Heaven and they influenced one another. This also speaks of the principle of the unity of Heaven. In ancient times officials (responsible for) education were established. They devoted attention to using virtue and goodness to transform the people. After people had undergone the great transformation, there was not (even) one person in prison. Nowadays this has been done away with and there is no transforming of people. The people have therefore abandoned the practice of propriety and die (in the pursuit) of wealth. For this reason lawbreakers and criminals are numerous and in one year countless thousands (go to) prison. Looking at it from this (point of view), the ancient (system) should be used. Therefore the Spring and Autumn Annals criticise the changing of the ancient system.

Heaven's orders are called the Mandate. The Mandate cannot be put into practice by (one who is) not a sage. The basic material (of mankind) is called nature, but if nature is not transformed through education, it will not be completed. Man's desires are called feelings, but if feelings are not limited by the system they will not be (properly) regulated. Because of this, the king is attentive to carry out the will of Heaven above in order to conform to the Mandate; while below he gives importance to teaching and transforming the people in order to complete their nature. He rectifies the laws and regulations as seems fitting and makes clear the precedence of superior and inferior in order to control their desires. When these things are put into practice, the great basis (of the world)

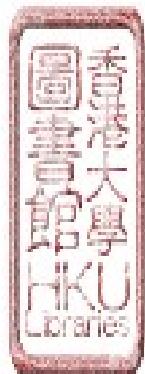


has been promoted. Mankind receives the Mandate from Heaven and is therefore superior to and different from the myriad (other) creatures. At home he has the father-son and the elder brother-younger brother relationships. Outside he has the ruler-subject and the superior-inferior relationships. Meeting people in society he manifests the (distinction between) the aged and the young. It is glorious that he has the patterns for social intercourse and joyful that he has the benevolence for mutual love. These are where mankind is nobler (than other creatures). The five grains were produced to feed him; the mulberry and hemp, to clothe him; and the six domestic animals, to nourish him.<sup>40</sup> He yokes the ox and rides the horse<sup>41</sup>, pens the leopard and cages the tiger. This (shows) he has attained an intelligence from Heaven (which makes him) the noblest in (all) creation. Therefore Confucius said: 'Of the natures (produced) by Heaven, man is the noblest.'<sup>41</sup> Understanding that his nature is Heaven (endowed, mankind) knows himself to be nobler than (all) creation. Knowing himself to be nobler than (all creation) he knows humanity and righteousness. Knowing humanity and righteousness, he regards ritual (behaviour) and restraint as important. Regarding ritual (behaviour) and restraint as important, he composedly holds to rectitude. Composedly holding to rectitude, he joyfully accords with principle. Joyfully according with principle, he may be called a princely man. Therefore Confucius said: 'He who does not know the will of Heaven cannot be regarded as a gentleman.'<sup>42</sup> This refers to it.

Your edit said: 'I have, on the one hand, admired

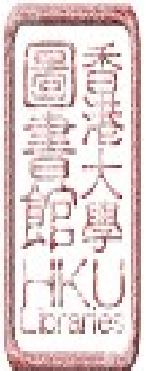


(Emperors) T'ang and Yü and, on the other hand, grieved for  
 Emperors Chieh and Chou, (and I have asked you) the way in  
 which there is gradual decline and gradual destruction; gradu-  
 al (increase) in brilliance and gradual(increase) in glory.  
 With an unprejudiced mind (I would like) to reform.' Your  
 servant has heard that the bringing together of the few will  
 make many and that the gathering up of the small will make  
 the large. (Among) the sages of old there were none who did  
 not rise to brilliance and prominence from obscurity. Thus  
 Yao came from (among) the feudal lords and Shun arose from the  
 deep mountains. They did not become prominent in a day. It  
 was a gradual process. Speech comes from the self and cannot  
 be blocked. Actions come from the body and cannot be obscured.  
 The reason that the regulation of speech and actions is import-  
 ant is that it is the means by which the ruler moves Heaven  
 and Earth. Therefore, he who takes utmost pains over the small  
 becomes great, and he who is careful about the obscure becomes  
 prominent. The Book of Songs says: 'This King Wen, watchfully  
 and reverently.'<sup>44</sup> Therefore Yao was wary and daily practised  
 the Way; and Shun was fearful and devoted himself to acting  
 in accordance with the will of his predecessors. Their good-  
 ness accumulated and their names became prominent. Their vir-  
 tue was completed and their persons were honoured. This is  
 the way in which they gradually (increased in) brilliance and  
 gradually (increased in) glory. The accumulation of goodness  
 in the person is like (the Way) the day by day growth (of the  
 body) goes unperceived by mankind. The accumulation of evil  
 in the person is like the melting of fat in a fire going

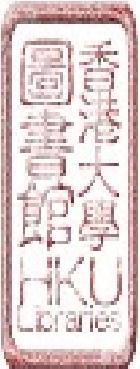


unnoticed by mankind. Who can know that which is neither clear in the temperament nor found in the habits? This is the way that T'ang and Yü gained an illustrious name and Chieh and Chou could become dreaded and feared. Good follows good, and evil follows evil like shadow responds to form and echo to sound. Therefore when Chieh and Chou were violent deceivers, slanderers and bandits came out while the good and the wise hid. Evil became daily more apparent and the state became daily more disordered. Clearly they considered themselves to be like the sun in the sky, (yet) in the end they deteriorated and there was a great collapse. For those who are violent, refractory and without compassion there is not one day in which the end does not draw gradually closer. Therefore, although Chieh and Chou had lost the Way they still ruled for more than ten years. This is the way in which there is gradual decline and gradual collapse.

(Your) edict said: '(It is said that) the origins of the teachings of the Three Kings were not the same and that all had shortcomings. (Yet) it is said that the Way is that which is constant and unchanging.' I have heard that that which is joyful but not excessive, repetitious but not boring is called the Way. In ten thousand generations the Way will be without corruption; but corruption (is the means by which) the Way is lost. There must have been some areas in which the Way of the former kings was partial or (totally) absent. Therefore their rule had blind-spots and things which it did not carry out. The reason why they were partial was because they were (trying to) remedy the corruption. The origins of the Way of the



Three Kings were not the same, not because they were mutually opposed, but because they were trying to relieve excesses and fend off decline, and because the conditions they encountered were different. Therefore Confucius said: 'Among those who "ruled by inactivity" surely Sun may be counted.'<sup>45</sup> He did nothing more than alter the first month of the year and change the colour of (official) clothing in order to accord with the Mandate of Heaven. For the remainder he followed the Way of Yao; what reason was there for (other) changes? This was the reason that there were kings who changed the names of regulations but none who changed the reality of the Way. Accordingly the Hsia (dynasty) emphasized loyalty, the Yin (dynasty) emphasized respect and the Chou (dynasty) emphasized refinement. They had to do this in order to relieve (the excesses) of the previous (reign). Confucius said: 'We know in what ways the Yin modified ritual when they followed up the Hsia. We know in what ways the Chou modified ritual when they followed upon the Yin. And hence we can fortell what the successors of the Chou will be like, even supposing they do not appear till a hundred generations from now.'<sup>45</sup> This says that the one hundred (succeeding) kings used these three (*i.e.* loyalty, respect and refinement.) The reason that we do not speak about modifications (of ritual) when the Hsia (dynasty) succeeded Shun<sup>46</sup> is that its reign was one and the same as the preceding reign. The great origin of the Way is in Heaven. Heaven is unchanging and the Way also does not change. This is the reason that (in the cases of) Yu succeeding Shun and Shun succeeding Yao, these three Sages received from each other and protected the one Way



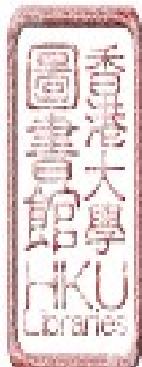
and they did not have governments which were trying to alleviate corruption. Therefore we do not speak of their modifications (of ritual). Looking at it from this point of view, the Way of the successor to good government remains the same (as his predecessor) while the way of the successor to disorder changes (from that of his predecessor). Now the Han (dynasty) has come after great disorder. It should be fitting to reduce slightly the refinement of the Chou and to use the loyalty of the Hsia.

Your Majesty possesses brilliant virtue and delights in the Way. You grieve that the habits of the world are unstable and are distressed that the Kingly Way is not (yet) displayed. Therefore you have summoned the good, virtuous, moral and upright scholars to discuss and examine (the problem), for you wish to cause the beautiful virtue of humanity and righteousness to flourish; the legal system of (former) emperors and Kings to be illuminated; and the Way of the Great Peace to be established. (To this) I am (too) stupid and incapable, for in transmitting what I have heard, reciting what I have learned, and repeating the words of my teacher, I can scarcely avoid error. As for discussing the successes and failures of government and the excesses and deficiencies of the world, these are the occupation of senior ministers, the responsibility of the Three Dukes and the Nine Ministers.<sup>47</sup> This is not (something) to which your servant (Tung) Shung-shu is capable. But there is something which I find strange. The world of the ancient times is the same as the world of today, and the world of today is the same as the world of ancient times; both are the world

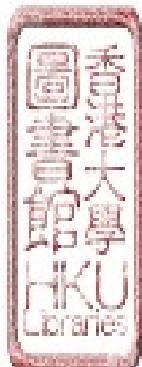


In ancient times, by means of magnificent government, superior and inferior were peaceful and friendly; customs and habits flourished beautifully; no orders were given yet things were done; no prohibitions were issued yet (evil) stopped; officials were not evil and heterodox; the people were without bandits and thieves; the prisons were empty; virtue enriched (even) the grass and trees; benefit covered (all within) the four seas; phoenix assembled; and unicorn arrived. When we measure the present against the past, why is it that they differ so greatly. How is it that (things) have deteriorated to the lost and fierce (conditions of today)? According to my point of view we have lost something from the Way of ancient times and we have to a certain extent, acted against the principles of Heaven. If we search for its traces in the past and return to the (principles) of Heaven, then perhaps we can see it.

Heaven has a (method) of division in the things that it grants. On (those creatures) to which it grants upper teeth, it has done away with horns. For (those creatures) to which it adds wings, two are sufficient. This is the reason that those who receive the large do not also take the small. In ancient times, those to whom official salaries were given did not eat by their own strength, nor did they engage in business. This is also (how) those who receive the large do not take the small, and (thus) accord with Heaven. If (even) Heaven cannot provide for (those who) receive the large and also take the small, then how can man? This is the reason that the (common) people (cry) mournfully about the bitterness of (their) insufficiency. (If those whose) persons have been favoured by



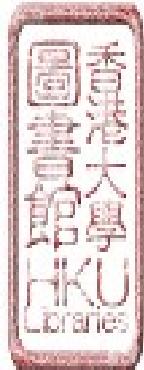
advancement to high position, (and whose) homes are warm, and (who) eat (by means of) a substantial government salary, take advantage of the wealth and power of their (position of) wealth and nobility and contend for profit with the (common) people below, how can the (common) people compete? For this reason, (when) they increase (the numbers) of their slaves, expand their herds of) cattle and sheep, extend their (holdings) of land, and horde grain, and carry this on without end, (then) they oppress and kick the (common) people, and the (common) people day by day and month by month (find themselves in) reduced (circumstances), and gradually become terribly pverty-stricken. The rich are wasteful and extravagant while the poor are in want, worried, depressed and bitter. (If they are) in want, worried, depressed and bitter and (their) superiors do not save them, then the (common) people will be unhappy with life. If they are unhappy with life to the extent that they cannot escape death, then how can they escape guilt. This is how laws and punishments become numerous yet perfidy and evil cannot be conquered. Therefore if (those) families (which) receive a government salary live only on (that) salary, and do not compete with the (common) people for a livelihood, then profit can be equitably distributed and the (common) people will have enough for (their) families. This is the principle of Heaven above and also the Way of high antiquity. It is what the emperor ought to use as a pattern in the making of ordinances and what the nobility ought to accord with in conductir themselves. Therefore when Kung-I Tzu, the Prime Minister of Lu<sup>48</sup> went home and saw silk being woven, he became furious and sent his wife away; and when he ate some vegetables which had



been grown at his home, he became annoyed, and pulling up (all the other) vegetables said: 'I already live on my official salary. Should I also take the profits from gardeners and weavers?' In ancient times, all virtuous men, rulers, and people of rank were like this. This is the reason that inferiors improved their behaviour and followed their teachings, and that the (common) people were transformed by their purity and were not covetous and vile. But when we came to the decline of the House of Chou, the high ministers and nobles neglected property and strove for profits. They were without the custom of declining (honours) and there were litigations over land (tenure). Therefore the poets hated it and criticized it saying:

'Lofty is the southern hill  
With its masses of rocks!  
Awe inspiring are you, of (Grand) Master Yin  
And the people all look at you!' 49

If you prefer righteousness, then the people will tend towards humanity and (their) habits will become good; but if you prefer profit, then the people will prefer evil and (their) habits will be ruined. Looking at it from this (point of view), the emperor and (his) nobles are those to whom inferiors and the (common) people look to for (a pattern to) imitate, and to whom (the people) of distant places look in to from (all) four sides. When those who are (both) near and far look to you for (a pattern to) imitate, how can you occupy the position of a worthy man, yet behave as a commoner? To anxiously seek material profit and to constantly fear scarcity is the will of the commoner. To anxiously seek humanity and righteousness and to constantly fear inability to transform the people is the will of the noble. The Book of Changes says:

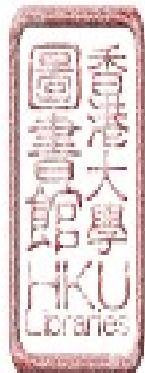


'If a man carries a burden on his back  
And nonetheless rides in a carriage,  
He thereby encourages robbers to draw near.'<sup>50</sup>

Riding in a carriage is the position of the ruler, while carrying a burden is the business of a small man. These words (mean) that if (a person) occupies the ruler's position yet conducts himself as a commoner, then calamities are certain to arrive. If you occupy the position of the ruler, then you ought to act as a ruler. If you do away with (the type of behaviour exhibited by) Kung-I Hsiu when he was Prime Minister of Lu, then you can do nothing.

In the Spring and Autumn Annals the reason why it gives great importance to unity is that it is the constant connection between Heaven and Earth and the unchanging rule of past and present. But today they teach a variety of Ways and men dispute different (philosophical positions). The One Hundred (Schools of Philosophy point in) diverse directions, and the ideas which they propound are not the same. This is the reason that the emperor has no way of maintaining unity, that the laws have undergone numerous changes, and that inferiors do not know what to hold to. I humbly submit that you cut off and do not allow to continue all that cannot be classed among the Six Arts or among the teachings of Confucius.<sup>51</sup> When heterodox doctrines are annihilated government can be consistent, the laws can be brilliant, and the people will know what to follow."

When he had finished his reply, the Emperor made (Tung) Chung-shu the Prime Minister of Chiang-tu where he served King I.<sup>52</sup> King I, an elder brother of the Emperor, was normally arrogant and fond of brave acts. (Tung) Chung-shu

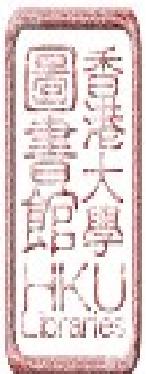


reformed him by means of ritual and righteousness, and the king respected and thought highly of him. Eventually the king questioned (Tung) Chung-shu saying:

"The King of Yüeh, Kou Chien, plotted with his nobles She<sup>53</sup> Yung, (Wen) Chung, and (Fan) Li to attack Wu. Subsequently they extinguished it.<sup>54</sup> Confucius said that the Yin (dynasty) had three humane (men). In a similar manner, I consider Yüeh to have had three humane (men). Duke Huan (of Ch'i) solved (state) problems with (the aid of) Kuan Chung. I solve (state) problems with your (help)."

(Tung) Chung-shu replied saying:

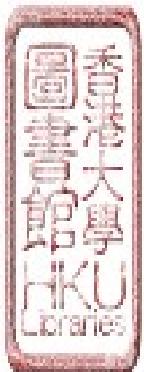
"I am stupid, and unable, therefore, to submit a great reply. Yet I have heard that in past, the ruler of Lu questioned Hui of Liu-hsia<sup>55</sup> (saying): 'What (do you think about) my intention of attacking Ch'i?' Hui of Liu-hsia said: 'Impossible!' He left and with a mournful expression said: 'I have heard that questions about the attacking of states are not asked of humane men; how is it that such matters are asked of me?' He was only asked about it and was still ashamed; how much more so is it (in the case) of scheming to attack Wu? Discussing it from this (point of view) Yüeh was basically without (even) one humane (man). The humane rectify their righteousness and do not plot for (personal) profit. They illuminate their Way and do not plan meritorious (deeds). This is that reason that among the disciples of Confucius there was a lad who was ashamed to (even) mention the Five Overlords because they had first (used) schemes and power, and (only) later (used) humanit



and righteousness. They used only schemes, and therefore were not (even) mentioned by a disciple of The Great Gentleman (i.e. Confucius). The Five Overlords were worthier than the remainder of the feudal lords, but when we compare them to the Three Kings it is similar to comparing false jade with fine jade."

The king said: 'Good.'

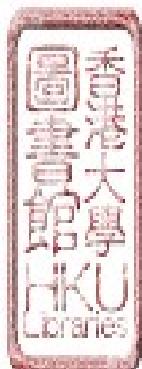
In governing the state (Tung) Chung-shu predicted the alternating progress of the Yin and Yang according to the occurrences of disasters and anomalous events in the Spring and Autumn Annals. Therefore when he was seeking rain he closed off all the Yang and gave free reign to all the Yin, and when he (wished) to stop the rain he did the opposite. In conducting (the affairs of) this one state he never failed to attain his wishes. In mid-career he was dismissed, and he became a noble in the central (government). Prior to this the (Mortuary) Temple to (Emperor) Kao at Liao-tung and a (side)-chamber<sup>56</sup> in the (Funerary) Park of (Emperor) Kao at Ch'ang Ling<sup>57</sup> had a visitation of fire. (Tung) Chung-shu, who was living at home (at the time, wrote) explaining the significance (of these events), but the draft copy had not yet been submitted. Chu-fu Yen (子父僕) visited (Tung) Chung-shu and secretly examined it. (Because) he was envious of (Tung Chung-shu), he stole the memorial and submitted it. The Emperor ordered it to be seen by the Confucian scholars, and Lü Pu-shu (呂步舒), a disciple of (Tung) Chung-shu, not knowing that it was his teacher's memorial, pronounced it extremely imprudent. (Tung) Chung-shu was thereupon tried and condemned to death. (Later) he was pardoned by imperial edict. Subsequently, (Tung) Chung-



shu did not dare to again mention disasters and anomalous events.

As a man (Tung) Chung-shu was incorrupt and straightforward. At that time, (the government was involved in) driving back the barbarian tribes beyond the borders. Kung-sun Hung (公孫彊) (also) specialized in the Spring and Autumn Annals but he did not compare with (Tung) Chung-shu. (Kung-sun) Hung followed the common trends in dealing with affairs and his position reached that of the (Three) Dukes and the (Nine) Ministers. (Tung) Chung-shu considered (Kung-sun) Hung to be a servile flatterer, and (Kung-sun) Hung hated him. The King of Chiao-hsi<sup>58</sup>, also an elder brother of the emperor, was extremely dissipated and had on several occasions incriminated his senior officials. (Kung-sun) Hung then spoke to the emperor saying: 'Only Tung Chung-shu can be sent as Prime Minister to the King of Chiao-hsi.' But the King of Chiao-hsi had heard that (Tung) Chung-shu was a great Confucian and treated him well. (Before long, Tung) Chung-shu, fearing he would be incriminated (if he remained in this post) for a long time, (pleaded) ill-health and retired. Altogether he was the Prime Minister of two states and each time he served a difficult king. He rectified himself and thereby led his inferiors. On numerous occasions he sent memorials to the throne to reprove, warn and instruct the capital. Wherever he lived was (well) governed. When he retired and returned (home) to live he never worried about possessions, but busied himself in the rectification of his studies, and in the composing of memorial

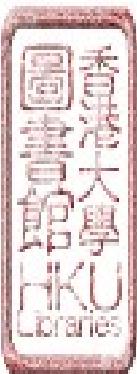
After Tung) Chung-shu (retired) to his home, messengers



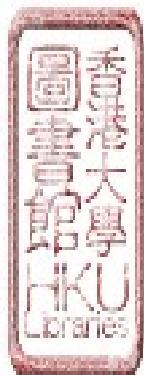
were sent, and (even) Chang T'ang (張湯) (when he was) Commandant of Justice went to his home to question him when there was a great debate in court. His replies were all brilliant. When Wu-ti first ascended the throne, the Lords of Wei-ch'i and Wu-an<sup>59</sup> (successively) acted as his Prime Ministers and they elevated (the status of) Confucianism. (But it was not) until the replies of (Tung) Chung-shu (that) Confucius was exalted and the One Hundred Schools (of Philosophy) were repressed and done away with. The establishment of school officials, and (the system whereby) the talented, filial, and incorrupt were recommended from the commanderies and regions, both came from (Tung) Chung-shu. He died of old age at his home which had been moved to Mou-ling<sup>60</sup>. His sons and grandsons all became high officials by means of their studies.

All that was written by (Tung) Chung-shu illuminated the significance of the classics and the arts. His memorials (to the throne) and the orders (he promulgated when prime minister of a state) altogether numbered one hundred and twenty-three. His essays on the triumphs and failures of the Spring and Autumn Annals such as Wen Chü (聞學), Yü Pei (玉杯), Fan Lu (范露), Ch'ing Ming (清明) and Chu Lin (竹林) numbered another several ten's containing over one hundred thousand words. All were transmitted to posterity. He wrote down everything connected with the present age and court administration.

In eulogy we say: Liu Hsiang (劉向) praised (him saying): "Tung Chung-shu had the ability to be an assistant to a king.



(Even) I (Yin) and Lü (Wang)<sup>61</sup> were not his superior. (People like) Kuan (Chung) and Yan (Ying,<sup>62</sup> who were) assistants to the Five Overlords did not equal him." (Liu) Hsiang's son (Liu) Hsin (劉況) thought that: "I (Ying) and Lü (Wang) were the equals of the sages and that had the kings not employed them they would not have prospered. When Yen Yuan (顏淵) died Confucius said: 'Alas! Heaven has bereft me!'<sup>63</sup> Only this man was suitable. None of Tsai Wo, Tzu Kan, Tzu Yu, or Tzu Hsia could compare to him.<sup>64</sup> (Tung) Chung-shu encountered (that period of history which came) after the Han had succeeded the Ch'in's destruction of scholarship. The Six Classics had been cut off, yet he lowered his screen and putting forth much effort, enquired deeply into the business of government thus giving later scholars a unified (intellectual tradition). He became the chief among the many Confucianists, yet when we examine the origins of the teachings of his teachers and fellow students (we find) that he did not even come up to (Tzu) Yu and (Tzu) Hsia. (When my father) said that Kuan (Chung) and Yan (Ying) did not equal him and that I (Yin) and Lü (Wang) were not his superiors he was exaggerating. (Liu) Hsiang's great grandson (Liu) Kung (劉肅) was a gentleman who discussed (matters) in a careful and sincere manner, and he agreed with (these) words of (Liu) Hsin.



FOOTNOTES:

1. Kuang-chu'an was one of the six regions into which Chao (趙) was divided by Emperor Wen. (HS14/3b), but the first date we have for it was when Emperor Ching enfeoffed one of his sons as king in BC 155. It was located in Tsao Ch'iang (曹強) hsien in present Hopei.
2. There is some disagreement as to the composition of the Five Emperors (cf. ZH66/3/2). It is generally agreed that the period in which they reigned was BC 2952-2205 and that the last two emperors were Yao and Shun. The Three Kings were the first rulers of the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, respectively, Kings Yü (禹), T'ang (湯), and Wen (文).
3. The shao was the name given to the music composed by Emperor Shun, while the chuo was the name given to that composed by the Duke of Chou.
4. Chieh (桀) and Chou (紂) were the names of the last rulers of the Hsia and Shang dynasties.
5. The Three Dynasties were the Hsia, the Shang, and the Chou.
6. From the Book of Songs. cf. Legge, Classics IV p.543. The wording is Legge's.
7. The character mou (茂) in this quotation does not occur in the present rescentration of the Book of History. In the commentary, Wang Hsien-ch'i'en suggests that mao (懋) should be substituted for it. It does occur with this substitution. cf. Legge, Classics III, p.74. The wording is Legge's.
8. Yu (幽) was the last king of the Western Chou (he ruled BC 780-770) and was the grandson of King Li (厔, - ruled BC 877-827). King Li was expelled by the people of his state while King Yu was killed by the invading Ch'u'an Jung (犬戎) when his beacon fires (which had been lit too often for no reason other than to amuse his favourite concubine), went unanswered by his feudal lords. cf. Legge, Classics V, p.102, and the commentary of Wang Hsien-ch'i'en.
9. King Hsüan (宣) of Chou was the son of King Li and the father of King Yu mentioned in note 8 above.
10. The ode quoted in note 5 above was written on and around the reign of King Hsüan and his good ministers.
11. Analects, XV.28. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.302; and Waley, p.199. The wording is Waley's.
12. These two quotations are drawn from the Great Declaration (大誥) the entire contents of which are one of the points of contention between the New and Old Text Schools. The version from which these are drawn is, of course, the one favoured by the New Text School. One of the present rescentions of this



version is recorded and translated in Legge, Classics III, p.297-299. The actual wording differs from what is recorded here, but the context is clearly the same.

13. Analects IV.25. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.172; and Waley, p.106. The wording is Waley's.

14. Analects XII.25. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.258-9; and Waley, p.168. The wording is Waley's.

15. Analects XIX.25.4. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.349; and Waley, p.229-30.

16. This is a reference to the first entry in the Spring and Autumn Annals which reads: 元年春王正月 . The order of the third, fourth and fifth characters are as described by Tung Chung-shu.

17. Analects XX.2.3. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.353; and Waley, p.233. The wording is Waley's.

18. This is a reference to the fact that the Spring and Autumn Annals speaks of 歲 为 as opposed to 歲 之 .

19. Following the substitution of for as suggested in the commentary of Wang Hsien-ch'ien.

20. Analects IX.8. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.219; and Waley, p.140. The wording is Waley's.

21. Analects V.9.1. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.176; and Waley, p.109. The wording is Waley's.

22. The chin is a small lute-like instrument while the seng is a large one.

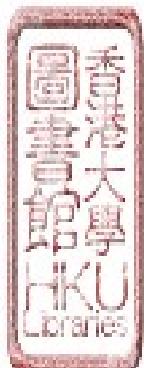
23. Following the suggested substitution of T'ui ( 迂 ) for Chu ( 者 ) by Wang Hsien-ch'ien. This saying appears to have been a common one of the day. It occurs both in the Hwai-nan Tzu and the Wen-Tzu.

24. The Book of Songs III.ii.V.1. cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.481. The wording is Legge's.

25. Analects XIII.12. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.276; and Waley, p.174. The wording is Waley's.

26. Analects III.25. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.164; and Waley, p.101. The wording is mine. This and the following quote (note 24.) make up the complete section.

27. Both are mentioned in the Mencius 4A.13 while the former is mentioned in the Analects XVIII.8 (not to be confused with the minister of King Shun mentioned in the Book of History II i.V.23.)



28. All three are mentioned in the Book of History XVI.12 while the third is mentioned briefly in the Mencius 7A.38.3.

29. See note 21 above.

30. Analects VII.35. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.207; and Waley, p.131. The wording is Waley's.

31. Reference is made to this man in Analects IX.2, cf. Legge, Classics I, p.216, but not in the context that is used here. Tung Chung-shu is obviously referring to an anecdote which is now lost to us.

32. The commentary suggests that at this point the t'ien of t'ien-hsia (天子) should be deleted. If this is done the phrase would read: "... taught to inferiors."

33. For a more exact rendition of this term see Swan, N.L., trans., (Food and Money in Ancient China, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p.372.

34. Analects II.3. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.146; and Waley, p.88. The wording is Waley's.

35. For a discussion of Yeh Lang (夜郎) and K'ang Chü (康渠) see Part II, Chapter I, p.4.

36. This passage occurs in the "Tseng-tzu Chih T'ung" (曾子疾瘉) chapter of the Ta Tai Li Chi, with slight variation in wording which leave the meaning unchanged. The translation is mine.

37. From the Hsün-tzu, Ch.23, "Man's Nature is Evil" cf. Watson, B., trans., Hsün-tzu, p.163.

38. The Book of Songs II.vi.IV.5. cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.366. The wording is Waley's. Wu-ti's reference omits the third and fourth lines of a six-line stanza which is otherwise intact.

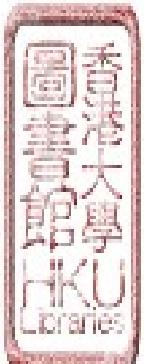
39. Analects XX.3. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.343; and Waley, p.226-7. The wording is Waley's.

40. They are the oxen, the sheep, horses, pigs, dogs and fowl.

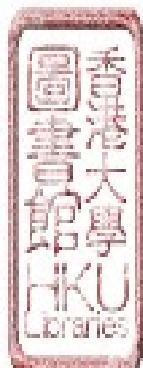
41. The Classic of Filial Piety, from the chapter, "The Governing of the Sage". The translation is mine.

42. Analects XX.3. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.354; and Waley, p.233. The wording is Waley's.

43. The Book of Songs III.i.II.3. cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.433. The wording is Legge's.



44. Analects XV.4. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.295; and Waley, p.193. The wording is Waley's.
45. Analects II.23. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.153; and Waley, p.93. The wording is Waley's.
46. The text here gives the alternate designation for Shun, Yü (虞).
47. The actual names of the official positions designated by the Three Dukes and the Nine Ministers varied with the dynasty. They were, in order, the twelve highest ranks in the bureaucracy.
48. Kung-i Tzu (公儀子), also known as Hsiu (休), was the Prime Minister to Duke Mu (穆侯) of Lu who ruled BC 408-375. It was under the latter's rule that Lu entirely lost its independence. An expanded version of this story can be found in SC119/3a.
49. The Book of Songs III.i.II.3. cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.433. The wording is Legge's.
50. The Book of Changes, "Hsieh (渙) Diagram", explanation of line three. cf. Wilhelm, R., trans., I Ching, (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul Ltd., 1965), p.156.
51. These were: the Book of Songs, the Book of History, the Book of Changes, the Book of Rites, the Book of Music (which is now among the lost books), and the Spring and Autumn Annals.
52. Liu Fei (劉非), whose posthumous name was I (易), was a son of Emperor Ching and was first enfeoffed as King of Chian-tu (江都) in BC 153. He died at the age of thirty-nine in BC 130 (HS14/14b). The kingdom was located in the south of the present province of Kiangsu.
53. Substituting She (紳) for Hsieh (渙). (Ch'i Chao-nan - 脣召南).
54. King Kou Chien of Yüeh extinguished Wu BC 473 to become the last of the Overlords. cf. Legge, Classics V, p.106.
55. Hui of Liu-hsia (柳下惠) was a minister of Lu and apparently a contemporary of Confucius. His actual name was Chan Ch'in (展禽) but all accounts seem to refer to him by his posthumous name and his place of origin. He is mentioned three times in the Analects (XV.13, XVIII.2, and XVIII.8) and once in the Mencius (2A.9). He is described as a good man who served bad rulers.
56. The translation has been amended here to read 'side-chamber' to accord with the other accounts of these fires in HS 6 and 27
57. These fires occurred in BC 135. The actual text of the memorial together with an account of the surrounding events is included in the translation of "The Treatise on the Five



Elements" below.

58. Liu Tuan (劉蕡) the first King of Chiao-hsi (交西) was a brother of the King of Chiang-tu (HS 53/1a). He was first enfeoffed BC 154 and he died childless in BC107. The state was in the east of the present province of Shantung.

59. The Lords of Wei-ch'i (魏其) and Wu-an (武安) were Tou Ying and T'ien Fen. Both were relatives of imperial empresses.

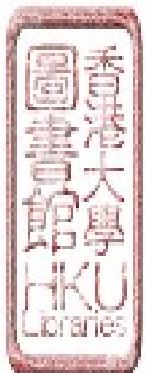
60. Mou-ling (茂陵) was the location of the tumulus of Wu-ti and was situated north of but very close to the capital.

61. I Yin (伊尹) was a virtuous minister of King T'ang the founder of the Shang Dynasty. Lü Wang (呂望) was a virtuous minister who aided Kings Wen and Wu of Chou and was eventually enfeoffed as the Duke of Ch'i.

62. Kuan Chung (管仲) was a minister of the first Overlord, Duke Huan (桓) of Ch'i, while Yan Ying (晏嬰) was a noble of Ch'i.

63. Analects XI.8. cf. Legge, Classics I, p.239; and Waley, p.154. The wording is Waley's.

64. All senior disciples of Confucius.



2: "The Treatise on the Five Elements" (HS 27)

It is to be noted that the translations offered below are only of the opinions of Tung Chung-shu (and occasionally of Liu Hsiang, when his theories are said to have agreed with those of Tung). To the extent that we are quoting out of a context which almost always included the divergent opinions of Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, and frequently included those of Ching Fang, the impression created will be misleading with respect to the Five Elements theories of the Former Han. The object of this phase of the research, however, is to expose only the thought of Tung Chung-shu.

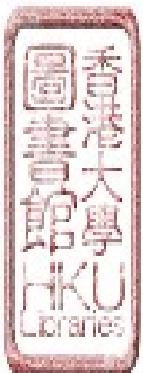
**Part I.A - The Five Elements**

**I Disasters associated with the 'element' wood.**

There is only one disaster listed in this section, but Tung Chung-shu's comment (if indeed he made one) is not recorded. This one disaster was drawn from the SA.

**II Disasters associated with the 'element' fire.**

There are twenty-six disasters listed in this section as follows: From SA, thirteen (of which a comment is recorded for Tung Chung-shu for eleven); from the Han dynasty prior to the death of Tung Chung-shu, six (of which a comment is recorded for Tung Chung-shu for one). It is to be noted that this is the



only Han dynasty disaster on which he comments); and from the Han dynasty after the death of Tung Chun-shu, eight. The following were commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27A/4b-5a - "The destruction by fire of the granary of the Ancestral Temple."

Date: BC 698 (Huan 14.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that before this, four states had mounted a combined attack on Lu and had been greatly defeated by her at the Dragon Gate (to the Lu Capital).<sup>1</sup> The wounded among the common people were not yet healed, and the blame had not yet been apportioned, yet both ruler and ministers were indolent. Within, they were lax in the conduct of government, while abroad, they insulted the four neighbouring (states). They were unable to protect the ancestral temples and complete their (own) life spans. Therefore Heaven burned the granary of the Ancestral Temple in order to warn them."

Note: 1. The HS wording leaves the victor of the battle in doubt, but SA is clear that it was Lu. She defeated the combined forces of Ch'i, Sung, Wei, and Yen in the previous year (Huan 13.1).

2. HS27A/5a-b - "The great fire in Ch'i"

Date: BC 674 (Chuang 20.2).

Causation: "The Kung-yang Commentary said that the 'great fire' was (in fact) an epidemic. Tung Chung-shu thought that the Duchess of Lu had debauched (herself) in Ch'i, and that seven of the sisters of (Duke) Huan of Ch'i were unmarried.<sup>1</sup> The ruler of the state is the father and mother of



## I.A.II. (cont'd).

the people, while the duchess in the basis of birth and transformation. If the base is harmed, then there is calamity in the superstructure. Therefore a disaster from Heaven was the result.

Notes: 1. It was thought that the reasons for the duchess' trip to Chü (楚) in the previous year (Chuang 19.4) were immoral, but neither this nor the spinsterhood of the sisters of Duke Huan are mentioned in KYC. It will be noted from many of the following cases that the immorality of Duke Chuang's duchess was considered to be more or less continuous during his reign.

3. HS 27A/5b-6a - "The destruction by fire of the Western Palace."

Date: BC 640 (Hsi 20.3)

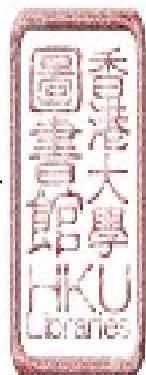
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Duke Hsi (has arranged to) marry (a woman of Ch'u), but that Ch'i sent a wife and forced the duke to have her established as duchess.<sup>1</sup> The 'Western Palace' was (in fact) a small apartment where the duchess lived. It was as though (Heaven) were saying, 'How can a concubine be in this palace! It is intended that she should be done away with.' Because Heaven burned (the apartment, the Spring and Autumn Annals) emphasized it by saying that it was the (entire) Western Palace ."

Notes: 1. Recorded in KYC for BC 652 (hs 8.4).

4. HS 27A/6a-b - "The destruction by fire of the Hsüan Pavilion in the capital."

Date: BC 593 (Hsüan 16.2).

Causation: "A 'pavilion' is where musical instruments are stored. 'Hsüan' (宣) was its name. Tung Chung-



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

and Liu Hsiang thought that in the fifteenth year (of Duke Hsüan of Lu, the son of the King of Chou), Wang Cha-tzu (王札子), murdered the Earls of Chao (召) and Mao (毛),<sup>1</sup> and the King had been unable to punish him. Heaven warned (him with this) as though saying, 'If you are unable to carry out the commands of government, how can you store (your instruments of) ritual and music!'"

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 594 (Hsüan 15.5).

5. HS27A/6b-7a - "The destruction by fire of the New Temple (i.e. the temple to the previous duke, Duke Hsüan)."

Date: BC 588 (Ch'eng 3.4),

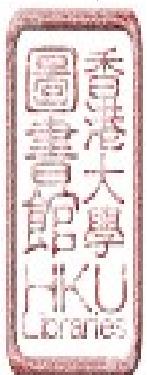
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that (although Duke) Ch'eng (of Lu) was in mourning (for his father), his mind was not in mourning, and he repeatedly raised troops for battles and invasions.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, Heaven burned his father's temple in order to show that he had lost the Way of the son, and that he had been unable to serve the ancestral temple."

Notes: 1. See SA Ch'eng 1.4, 2.3, and 3.1.

6. HS 27A/8a - "The fire in Sung (in which the widow of the previous Duke of Sung, who was the eldest sister of the present Duke of Lu, was burned to death)."

Date: BC 543 (Hsiang 30.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Po-chi (伯姬) had been in Sung for five years when (her husband), Duke King (恭) of Sung died.<sup>1</sup> Po-chi (then) lived in seclusion, pre-



## I.A.II. (cont'd)

serving her chasteness for over thirty years, while grieving over the calamities with which the state was afflicted. (This) stored up the Yin and engendered Yang. Therefore fire caused the disaster.

Notes: 1. She married in BC 582 (Ch'eng 9.4), and her husband, the duke, died in BC 576 (Ch'eng 15.5).

## 7. HS27A/8b-9a - "The fire in Ch'en."

Date: BC 533 (Chao 9.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Hsia Cheng-shu (夏徵舒) of Ch'en killed his ruler.<sup>1</sup> King Chuang (莊) of Ch'u made it known that he wished to punish the culprit on behalf of Ch'en, but the state of Ch'en closed its gates and waited. On his arrival. (King Chuang) extinguished Ch'en.<sup>2</sup> The poisonous resentment and deep hatred of the ministers and sons of Ch'en was the acme of Yin, and Yang was engendered. Therefore, (this) brought fire for the disaster."

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 599 (Hsüan 10.9).  
2. Occurred BC 598 (Hsüan 11.5).

## 8. HS27A/9b-10a - "Fire occurred in Sung, Wei, Ch'en, and Cheng."

Date: BC 524 (Chao 18.2).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought this to be a portent that the House of the King was about to fall into disorder, and that no one in the world would save it. Therefore the fires in the four states said that the four directions would be lost. Also the rulers of Sung, Wei, Ch'en, and Cheng were all dissipating themselves with pleasure and paying no



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

attention to the government of the state. (Their) actions were the same as the House of Chou. When the Yang loses its regularity, fire disasters occur. This is the reason that the fires occurred on the same day."

9. HS17A/10a - "The burning of the South Gate of the Palace and the two side towers."

Date: BC 508 (Ting 2.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that both of these were (caused by) excessive extravagance. Prior to this, the Chi (-sun) (季孫) Family had expelled Duke Chao (of Lu), and Duke Chao had died abroad.<sup>1</sup> When Duke Ting ascended the throne, he was unable to punish the Chi(-sun) Family, and (even) used their heterodox theories. (Duke Ting) debauched (himself) with the pleasures of women and retired Confucius.<sup>2</sup> Heaven warned him as though saying, 'Do away with the extravagant high (ranking) prominent (officials).'"

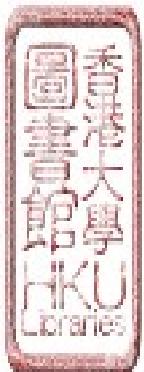
Notes: 1. Duke Chao fled from Lu in BC 517 (Chao 25.5), and died in exile in BC 510 (Chao 32.6).

2. See Legge, Classics I, p.73-74.

10. HS27A/10a - "The burning of the mortuary temples of Huan and Hsi."

Date: BC 492 (Ai 3.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that these two temples ought not to have been standing, for they were contrary to propriety. It was also because of



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

the Chi(-sun) Family that Duke Ai did not employ Confucius. Confucius was in Ch'en when he heard of the fires in Lu. He said: 'They (must) be the temples of Huan and Hsi!'<sup>1</sup> They thought that it was from (Duke) Huan that the Chi(-sun) Family had sprung, and that (Duke) Hsi had (first) employed the Chi(-sun) Family as hereditary officials."

Notes: 1. An almost identical quote is attributed to Confucius in TC Ai 3.3.

## 11. HS27A/10a-b - "The burning of the Altar of Po (壇)." Date: BC 491 (Ai 4.8).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that it was the altar of a lost state.<sup>1</sup> Thus it was a warning. Heaven was warning (them) as though to say, 'The state will be in danger of becoming lost if you do not heed the warning.' The fire disasters of the Spring and Autumn Annals which belong to the period of (Dukes) Ting and Ai (were caused by) their not employing the Sage (i.e. Confucius), and (instead) giving licence to arrogant officials. (They portended) the future loss of the state (because of the rulers') great lack of brilliance."

Note: 1. It was thought to be the altar of the Shang Dynasty.

## 12. HS27A/11a-12b - (i) "The burning of the Temple of (Emperor) Kao in Liao-tung (遼東)."

(ii) "The burning of the Side-halls of the (Funerary) Park of (Emperor) Kao

Dates: (i) July 9, BC 135 (HS6/3b gives Mar. 9, BC 135)

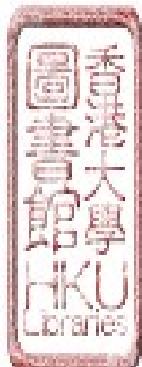


## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

(ii) May 25, BC 135.

Causation: "Tung-Chung-shu replied saying:

'The Way of the Spring and Autumn Annals was to use past (events) to illumine the future. For this reason (we take contemporary) events and look for similar occurrences among those mentioned in the Spring and Autumn Annals. The significance is preserved in subtlety and the meaning is explained by connecting ethical principles with (historical) events. The mutations of Heaven and Earth and the affairs of state can all be seen clearly, leaving nothing to doubt. According to the Spring and Autumn Annals, in the times of Dukes Ting and Ai, the evil of the Chi (-sun) Family was already complete, while the sageness of Confucius was just beginning to flourish. To change complete evil with flourishing sageness was possible even though the Chi-sun (Family) was strong and the ruler of Lu was weak. Therefore, in the second year of Duke Ting, in the fifth month (Ting 2.4) the two wide-towers were burned. (This burning of) the two side-towers indicated an usurpation of ritual, and Heaven burned them as though to say that the subject who was usurping ritual could be done away with. Heaven's meaning was that (only) after the proof of guilt was apparent, (could) it be announced that they could be done away with. Duke Ting paid no heed, and in the third year of Duke Ai, in the fifth month, the (ancestral) temples of Dukes Huan and Hsi burned down (Ai 3.3). These two were over the same affair and can be considered as one. (These occurrences were) as though to say that the noble were burned and those which lacked rectitude



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

had been done away with. But Duke Ai was still unable to see and therefore, in his fourth year, in the six month, the Altar of Po burned (Ai 4.8). (The burning of the) two side-towers, the Ancestral Temples of Huan and Hsi, and that of the Altar at Po (were because) all four ought not to have been standing. Heaven burned all of these (structures) which ought not to have been standing to proclaim to Lu that it wished it to do away with disorderly officials and to employ the Sage (i.e. Confucius). The Chi(-sun) Family had lost the Way long before, but prior to this, Heaven did not send fire because Lu did not have a virtuous sage-like official. (Duke Chao), even though he wished to do away with the Chi-sun (Family) did not have sufficient power. (But when we come) to (the time of) Ting and Ai, then it was manifested (because) at that time it was possible. If it is untimely, it is not manifested. This is the Way of Heaven.

Now the Ancestral Temple of (Emperor) Kao should not be at Liao-tung and the side-temple should not be beside the tumulus in the (Mortuary) Garden of (Emperor) Kao. In (strict) accordance with ritual, they should not be standing. (Therefore these cases) are the same as those in Lu. (The fact) that they should not have been standing (has existed) for a long time, but they were not burned by Heaven until Your Majesty's time, because it is (only) now that it is timely. Formerly the Ch'iu inherited the vileness which had caused the fall of Chou and did not change it. (Subsequently) the Han inherited the vile-



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

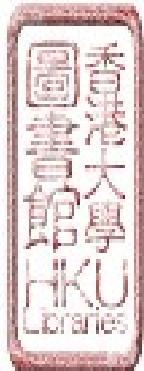
nessness which had caused the fall of Ch'in and did not change it. To inherit the effects of this vileness after it has been twice continued is to receive a double accumulation, and the difficulties in controlling it will be extreme. Now among your brothers, relatives by marriage, and (more distant) relatives (of the same surname), there are a great many who are arrogant, extravagant, and licentious. These are times which can be termed extremely difficult. Your Majesty is now (ruling) in a period which comes after this great vileness, and he has also encountered (other) great difficulties. I am (most) concerned about this. Therefore, Heaven sent fire as though to say to Your Majesty, "Since there is vileness and great difficulty in the present age, you will be unable to rule unless there is the justice of the Great Peace. Look for those among the feudal lords who are related to you by blood or marriage whose departure from what is right is most extreme, and repress and execute them. It is as possible (for you to do so) as it was for Me to burn the (Mortuary) Temple to (Emperor) Kao at Liao-tung. Look for those among the officials of the central bureaus of the state in both low positions and high whose (behaviour) is improper, and repress and execute them. It is as possible (for you to do so) as it was for Me to burn the side-temple in the (Mortuary) Garden to (Emperor) Kao." If the transgressor is external, even though he be as noble as the (Mortuary) Temple to (Emperor) Kao, he (can) still be destroyed. Is this not the feudal lords? If the transgressor is internal, even though he is as noble as the side-temple in the (Mortuary) Garden to (Emperor) Kao, he (can) stil



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

be destroyed. Is this not the senior officials? This is Heaven's meaning. If the guilt is external, then Heaven burns (something) external, and if the guilt is internal, then Heaven burns (something) internal. If the burning is severe, then the guilt is severe, but if the burning is light, then the guilt is light. This is the way that you receive Heaven's meaning.'

Prior to this, King An (安) of Huai-nan (淮南) had come to court, and spoken of rebellion with the grand Commandant, T'ien Fen (田蚡), who was the maternal uncle of the emperor and the Marquis of Wu-an (武安). After this, King Yü (子) of Chiao-hsi (膠西), King Ching-su (敬肅) of Chao (趙), and King Hsien (憲) of Ch'ang-shan (常山) all committed crimes on numerous occasions. Some even murdered whole families and poisoned their prime-ministers. The Kings of Huai-nan and Heng-shan (衡山), subsequently plotted revolt. The Kings of Chiao-tung (膠東) and Chiang-tu (江都) both knew of these plans and secretly laid by arms, wishing (thereby) to take part. In the sixth year of Yüan-shuo (元朔) (BC 117), it came to light and they admitted their guilt. At the time T'ien Fen was already dead and could not be executed. The Emperor, thinking of (Tung) Chung-shu's previous words, sent his disciple, Lü Pu-shu (呂步舒) to carry a halberd (i.e. imperial insignia), and investigate the cause of Huai-nan. In accordance with the meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the sole judge on location had no (need to) memorialize (for approval). When he returned, he submitted a report which the Emperor approved in its entirety."



## I.A.II. (cont'd.)

III. Disasters associated with the 'element' earth.

There is only one disaster listed in this section, and a comment is recorded on it for Tung Shun-shu.

1. HS27A/17a - "The great want of wheat and rice."

Date: BC 666 (Chuang 28.6)

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the debauched and disorderly conduct of Ai-chiang (嬖子), the Duchess (of Lu), had disordered the Yin aura.<sup>1</sup> Therefore there was a great flood.<sup>2</sup>"

Notes: 1. See note 1 to I.A.II.2 above.

2. Because Tung thought that this was a water disaster, it should probably be considered as part of I.A.V. below.

IV Disasters associated with the 'element' metal.

There are two disasters listed in this section, but neither are commented on by Tung Chung-shu.

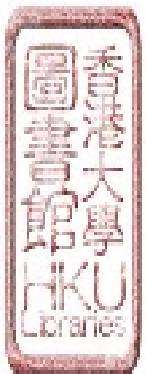
V Disasters associated with the 'element' water.

There are eleven disasters listed in this section as follows: from SA, seven (for all of which are recorded comment by Tung); from the Han dynasty prior to Tung's death, two (for none of which are recorded a comment by Tung); and from the Han dynasty after Tung's death, two. The following are commented upon by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27A/19b - "The great flood"

Date: BC 711 (Huan 1.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang



I.A.V. (cont'd.)

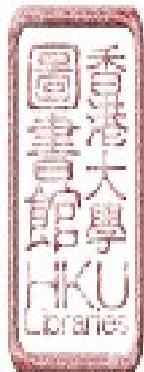
thought that (Duke) Huan (of Lu) had assassinated his elder brother, Duke Yin.<sup>1</sup> The people and ministers (of Lu) loved (Duke) Yin and had disrespect for (Duke) Huan. Later (Hua-fu) Tu (華父督) of Sung assassinated his ruler.<sup>2</sup> The feudal lords met and were about to punish him,<sup>3</sup> but Duke Huan (of Lu) accepted Sung's bribe and returned.<sup>4</sup> (Later Duke Huan of Lu) also went back on (his agreement with) Sung. Because of (all this), the feudal lords invaded Lu.<sup>5</sup> Thus (Duke) Huan engaged in warfare, and aroused enmity. Corpses were strewn and blood flowed, and the common people became increasingly resentful. Therefore, in the thirteenth year (of Duke Huan of Lu) there was another great flood.<sup>6</sup>

- Notes:
1. Occurred BC 712 (Yin 11.4).
  2. Occurred BC 710 (Huan 2.1).
  3. Occurred BC 710 (Huan 2.4).
  4. Occurred BC 710 (Huan) 2.5, 6).
  5. In the autumn of BC 700 (Huan 12.3) Duke Huan of Lu entered into a covenant with Sung and Yen, but he abrogated it four months later (Huan 12.9) by joining with Cheng in an attack on Sung. In the spring of the following year (Huan 13.1), the armies of Lu, Chi (杞) and Cheng, badly defeated the invading forces of Ch'i, Sung, Wei and Yen.
  6. Occurred BC 699 (Huan 13.13)

2. HS27A/20a - "The great flood that caused there to be no growth of wheat in the bud."

Date: BC 687 (Chuang 7.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that (Duke) Chuang's mother, Wen-chiang (文姜) had committed adultery with Duke Hsiang (襄) of Ch'i, and that



## I.A.V. (cont'd.)

together they had murdered (his father), Duke Huan.<sup>1</sup> (Duke) Chuang forgot to revenge his father's (death), and again married a woman of Ch'i. When she had not yet entered (Lu), he first committed lewdness with her. In one year, when he again went out, he met her on the way and they were disorderly. (The flood) was a response to the disrespect in which ministers and inferiors held him."

Notes: 1. His death is recorded in BC 694 (Huan 13.2), but the circumstances are not related until the following year (KYC Chuang 1.2).

3. HS27A/20a-b - "The great flood in Sung."

Date: BC 683 (Chuang 11.3).

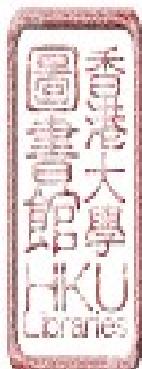
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that at that time, Lu and Sung had battled on successive years at Ch'eng-ch'iu (成丘), and at Tzu (子).<sup>1</sup> The common people were unhappy and resentful, and the Yin aura flourished. Therefore there was a flood in each of the two states."

Note: 1. In BC 684 (Chuang 10.5), and BC 683 (Chuang 11.2), respectively. Both locations were in Lu.

4. HS27A/20b-21a - "The great flood."

Date: BC 670 (Chuang 24.7).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the Duchess (of Lu), Ai-chiang, had been debauched, disorderly, and unwifely, causing the Yin aura to flourish."<sup>1</sup>



## I.A.V. (cont'd.)

Notes: 1. See also I.A.II.2, and I.A.III.1. above.

## 5. HS27A/21a - "The great flood and famine."

Date: BC 599 (Hsian 10.16, and 10.20).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that at that time, (Lu) had made successive attacks on Chu (楚) and captured cities.<sup>1</sup> There was also retaliation and ties of military rivalry. (Therefore) the common people became unhappy and resentful."

Notes: 1. Lu had taken the Chu cities of Ken-mou (根牛), in the previous year (Hsian 9.5), and Lei (澧), earlier in the same year (Hsian 10.15).

## 6. HS27A/21a - "The great flood."

Date: BC 586 (Ch'eng 5.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that at that time, (Duke Ch'eng) was young and weak,<sup>1</sup> and that government was with the nobles. Prior to this he had twice used armies in one year,<sup>2</sup> and the following year he had again walled Yün (郢), thereby strengthening a private family.<sup>3</sup> Chung-sun Mieh (仲孫彊) and Shu-sun Ch'iao-ju (叔孫匱) held unauthorized meetings with Sung and Chin.<sup>4</sup> (Therefore), the Yin overcame the Yang."

Notes: 1. Duke Ch'eng was about seventeen years old on the death of his father. (Legge, Classics V, p.337).

2. Occurred BC 588 (Ch'eng 3.1, 9).

3. Occurred BC 587 (Ch'eng 4.8). It belonged to



## I.A.V. (cont'd.)

the Chi-sun Family which, together with the two families whose leaders are mentioned below, formed the hegemony which was in the process of usurping power in Lu. All three sprang from Duke Huan of Lu, and they are often referred to as the Three Huan Families.

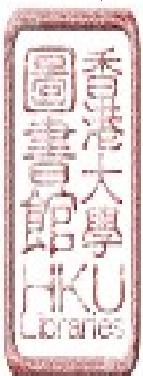
4. Occurred BC 586 (Ch'eng 5.2 and 5.3, respectively).

7. HS27A/21a-b - "The great flood."

Date: BC 549 (Hsiang 24.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that one year before this, Ch'i invaded Chin, and that (Duke) Hsiang had sent a noble to lead an army to the relief of Chin.<sup>1</sup> Later, (the army) also invaded Ch'i.<sup>2</sup> (Lu) was a state which was small and militarily weak, and whose numerous enemies were powerful and large. The common people became sorrowful and resentful, and the Yin aura flourished."

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 550 (Hsiang 23.8 and 23.9), respectively).  
 2. Occurred earlier in BC 549 (Hsiang 24.2).



## Part I.B - The Five Affairs

I - Disasters associated with the affair, "Appearance not being respectful."

There are thirty disasters listed in this section, only three of which are commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27Ba/14a - "In the first month, mice ate the horns of the bull for the Suburban Sacrifice. It was changed, and the bull divined on, but again they ate its horns."

Date: BC 584 (Ch'eng 7.1,2).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that in all<sup>1</sup> (cases where) mice ate the bull for the Suburban Sacrifice, there had been inattentiveness in the rearing of the sacrificial beast."

Notes: 1. Following this entry, HS lists the entries in SA for BC 495 (Ting 15.2), and BC 494 (Ai 1.3), which record other similar incidents, to which Tung Chung-shu's comments apply equally.

II - Disasters associated with the affair, "Words not being harmonious."

There are fifty-seven disasters listed in this section, only two of which are commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27Ba/21a-b - "The great drought."

Date: BC 639 (Hsi 21.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that (Duke) Huan of Ch'i was already dead,<sup>1</sup> and that



## I.B.II. (cont'd.)

the feudal lords were obeying Ch'u. (Duke) Hsi (of Lu) had been especially pleasing to Ch'u. Ch'u came to offer the spoils of war (from Sung), and released the hostage of Sung.<sup>2</sup> Abroad, (Lu) relied on the strength of Ch'u, (thus) 'drying the Yang'<sup>3</sup> and losing the masses. In addition, (Lu) built the Southern Gate,<sup>4</sup> causing the people hardship by levies of forced labour. All (cases of )"Grand Sacrifice for rain", "drought", and "no rain", have approximately the same explanation.<sup>5</sup>"

- Notes:
1. He died BC 643 (Hsi 17.5).
  2. These events occurred after the drought was recorded in BC 639. The Viscount of Ch'u had captured the Duke of Sung at a general meeting of the feudal lords, hoping thereby to exact the capitulation of his state (Hsi 21.4). Although the capital of Sung did not fall, Ch'u must have gained rich spoils, for they were soon shared with Lu (Hsi 21.6). Later in the same year, the Duke of Sung was released (Hsi 21.8).
  3. K'ang-yang (乾陽). This compound is used throughout the section on drought as a causative explanation. Although the literal meaning is rendered here, it is likely that the figurative meaning (i.e. "A drying up of the kindness of the ruler") is also intended.
  4. Occurred the previous year (Hsi 20.1).
  5. HS subsequently lists a further "great drought", eight instances on which there was a "grand sacrifice for rain", and six occasions when there was "no rain". Pan Ku has stated that Tung's causative explanations were roughly the same, but since he does not cite Tung in any of these, we cannot be sure that the historical events taken as causal were his. For this reason they have not been included in this survey.
2. HS27Ba/26b-27a - "Many deer (mi-麋)".



## I.B.II. (con'td.)

Date: BC 677 (Chuang 17.4).

Causation: "Lu Hsiang thought that the colour of the deer was green, and that this was a green omen. 'Deer' (mi) is similar to 'delude' (mi - 迷). It was because the female (of this species of) animal had been licentious. At this time, Duke Chuang (of Lu) was about to marry the lewd woman of Ch'i. This omen appeared beforehand as though Heaven were issuing a warning saying, 'Do not take the woman of Ch'i. She will be licentious and delude the state.' (Duke) Chuang paid no attention, and subsequently, he married her. When the duchess had already entered (the state), she committed adultery with two (of her husband's) younger brothers.<sup>1</sup> In the end, all were killed,<sup>2</sup> and the state altars were almost lost.<sup>3</sup> Tung Shung-shu's analysis was approximately the same."

- Notes:
1. KYC Chuang 27.3 says that she committed adultery with Prince Ch'ing-fu (淸父) and Prince Shu-ya (叔牙), who were both younger brothers of Duke Chuang.
  2. Prince Shu-ya was killed in BC 662 (Chuang 32.3), while in BC 659 Prince Ch'ing-fu committed suicide (Hsi 1.9), and the duchess was executed by Ch'i (Hsi 1.5).
  3. After the death of Duke Chuang in BC 662 (Chuang 32.4), Lu fell into virtual anarchy. The Crown prince was assassinated immediately after his father's death (Chuang 32.5). The succeeding ruler, Duke Min, was assassinated in BC 660 (Min 2.3), in the second year of his reign, and order was only restored on the intercession of Ch'i (Min 2.6).

### III - Disasters associated with, "Vision not being clear".

There are twenty-five disasters listed in this section,



## I.B.III (cont'd.)

only six of which are commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27Bb/2b - "No ice".

Date: BC 698 (Huan 14.2). (Note: HS gives BC 697 (Huan 15) as the date, but all three commentaries to SA give the date as amended above.)

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought it a portent that the Duchess (of Lu) had not been correct,<sup>1</sup> causing the Yin to lose its regularity."

Notes: 1. There is no specific reference here to SA or KYC, but the duchess is supposed to have conducted an incestuous and adulterous affair with her brother, the Duke of Ch'i (see TC Huan 18.1). Oblique reference is made to it in KYC Huan 18.1. Eventually, this was the cause of the Duke's death in BC 694 (recorded Huan 18.2, explained, KYC Chuang 1.2).

2. HS27Bb/2b - "No ice."

Date: BC 590 (Ch'eng 1.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the burial of Duke Hsian (of Lu) had just occurred,<sup>1</sup> but that ruler and ministers were without mourning (in their) hearts. Thus they 'dried the Yang'<sup>2</sup> and made the Ch'iu-chia (丘塋) (ordinance).<sup>3</sup>"

Notes: 1. Recorded immediately before the "no ice" entry (Ch'eng 1.2).  
 2. See I.B.II.1.ff.3. above.  
 3. Recorded immediately after the "no ice" entry (Ch'eng 1.4). It was a law directing the manufacture of armour on a per capita basis. (See Legge, Classics V, p.337).



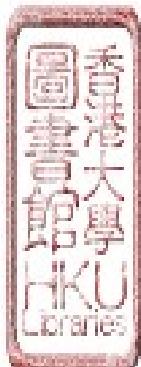
## I.B.III (cont'd.)

## 3. HS27Bb/2b-3b - "No ice."

Date: BC 545 (Hsiang 28.1).

Causation: "Liu Hsiang thought that prior to this, the Duke (of Lu) had created the three armies,<sup>1</sup> and had the intent to use arms to invade and do violence.<sup>2</sup> At this, the neighbouring states became angry, and attacked (Lu's) three borders. Because of military defeat (which lasted over a period) exceeding ten years,<sup>3</sup> there was famine,<sup>4</sup> the common people became resentful of authority, and the minds of the ministers and subordinates drew apart. The Duke of Lu was fearful but lax, and he did not dare to carry out punishments.<sup>5</sup> The actions of Ch'u were uncivilized, (yet) it was the Duke (of Lu's) intention to follow Ch'u.<sup>6</sup> He did not understand the responses to good and evil. Tung Chung-shu's analysis was approximately the same."

- Notes:
1. Occurred BC 562 (Hsiang 11.1).
  2. In the two succeeding years, Lu invaded Yen (燕) (Hsiang 12.2), and captured Shih (詩) (Hsiang 13.2). Although the Duke is blamed for these actions here, it is likely, as Yen Shih-ku points out, that they were carried out under the orders of the hereditary ministers (the Three Huan Families), who were beginning to usurp power in Lu.
  3. The borders of Lu were attacked in BC 561 (eastern) (Hsiang 12.1), BC 559 (eastern) (Hsiang 14.5), BC 558 (northern) (Hsiang 15.4), BC 557 (northern) (Hsiang 16.8), BC 556 (northern, twice, and southern) (Hsiang 17.4,5,8), and BC 555 (northern) (Hsiang 18.1).
  4. Possibly caused by the droughts of BC 557 (Hsiang 16.9), and BC 556 (Hsiang 17.3).
  5. Probably a reference to the duke's inability to deal with the Three Huan Families.



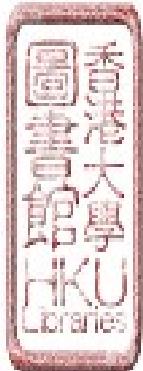
## I.B.III (cont'd.)

6. At the end of the year of this "no ice" entry,  
the Duke of Lu paid a state visit to Ch'u (Hsiang 28.7).
4. HS27Bb/3b-4a - "A fall of frost did not kill the grass."

Date: BC 627 (Hsi 33.1).

Causation: "Liu Hsiang thought that the present tenth month was the twelfth month of the Chou (Dynasty). In the Book of Changes, five is the position, and the position of the ruler. In the ninth month, the Yin aura arrives. When five connects to the position of Heaven, its diagram is Po (剝). The ten thousand things are caused to split (po - 剝) and fall, and the great killing begins. (This) shows that the Yin follows the orders of the Yang, and that the ministers receive the orders of the ruler, and then kill. Now, in the tenth month there was a fall of frost, but it was unable to kill the grass. This was a response to the ruler's punishments not being carried out, and to tardiness (in government). At this time Prince Sui (遂) was usurping (political) power, and the Three Huan (Families)<sup>1</sup> first became hereditary officials. Heaven warned as though to say, 'From now on, all will create disorder.' Duke Wen paid no attention, and later (Prince) Sui murdered Prince Tzu-ch'ih (子赤)<sup>2</sup> and the Three (Huan) Families expelled Duke Chao.<sup>3</sup> Tung Chung-shu's analysis was approximately the same."

Notes: 1. The families Meng-sun (孟孫), Shu-sun (叔孫) and Chi-sun (季孫), all of which sprang from Duke Huan



## I.B.III (cont'd.)

2. Death recorded Wen 18.6 (BC 608); blame recorded KYC Ch'eng 15.2.
3. Duke Chao fled from Lu in BC 517 (Chao 25.5).

5. HS27Bb/5b-6a - "In the twelfth month, ... plum trees bore fruit."

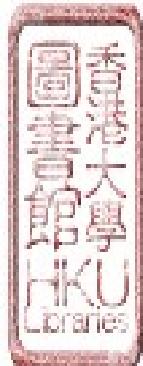
Date: BC 627 (Hsi 33.12).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that (this) bearing of fruit by the plum trees (indicated that) the ministers and subordinates were (too) powerful."

6. HS27Bb/7b - "In the summer, ... grackles came and nested in trees."

Date: BC 517 (Chao 25.3).

Causation: "Liu Hsiang thought that when there were Fei (蜚) insects or Yü (𧈧) insects (the Spring and Autumn Annals) does not say that they came.<sup>1</sup> They are created by auras, and are what are called anomalites (sheng - 生). For the grackles, it says that they came. They were brought by the auras, and are what are called portents (hsiang - 象). Grackles are a wild bird from barbarian (lands), and (normally) they nest in holes. (Now) when they came to the central states, they did not nest in holes, but (rather) nested in trees. (Thus) the Yin occupied the position of the Yang. It portended that the Chi (-sun) Family was about to expel Duke Chao and that he would leave the palace and live abroad in the wilderness. When grackles have white feathers, it is a portent of drought. When they live in holes and love water, the colour is black, and is a response to the



## I.B.III (cont'd.)

ruler being hasty. Heaven was warning as though to say, 'You have already lost the masses, and you may not be hasty and violent. If you are hasty and violent, the Yin will restrain the regularity of the Yang, and thereby expel you. You will leave the palaces and live abroad in the wilderness.' (Duke) Chao paid no attention, and raising arms, he besieged the Chi (-sun) family. He was defeated by the Chi (-sun) family, and he fled to Ch'i.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, he died in the wilderness. Tung Chung-shu's analysis was approximately the same."

- Notes:
1. Fei insects occurred in BC 665 (Chuang 29.2) while Yü insects occurred in BC 676 (Chuang 18.3). The latter are now supposed to have been a kind of mythical water monster, but Legge argues persuasively that they were some sort of water-borne insect with a poisonous sting. (See Legge, Classics V, p.97).
  2. Immediately after the recording of the grackle portent in BC 517, SA records two grand sacrifices for rain. KYC thought that the second was not genuine, but rather a pretext by which the duke could raise the masses in order to expel the Chi-sun family (KYC Chao 25.4). This attempt was a failure and the duke fled into exile (Chao 25.5), where he died in BC 510 (Chao 32.6).

#### IV. - Disasters associated with the affair, "Hearing not being acute."

There are forty-seven disasters listed in this section, eight of which are commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27Bb/l2b - "It snowed."

Date: BC 704 (Huan 8.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought this an



## I.B.IV. (cont'd.)

omen that the Duchess (of Lu) would be irresponsible and licentious,<sup>1</sup> and that the Yin aura would flourish."

Notes: 1. See I.B.III.1. above.

2. HS27Bb/l2b-13a - "A great fall of snow."

Date: BC 650 (Hsi 10.7).

Causation: "The Classic of (the Spring and Autumn Annals associated with) the Kung-yang (Commentary) says: 'A great fall of hail.' Tung Chung-shu thought that the Duke (of Lu) had been coerced by Duke Huan of Ch'i to establish a concubine as duchess.<sup>1</sup> (Subsequently) he did not dare to enter the harem. Therefore, in the hail, and omen of over-specialization was made manifest. In all cases were (the Yin) exerts coercion, it is to say that there has been over-specialization in the conduct of government."

Notes: 1. See I.A.II.3 above.

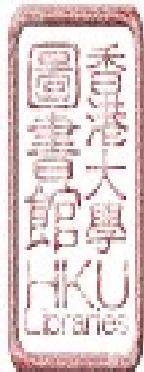
3. HS27Bb/l3a - "A great fall of snow."

Date: BC 538 (Chao 4.1).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Chi-sun Shu (子孫宿) was responsible for government,<sup>1</sup> and that the Yin aura was flourishing."

Notes: 1. As leader of the most powerful of the Three Huan families, he held the reins of power in Lu from as early as BC 567 (Hsiang 6.7), when he is first mentioned in SA, until his death in BC 535 (Chao 7.7).

4. HS27Bb/l4a-b - "In the tenth month, Hoar-frost fell



## I.B.IV. (cont'd.)

killing the pulse."

Date: BC 509 (Ting 1.8).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that pulse was the strongest of grains, and that Heaven was warning as though to say: 'Let punishment be made of the strongest minister.' In saying 'pulse' (the Spring and Autumn Annals) was subtly indicating the punishment of the Chi(-sun) family."

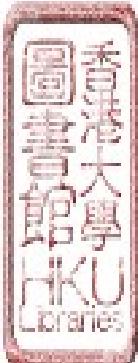
5. HS27Bb/17b-18a - "In autumn, ... locusts."

Date: BC 707 (Huan 5.8).

Causation: "Liu Hsiang thought that scourges of insects belonged to 'words not being correct.'<sup>1</sup> In these years (of his reign), the Duke (of Lu) had received embassies of two states (which resulted in his) acceptance of a tripod,<sup>2</sup> and the exchange of cities.<sup>3</sup> He had (also) exacted corvee labour to raise a wall.<sup>4</sup> The theories of Tung Chung-shu were generally followed in all (cases of) locusts.<sup>5</sup>"

Notes: 1. The previous section, I.B.III.

2. In BC 710 (Huan 2.5), Duke Huan accepted the Tripod of Kao (郜) from Sung as a bribe to refrain from interference in Sung's internal affairs (which were highly unstable because of the recent assassination of its ruler.)
3. In BC 711 (Huan 1.4), Duke Huan exchanged Hsu-t'ien (許田) for Cheng's holdings near T'ai-shan (泰山). The former was the residence of Lu near the Chou capital which its ruler occupied when attending the court of the king. The latter was again the residence of the ruler of Cheng while attending the king in his sacrifices on T'ai-shan. The feudal rule which was broken here, was that territory had changed hands without the permission of the king.



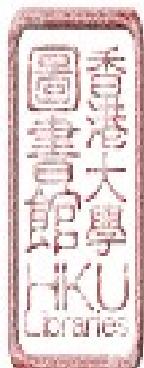
## I.B.IV. (cont'd.)

4. Chu-ch'iu (邾丘) was walled just prior to the plague of locusts. (Huan 5.5).
5. Below HS lists all of the nine remaining plagues of locusts in SA, but gives Tung's interpretations for none
  
6. HS27Bb/18a - "There were Fei (蜚) insects."

Date: BC 665 (Chuang 29.3).

Causation: "Liu Hsiang thought that the colour of the Fei insects was green, that they were a green omen, and that they were not of the central states. At the height of summer in Southern Yüeh, when men and women were together in the wilds (the Fei insects) were engendered by this licentious custom, and were foul and evil insects. At this time, Duke Chuang (of Lu) had taken a licentious woman of Ch'i as duchess. After she entered (lu) she debauched herself with (the duke's) two younger brothers. Therefore the Fei insects arrived. Heaven was warning, as though to say, 'Execute her, and in future, there will be no foul evil proclaimed to the four directions.' (Duke) Chuang paid no attention, and afterwards, the duchess and the (duke's) two younger brothers created disorder. In the end, all (three) suffered for their crimes.<sup>1</sup> Tung Chung-shu's analysis was approximately the same."

Notes: 1. See I.A.II.2., I.A.III.1., I.A.V.2., and I.B.II.2. above.



## I.B.IV. (cont'd.)

7. HS27Bb/18b - "It rained insects in Sung."

Date: BC 624 (Wen 3.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that (the Dukes of) Sung had married within (the state) for three generations,<sup>1</sup> and that the nobles (of Sung) became irresponsible and unrestrained, killing the livestock immoderately. Therefore the insects died before they arrived."

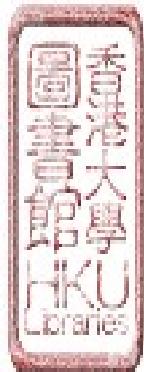
Notes: 1. This is to say that they had married the daughters of the noble houses of Sung rather than the daughters of the foreign feudal lords.  
 2. Following the interpretation of the KYC as to why they fell.

8. HS27Bb/19b-20a - "In winter, Yuan (蝗) insects."

Date: BC 594 (Hsüan 15.9).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that the Yuan insects were (what) Ming (螽) insects<sup>1</sup> (were called when) first born. It was also said that they were (what) locusts (were called when) first born. At this time the people (of Lu) were grieved that (their) superiors employed them at corvee labour while the public fields were neglected.

At this time (Duke) Hsüan introduced taxation by acre.<sup>2</sup> In taxation by acre, the best was selected from the acreage of the people's fields, and taxed at one in ten. (In this the duke) was disordering the system of the former kings and (he did it) in order to lust after profit.<sup>3</sup> Therefore the response to this was the Yuan insects, which belong to (the category),



## I.B.IV. (cont'd.)

plagues of caterpillars."

- Notes:
1. A kind of destructive caterpillar.
  2. This occurred just before the plague of insects (Hsian 15.8).
  3. The general reference here is to the well-field system in which the produce of every tenth acre belonged to the ruler. Here an additional one-tenth of the produce was being taxed (See Legge, Classics V, p.329).

V - Disasters associated with the affair, "Thought not being comprehensive."

There are twenty-nine disasters listed in this section, only five of which are commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

1. HS27Ca/4a - "In autumn, ... Ming insects."

Date: BC 718 (Yin 5.7).

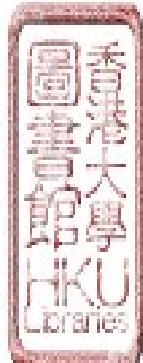
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that at (this) time, the Duke (of Lu) observed the fishing at T'ang (堂)<sup>1</sup>, and that (the insects) were a response to his lusting after profit."

- Notes: 1. Occurred earlier in the same year (Yin 5.1).

2. HS27Ca/4a - "In autumn, ... Ming insects."

Date: BC 688 (Chuang) 6.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that prior to this, the Marquis Shuo (朔) of Wei had fled to Ch'i.<sup>1</sup> When the Marquis of Ch'i met the feudal lords to restore Marquis Shuo,<sup>2</sup> (the latter) gave bribes to the feudal lords. The men of Ch'i returned the treasure of Wei (to Lu) and



I.B.V. (cont'd.)

Lu accepted it.<sup>3</sup> (The Ming insects) were a response to lusting after profit."

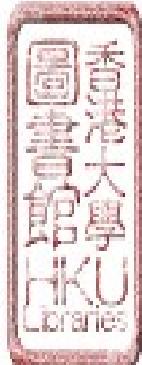
- Notes:
1. He fled in BC 696 (Huan 16.5), when the King of Chou had him replaced as ruler.
  2. The forces of Lu, Ch'i, Sung, Ch'en, and Ts'ai met in the winter of BC 689 (Chuang 5.4), for an attack on Wei.
  3. Before the incidence of Ming insects, the Marquis of Wei was restored (Chuang 6.2), while it was after the incidence that the treasure of Wei was returned to Lu by Ch'i (Chuang 6.5).

3. HS27Ca/4b - "The bull for the Suburban sacrifice injured its mouth. It was changed and divined upon, but the (next) bull died."

Date: BC 606 (Hsüan 6.1, 2).

Causation: "Liu Hsiang thought this a 'bull disaster.' At this time Duke Hsüan had (already) plotted together with Prince Sui (遂) to kill Tzu-ch'ih (子糸) and to establish (himself as ruler).<sup>1</sup> (The duke) also married while in mourning.<sup>2</sup> There was stupidity and confusion, and the disorder erupted in the bull's mouth. Luckily (the duke) had Chi Wen-tzu (子文子)<sup>3</sup> who was able to help him avoid calamity. Heaven still hated him, and while he lived, did not receive his sacrifices,<sup>4</sup> and when he was dead, burned his temple.<sup>5</sup> Tung Chung-shu's analysis was approximately the same."

- Notes:
1. Occurred after the burial of Duke Wen in BC 609 (Wen 18.6).
  2. Occurred in BC 608 (Hsüan 1.2, 3), the first year of his reign.
  3. The leader of the Chi-sun clan.



## I.B.V. (cont'd.)

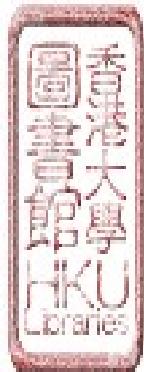
4. The death of the sacrificial bull being a case in point.
5. Duke Hsüan's mortuary temple burned down in BC 588 (Ch'eng 3.4).

4. HS27Ca/9a-b - "The landslide on Sha Hill (沙麓)."

Date: BC 646 (Hsi 14.3).

Causation: "The Ku-liang Commentary says:

'A wooded hill is called a lu (麓). Sha was its name.'<sup>1</sup> Liu Hsiang thought this an omen that ministers and inferiors would rebel, that there would be dispersal and death, and that superiors would not be served. Prior to this, (Duke) Huan of Ch'i was exercising the Way of the overlord in assembling the feudal lords and serving the House of Chou. When Kuan Chung (管仲) was already dead,<sup>2</sup> (Duke) Huan's virtue decline day by day, and Heaven was warning, as though to say, 'The Way of the overlord will be abolished, the feudal lords will disperse and die, government will come to the nobles, the mandate will be seized by senior officials, and ministers and inferiors will not serve superiors.' Duke Huan paid no attention, and the Son of Heaven was obscured. When (Duke) Huan of Ch'i died,<sup>3</sup> the world scattered and followed Ch'u. Wang Cha-tzu murdered two nobles,<sup>4</sup> and Chin defeated the army of the Son of Heaven.<sup>5</sup> No one was able to invade and punish them, and from this (time on there was decline. The Kung-yang (Commentary) thought that Sha Hill was a city on the (Yellow) River. The theories of Tung



## I.B.V. (cont'd.)

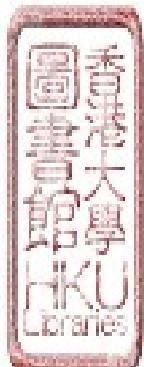
Chung-shu were approximately the same (as Liu Hsiang's)."

- Notes:
1. KLC Hsi 14.3. The present rescentration has shan (山) for ch'i (邑).
  2. Duke Huan's Prime Minister and the chief architect of Ch'i's political and economic pre-eminence, who died BC 645.
  3. BC 643 (Hsi 17.5).
  4. The eldest son of a concubine of the King of Chou, Wang Cha-tzu, murdered the Earl of Chao (鄂) and the Earl of Mao (毛) (both Chou nobles), in BC 594 (Hsüan 15.4).
  5. The king's army was defeated by Chin at Mao-jung (毛戎) in BC 590 (Ch'eng 1.6).
5. HS27Ca/9b-10a - "The landslide on Liang (梁) Mountain."

Date: BC 586 (Ch'eng 5.4).

Causation: "The Ku-liang Commentary says

that it blocked the (Yellow) River so that it did not flow for three days. After the ruler of Chin led a host of officials to cry to it, it flowed.<sup>1</sup> Liu Hsiang thought that the mountain was the Yang, (representing) the ruler, and that the (Yellow) River was the Yin, (representing) the people. Heaven was warning, as though to say, 'The Way of the ruler (of Chin) will collapse, inferiors will become disorderly, and the common people will lose their places.' That they cried, and afterwards (the river) flowed, was a portent of death. (Because) Liang Mountain was a place in Chin, it would begin in Chin and reach the (entire) world. Later (the ruler of) Chin executed three high ministers, and because of this, Duke Li (李) (of Chin himself) was assassinated.<sup>2</sup> At the meeting of Ch'ou-liang (滻梁) the nobles of the world seized the governing of (their



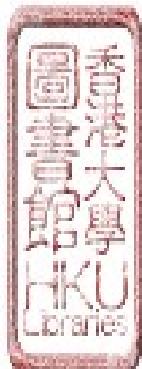
## I.B.V. (cont'd.)

states.<sup>3</sup> After this, Sun (Lin-fu) (孙林父) and Ning (Chih) (甯殖) (of Wei) drove out (Duke) Hsien (献) of Wei,<sup>4</sup> the Three (Huan) Families expelled (Duke) Chao of Lu,<sup>5</sup> and (the Viscounts of) Shan (翫) and Yin (尹) disordered the Royal House.<sup>6</sup> Tung Chung-shu's theories were approximately the same."<sup>7</sup>

- Notes:
1. Paraphrase of parts of KLC Ch'eng 5.4.
  2. The nobles were put to death in BC 574 (Ch'eng 17.13), and Duke Li was assassinated early in the following year (Ch'eng 18.2).
  3. At the meeting at Ch'ou-liang in BC 557 (Hsiang 16.2), it was the nobles, not the rulers (who were also present) who entered into the covenant.
  4. Duke Hsien fled Wei in BC 559 (Hsiang 14.4).
  5. BC 517 (Chao 25.5).
  6. Nobles of Chou who were the leaders of opposing factions who attempted to gain succession for their candidates after the death of King Ching (景) in BC 520 (Chao 22.4). (cf. Chao 22.8,9, Chao 23.9, and Chao 26.6,7).

## VI - Disasters associated with, "The sovereign not being correct."

There are twenty-four disasters listed in this section. Eleven of them are drawn from pre-Han times, but for none of these is a comment recorded for Tung Chung-shu.



## II - Astronomical Anomalies

### A. - Eclipses of the Sun

There are ninety eclipses listed in this section, thirty-six of which occurred in 'Spring and Autumn' times. On thirty-five of these is a comment recorded for Tung Chung-shu.

#### 1. HS27Cb/1a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 720 (Yin 3.1).

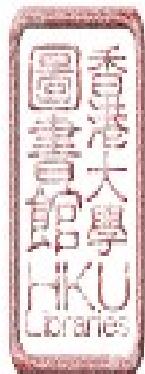
Causation: "The Kung-yang Commentary says that it was on the second day (of the month). Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that after this, the Jung captured the emissary of the Son of Heaven<sup>1</sup>, Cheng captured (Duke) Yin of Lu,<sup>2</sup> and destroyed Tai (臺), and that Wei, Lu, and Sung all killed their rulers.<sup>4</sup>"

- Notes:
1. The Earl of Fan (范) was captured by the Jung barbarians when returning from a visit on royal business to Lu (Yin 7.6).
  2. According to KYC, this occurred in battle early in BC 717 (Yin 6.1.) It is explained that SA does not mention it to avoid disgracing Duke Yin.
  3. Occurred BC 713 (Yin 10.6).
  4. The rulers were assassinated as follows: Wei, BC 719 (Yin 4.2), Lu, BC 712 (Yin 11.4), and Sung, BC 710 (Huan 2.1).

#### 2. HS27Cb/2b - "Eclipse of the sun (which was) total."

Date: BC 709 (Huan 3.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that when prior to (the eclipse) events are already serious, and after it, that which is to come is even more serious, (the eclipse) is total. Prior to this the rulers



## II.A. (con'td.)

of Lu and Sung had been assassinated,<sup>1</sup> Lu had completed the disorder in Sung, and losing its intention of serving the king, exchanged Hsü-t'ien (許尹),<sup>2</sup> and Ch'u had usurped the title of 'king'.<sup>3</sup> After this, Cheng stopped the king's army and shot (and wounded) King Huan (#桓) of Chou.<sup>4</sup> There were also the two rulers (of Cheng) who usurped each other.<sup>5</sup>"

Notes: 1. See ff.4 in the previous entry.

2. See I.B.IV.5.ff.2,3. above.

3. The ruler of Ch'u is referred to as 'king' in an earlier KYC entry (Huan 2.5).

4. TC notes the route of the royal army and its allies, and the wounding of the king in BC 707 (Huan 5.6).

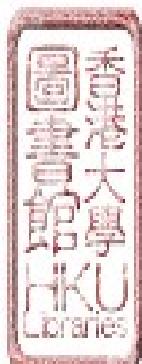
5. Under pressure from Sung, the rightful heir to the throne in Cheng was expelled, and Sung's choice installed in his stead in BC 701 (Huan 11.4,5,6). In BC 697 (Huan 15.4), he in turn was forced to flee, and the rightful heir was installed (Huan 15.5).

3. HS27Cb/3a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 695 (Huan 17.8).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that (the Spring and Autumn Annals) said it was the first of the month, but did not name the day (with its sexegenary cycle denomination, because) it hated (Duke) Huan of Lu. Moreover, (Duke Huan) had the misfortune of an (evil) wife and would not live out his days."<sup>1</sup>"

Note: 1. Duke Huan's duchess did in fact bring about his death (see KYC Chuang 1.2).



4. HS27Cb/3b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 676 (Chuang 18.1).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the constellation (this occurred) in was Tung-pi (䷂) <sup>1</sup>, and that it was an omen for Lu. Later the Princes Ching-fu and Shu-ya did in fact commit adultery with the Duchess (of Lu), thus oppressing the duke.<sup>2</sup>"

Notes: 1. The fourteenth of the constellations (GHA -  $6^{\circ} 22' 9''$ ).  
2. See I.B.II.2.ff.1. above.

5. HS27Cb/3b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 669 (Chuang 25.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the constellation (this occurred) in was Pi (䷄) <sup>1</sup>, and that it was an omen governing border warfare, and the barbarians. Later the Ti (barbarians) destroyed Hsing (昴) and Wei.<sup>2</sup>"

Notes: 1. The nineteenth of the constellation (GHA  $57^{\circ} 12' 1''$ ).  
2. They attacked Hsing in BC 662 (Chuang 32.7), and invaded Wei in BC 660 (Min 2.7). It is understood that both these raids resulted in the destruction of the two states.

6. HS27Cb/4a - "Eclipse of the sun;"

Date: BC 668 (Chuang 26.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the constellation (this occurred) in was Hsin (心) <sup>1</sup> and that the Hsin (constellation) was the Ming-t'ang (明堂).<sup>2</sup> It was an



## II.A. (cont'd.)

omen that the Way of (Kings) Wen and Wu (of Chou) would be abandoned, (but) that the central states would not be cut off; that they would be (continuous) like a thread."

- Notes:
1. The fifth of the constellation (GHA 245° 0' 25").
  2. Considered by Han scholars to have been the chief hall of ritual for the rulers of a dynasty.

7. HS27Cb/4a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 664 (Chuang 30.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang

thought that subsequently, two rulers of Lu were assassinated<sup>1</sup>, the Duchess (of Lu) was executed<sup>2</sup>, two younger brothers (of Duke Chuang of Lu) died<sup>3</sup>, the Ti (barbarians) destroyed Hsing (邢)<sup>4</sup>, Hsü (徐) took Shu (舒)<sup>5</sup>, Chin executed its Crown Prince<sup>6</sup>, and Ch'u destroyed Hsien (弦).<sup>7</sup>"

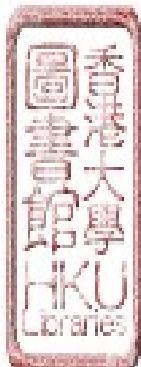
- Notes:
1. Duke Chuang's uncrowned successor, Tzu-pan (子般), was killed shortly after his father's death in BC 662 (Chuang 32.5), while his successor, Duke Min, was killed two years later (Min 2.3).
  2. The Duchess of Lu was put to death by Ch'i in BC 659 (Hsi 1.5).
  3. Prince Shu-ya was killed in BC 662 (Chuang 32.3), while Prince Ching-fu committed suicide in BC 659 (Hsi 1.9).
  4. See II.A.5. above.
  5. Occurred BC 657 (Hsi 3.3).
  6. Occurred BC 655 (Hsi 5.1).
  7. Occurred BC 655 (Hsi 5.7).

8. HS27Cb/4a-b - "Eclipse of the sun"

Date: BC 655 (Hsi 5.8).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang

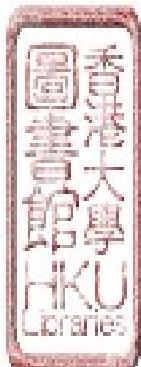
thought that prior to this, while (Duke) Huan of Ch'i acted



## II.A. (cont'd.)

as overlord, (the rulers of ) Chiang (江) and Huang (黃) came personally<sup>1</sup>, and in the south, he caused the submission of the strong (state of) Ch'u.<sup>2</sup> After this, (however, Duke Huan) was not correct within (his own state), and abroad, he took captive a noble of Ch'en.<sup>3</sup> Thus Ch'en and Ch'u were alienated,<sup>4</sup> the Earl of Cheng fled from a covenant,<sup>5</sup> and the feudal lords were about to disobey (Duke) Huan's rule. Therefore Heaven made manifest a warning. Subsequently, Chin destroyed Kuo (虢)<sup>6</sup>, Ch'u besieged Hsü (許)<sup>7</sup>, the feudal lords invaded Cheng<sup>8</sup>, Chin assassinated two rulers<sup>9</sup>, the Ti (barbarians) destroyed Wen (溫)<sup>10</sup>, Ch'u invaded Huang (黃)<sup>11</sup>, and (Duke) Huan was unable to save them."

- Notes:
1. The rulers of Chiang and Huang first covenanted with the Central States in BC 658 (Hsi 2.4). Although SA lists the only other participants as Ch'i and Sung, the mentioning of these four was understood to mean that all civilized states took part, and that the civilized world was one.
  2. In BC 656 (Hsi 4.1,2,4), Ch'i led the feudal lords in consecutive attacks on Ts'ai and Ch'u, which led to Ch'u entering into a covenant with them. It is to be noted that the events listed thus far were considered to be greatly beneficial.
  3. Returning from the Ts'ai-Ch'u campaign in BC 656 (Hsi 4.5), Ch'i took prisoner the noble of Ch'en who recommended that they not cross his state.
  4. Subsequently, the allies mounted two campaigns into Ch'en (Hsi 4,6,9) and, for a time, Ch'u attended none of the meetings of the feudal lords.
  5. The Earl of Cheng fled the covenant held in BC 655 (Hsi 5.6).
  6. According to TC (Hsi 5.9), this occurred in BC 655.
  7. Ch'u besieged Hsü in BC 654 (Hsi 6.3), but it was saved by the feudal lords. Although they are not named in this entry, it is likely that they were the same ones who invaded Cheng (as for ff.8 below) Ch'i was among them.



## III.A. (cont'd.)

8. Also occurred BC 654 (Hsi 6.2).
9. A noble of Chin assassinated the two uncrowned rulers in BC 651 (Hsi 9.6), and BC 650 (Hsi 10.3).
10. Occurred BC 650 (Hsi 10.2).
11. Occurred BC 649 (Hsi 11.4).

9. HS27Cb/4b-5a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 648 (Hsi 12.1).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that at this time, Ch'u destroyed Huang (黃)<sup>1</sup>, the Ti (barbarians) invaded Wei and Cheng<sup>2</sup>, and Chü (楚) destroyed Ch'i (杞)."<sup>3</sup>"

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 648 (Hsi 12.2).  
 2. Wei was invaded in BC 647 (Hsi 13.1), and Cheng was invaded in BC 646 (Hsi 14.4).  
 3. Probably occurred BC 646 (KYC, Hsi 14.1).

10. HS27Cb/5a-b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 645 (Hsi 15.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that subsequently, Ch'in captured the Marquis of Chin<sup>1</sup>, Ch'i destroyed Hsiang (項)<sup>2</sup>, and Ch'u defeated Hsü (徐) at Lou-lin (留林)."<sup>3</sup>"

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 645 (Hsi 15.14).  
 2. Occurred BC 643 (Hsi 17.2).  
 3. Occurred BC 645 (Hsi 15.13).

11. HS27Cb/5b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 626 (Wen 1.2).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that prior to this, a noble had seized the government



## II.A. (cont'd.)

of the state (of Lu, this being demonstrated when) Prince Sui (遂) (of Lu) went to the capital.<sup>1</sup> After (this), Crown Prince Shang-ch'en (商臣) of Ch'u murdered his father,<sup>2</sup> Prince Shang-jen (商人) of Ch'i assassinated his ruler<sup>3</sup>, both establishing themselves (as ruler), Tzu-ai (子亥) of Sung fled (from his state),<sup>4</sup> Chin destroyed Chiang (江),<sup>5</sup> Ch'u destroyed Liu (六),<sup>6</sup> and the nobles Kung-sun Ao (公孫敖) and Shu P'eng-sheng (叔彭生) (of Lu) acted on their own in meeting and forming covenants.<sup>7</sup>

- Notes:
1. His visit to the capital in BC 630 (Hsi 30.9) was a proper return of courtesy, for the king had just sent an emissary on an embassy to Lu (Hsi 30.8). After the court visit, however, the Prince acted on his own in going to Chin.
  2. Occurred BC 626 (Wen 1.10).
  3. Occurred BC 613 (Wen 14.10).
  4. This high minister of Sung fled to Lu in BC 613 (Wen 10.11).
  5. Occurred BC 623 (Wen 4.4).
  6. Occurred BC 622 (Wen 5.6).
  7. The former entered into a covenant with Ch'u (楚) in BC 620 (Wen 7.10), while the latter held a meeting with a noble of Chin in BC 616 (Wen 11.2).

## 12. HS27Cb/6a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 612 (Wen 15.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that within eight years, the five rulers of Sung, Ch'i, Ch'u (楚), Chin, and Cheng were murdered<sup>1</sup>, and that Ch'u destroyed Shu-liao (舒蓼)<sup>2</sup>."



## II.A. (cont'd.)

- Notes:
1. The rulers were killed as follows: Sung, BC 611 (Wen 16.7), Ch'i, BC 609 (Wen 18.3), Ch'ü (呂), BC 609 (Wen 18.9), Chin BC 607 (Hsüan 2.4), and Cheng 605 (Hsüan 4.4).
  2. Occurred BC 601 (Hsüan 8.9). There is some disagreement as to whether this was one or two places. It is clear from the context below (II.A.12.ff.5) that Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang took it to be a single place.

13. HS27Cb/6a - "Eclipse of the sun (which was) total."

Date: BC 601 (Hsüan 8.10).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that prior to this, (Prince) Shang-ch'en of Ch'u had committed patricide.<sup>1</sup> When (his successor) King Chuang (莊) subsequently became strong<sup>2</sup>, the only powerful states among the Hsia (夏)<sup>3</sup> were Chin and Ch'i. Chin and Ch'i, (however), had recently suffered the misfortune of usurpation and assassination, and internally, neither was yet at peace.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Ch'u, taking advantage of (their) weakness, became overbearing, and within eight years he had invaded six (times) and extinguished one state.<sup>5</sup> It invaded the Jung of Lu-hun (陸浑) and reviewed his troops at the House of Chou.<sup>6</sup> After (the eclipse) he again invaded Cheng and the Earl of Cheng apologized and confessed.<sup>7</sup> In the north he defeated the army of Chin at Pi (皮), and the flowing blood stained the water.<sup>8</sup> He besieged Sun for nine months, (and the people of Sung had to) crack bones and cook them.<sup>9</sup>"

- Notes:
1. Occurred BC 626 (Wen 1.10).
  2. King Chuang succeeded in BC 613 (Wen 14).



## III.A. (cont'd.)

3. More usually referred to as the "Central States".
4. The ruler of Ch'i was assassinated in BC 609 (Wen 18.3), while the ruler of Chin was assassinated two years later (Hsüan 2.4).
5. Ch'u invaded Ch'en in BC 608 (Hsüan 1.10), and BC 601 (Hsüan 8.14) (after the eclipse); and invaded Cheng in BC 606 (Hsüan 3.6), BC 605 (Hsüan 4.8), BC 604 (Hsüan 5.6), and BC 603 (Hsüan 6. TCF.4). Shu-liao was destroyed in BC 601 (Hsüan 8.9).
6. Occurred BC 606 (Hsüan 3.5). Most editions of the SA associated with KYC have pen (晉) for lu (陸). The troop review is mentioned only in TC.
7. Occurred BC 597 (Hsüan 12.2).
8. Occurred BC 597 (Hsüan 12.2).
9. Ch'u besieged Sung from the ninth month of BC 595 (Hsüan 14.4) to the fifth month of BC 594 (Hsüan 15.2).

## 14. HS27Cb/6a-b - "Eclipse of the sun"

Date: BC 599 (Hsüan 10.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, Hsia Cheng-shu (夏徵舒) of Ch'en assassinated his ruler<sup>1</sup>, Ch'u destroyed Hsiao (懼)<sup>2</sup>, Chin destroyed two states,<sup>3</sup> and Wang Cha-tzu (王札子) killed the Earls of Chao (趙) and Mao (毛).<sup>4</sup>"

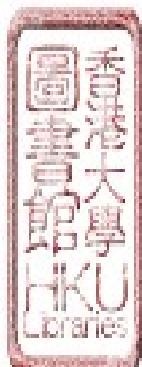
Notes:

1. Occurred BC 599 (Hsüan 10.9).
2. Occurred BC 597 (Hsüan 12.5).
3. Chin destroyed the Red Ti states of Lu-shih (魯氏) in BC 584 (Hsüan 15.3), and Chia-shih (甲氏) in BC 593 (Hsüan 16.1).
4. Occurred BC 594 (Hsüan 15.5).

## 15. HS27Cb/6b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 592 (Hsüan 17.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, Chu (邾) quartered the Viscount of



## II.A. (cont'd.)

Tseng (晉)<sup>1</sup>, and Chin defeated the royal army at Mao-jung (毛君),<sup>2</sup> and defeated Ch'i at An (安).<sup>3</sup>

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 591 (Hsüan 18.4)  
 2. Occurred BC 590 (Ch'eng 1.6).  
 3. Occurred BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.3). The invading force was led by Chin, but also included armies from Lu, Wei, and Ts'ao.

## 16. HS27Cb/6b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 575 (Ch'eng 16.4)

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, Chin defeated Ch'u and Ch'eng at Yen-ling (鄢陵),<sup>1</sup> and the Marquis of Lu was held captive."<sup>2</sup>

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 575 (Ch'eng 16.7).  
 2. In actual fact, the ruler of Lu was not taken captive. He was about to be taken by Chin at the meeting in BC 575 (Ch'eng 16.8) when one of his nobles persuaded Chin to take him instead of his ruler (Ch'eng 16.11).

## 17. HS27Cb/7a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 574 (Ch'eng 17.11).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, Ch'u destroyed Shu-yung (舒庸),<sup>1</sup> Chin assassinated its ruler,<sup>2</sup> Yu Shih (魚石) of Sung followed Ch'u and captured one of (his) ruler's cities,<sup>3</sup> Chu (楚) destroyed Tseng (晉)<sup>4</sup>, Ch'i destroyed Lai (萊)<sup>5</sup>, and the Earl of Cheng was assassinated."<sup>6</sup>

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 574 (Ch'eng 17.14).  
 2. Occurred BC 573 (Ch'eng 18.2).  
 3. The Sung noble, Yu Shih, had fled to Ch'u in



## II.A. (contd.)

BC 576 (Ch'eng 15.11). In BC 573 (Ch'eng 18.5) he returned with the invading armies of Ch'u and Cheng, and he was rewarded with the captured city of P'eng-ch'eng (彭城) (Ch'eng 18.6).

4. Occurred BC 567 (Hsiang 6.5).
5. Occurred BC 567 (Hsiang 6.8).
6. Occurred BC 566 (Hsiang 7.9).

18. HS27Cb/7a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 559 (Hsiang 14.2).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, the Wei nobles Sun (Lin-fu) (孫林父) and Ning (Chih) (甯殖) together expelled Duke Hsien (惠文) (of Wei) and established the grandson (of Duke Mu (穆) of Wei), P'iao (剽) (as ruler).<sup>1</sup>"

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 559 (Hsiang 14.4). Duke Mu, who died in BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.6), was Duke Hsien's predecessor's predecessor.

19. HS27Cb/7a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 558 (Hsiang 15.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that prior to this, Chin had convened the meeting at Chi-tse (緇澤). The feudal lords formed a covenant, and the nobles also formed a covenant.<sup>1</sup> After (the eclipse), they convened a meeting at Ch'ou-liang (澠梁). The feudal lords were present, but it was the nobles alone who covenanted together.<sup>2</sup> The rulers were like the fringe connected (to a banner), and unable to lift a hand."



## II.A. (cont'd.)

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 570 (Hsiang 3.5,6,7).  
2. Occurred BC 557 (Hsiang 16.2).

20. HS27Cb/7b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 553 (Hsiang 20.8).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Ch'ing-hu (虞虎) and Ch'ing Yin (虞寧) of Ch'en were obscuring (their) ruler's brilliance,<sup>1</sup> and that Shu Ch'i (庶其) of Chu (楚) was of rebellious intent. Afterwards, Shu Ch'i fled (to Lu) with (the Chu cities) Ch'i (漆) and Lü-ch'iu (呂丘),<sup>2</sup> and Ch'en executed the two Ch'ing.<sup>3</sup>"

Notes: 1. They had forced the younger brother of their ruler to flee to Ch'u in BC 553 (Hsiang 20.6).  
2. Occurred BC 552 (Hsiang 21.2).  
3. Occurred BC 550 (Hsiang 23.5) (after the next three eclipses.)

21. HS27Cb/7b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 552 (Hsiang 21.5).

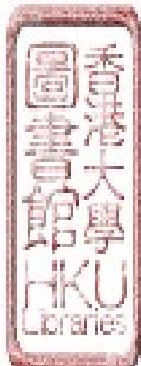
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Luan Ying (樂盈) of Chin was about to transgress against (his) ruler. Afterwards he entered Ch'u-wo (曲沃) (in rebellion)."<sup>1</sup>

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 550 (Hsiang 23.7) (after the next two eclipses).

22. HS27Cb/7b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 552 (Hsiang 21.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought the constellations (this occurred) in were Chen (辰) and Chiao (角)<sup>1</sup>,



## II.A. (Cont'd.)

and that it was a portent for Ch'u and the powerful states.

Afterwards, Shih (史) of Ch'u slandered and murdered Prince Chui-shu (追紂)<sup>2</sup>, and Ch'ing Feng (慶封) of Ch'i coerced (his) ruler and disordered the state.<sup>3</sup>"

- Notes:
1. The twenty-eighth (GHA 187° 56' 52"), and first (GHA 201° 3' 0") of the constellations.
  2. Occurred BC 551 (Hsiang 22.6). Shih and his slander are not mentioned in SA or its three commentaries.
  3. The account of Ch'ing Feng's rise to power is recorded in TCF 2 to Hsiang 27 (BC 546) (after the next three eclipses).

23. HS27Cb/7b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 550 (Hsiang 23.1).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that afterwards, the Marquis of Wei entered the (Wei) city of Ch'en-i (陳儀),<sup>1</sup> and Ning Hsi (寧喜) assassinated his ruler P'iao (剽)."<sup>2</sup>

- Notes:
1. It will be remembered that the Marquis of Wei had been forced to flee the state in BC 559 (Hsiang 14.4). Now in BC 548 (Hsiang 25.7), he re-entered the state but not the capital.
  2. Occurred BC 547 (Hsiang 26.1), allowing the former ruler to return to the capital (Hsiang 26.2). (Both the events noted here took place after the next two eclipses.)

24 & 25. HS27Cb/8a - (i) "Eclipse of the sun (which was total.)"

(ii) "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 549 (Hsiang 24.4,7).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought tha



## II.A. (cont'd.)

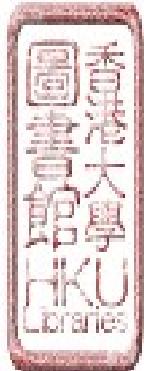
the second eclipse was also total. It was an omen that the Yang (i.e. the ruler) was about to be cut off, and an omen that barbarians would control the superior states (i.e. the Central States). Later six rulers were assassinated;<sup>1</sup> the Viscount of Ch'u was indeed followed by the feudal lords in an invasion of Cheng,<sup>2</sup> he destroyed Shu-shiu (舒姑),<sup>3</sup> Lu went and attended his court,<sup>4</sup> he finally presided over the Central States,<sup>5</sup> and he invaded Wu to punish Ch'ing Feng (清封).<sup>6</sup>"

- Notes:
1. The rulers were assassinated as follows: Ch'i in BC 548 (Hsiang 25.2), Wei, in BC 547 (Hsiang 26.1), Wu, in BC 544 (Hsiang 29.4), Ts'ai, in BC 543 (Hsiang 30.2), Ch'u (楚), in BC 542 (Hsiang 31.7), and Ch'u, in BC 541 (Chao 1.10).
  2. The Viscount of Ch'u led the rulers of Tz'ai, Ch'en and Hsü (邗) in an attack on Cheng in BC 549 (Hsiang 24.9).
  3. Occurred BC 548 (Hsiang 25.8).
  4. Occurred BC 545 (Hsiang 28.7).
  5. Ch'u convened the meeting of the feudal lords (which Lu did not attend) in BC 538 (Chao 4.2).
  6. Occurred after the above meeting in BC 538 (Chao 4.3). It is to be noted that most of the above events took place after the next eclipse.)

26. HS27Cb/8a-b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 546 (Hsiang 27.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that this was an omen that there would be a great destruction of ritual and righteousness. At this time, the Viscount of Wu was fond of bravery and used people who had suffered (mutilating) punishments to guard the gate, the Marquis of Ts'ai committed adultery with the wife of the Crown Prince, and (the ruler of)



## II.A. (cont'd.)

Ch'u (楚) did not establish his eldest as heir. After (the eclipse), a gate-keeper killed the Viscount of Wu,<sup>1</sup> Crown Prince Pan (盤) of Ts'ai committed patricide,<sup>2</sup> and the men of Ch'u also assassinated (their) ruler, and the sons by a concubine contended (with each other for the throne).<sup>3</sup>"

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 544 (Hsiang 29.4).

2. Occurred BC 543 (Hsiang 30.2).

3. The ruler was killed by his people in BC 542 (Hsiang 31.7) because he had not named his eldest son as his successor. The eldest was then installed, but the next year (Chao 1.7), the nominated successor returned from his temporary exile and drove him off. Both were sons of concubines.

## 27. HS27Cb/8b-9a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 535 (Chao 7.4).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that prior to this, King Ling (靈) of Ch'u had assassinated his ruler and established (himself as ruler).<sup>1</sup> He had assembled the feudal lords, taken the Viscount of Hsu (侯) prisoner, and destroyed Lai (賴).<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, Prince Chao (招) of Ch'en assassinated the Crown Prince,<sup>3</sup> and because of this, Ch'u destroyed (Ch'en).<sup>4</sup> He also destroyed Ts'ai.<sup>5</sup> Later King Ling was also assassinated.<sup>6</sup>"

Notes: 1. Occurred BC 541 (Chao 1.10).

2. Occurred BC 538 (Chao 4.2,4). The SA associated with KYC has li (厤) for lai (賴).

3. Occurred BC 534 (Chao 8.1).

4. Occurred BC 534 (Chao 8.9).

5. Occurred BC 531 (Chao 11.10).

6. Occurred BC 529 (Chao 13.2).



## II.A. (cont'd.)

## 28. HS27Cb/10a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 525 (Chao 17.2).

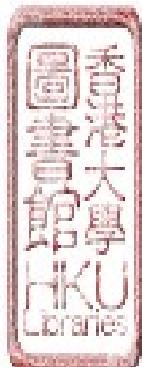
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that on (this) occasion, the constellation (it occurred) in was Pi (巳)<sup>1</sup> and that it was a portent for the state of Chin. Duke Li (厘) of Chin had executed four nobles,<sup>2</sup> and losing the hearts of the masses, was thereby (himself) assassinated.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards, no one dared to reprimand the nobility. Subsequently six ministers formed cliques together and acted irresponsibly in the state of Chin, (but) the rulers still served them.<sup>4</sup> The events (associated with this) second eclipse (in the constellation, Pi) fall after the 'Spring and Autumn' (period) and are not carried in the Classic."

Notes: 1. See II.A.5 above.

2. He killed three of the same surname in BC 574 (Ch'eng 17.13), and another the following year (Ch'eng 18.1).
3. He was assassinated by the people of his state just after the execution of the fourth noble in BC 573 (Ch'eng 18.2).
4. The six ministers are thought to have been the leaders of the clans, Fan (范), Chung-hsing (仲行), Chih (子), Han (罕), Wei (衛), and Chao (趙). The last three were the families which divided the state shortly after the end of the 'Spring and Autumn' period.

## 29. HS27Cb/10b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 521 (Chao 21.4).



## II.A. (cont'd.)

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that King Ching (彘) of Chou was old, that (his nobles), the Marquis of Liu (劉) and the Marquis of Shan (翫) were usurping power, and that the Marquis Chu (邾) of Ts'ai was arrogant. (Thus) it was an omen that ruler and minister were not pleased (with each other). Afterwards, the Marquis Chu of Ts'ai did indeed flee (his state)<sup>1</sup>, and the Marquis of Liu and the Marquis of Shan established (Prince) Meng (猛) as king.<sup>2</sup>"

- Notes:
1. Occurred after this eclipse in the same year (Chao 21.6)
  2. For the confusion in Chou after the death and burial of King Ching in BC 520 (Chao 22.4,6) see SA Chao 22.7,6,9,10.

30. HS27Cb/10b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 510 (Chao 22.11).

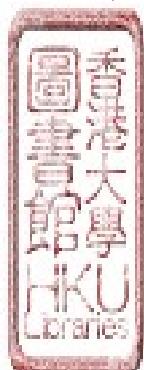
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the constellation (this occurred) in was Hsin (心),<sup>1</sup> and that it was an omen for the Son of Heaven. Afterwards, the Yin (殷) family established Prince Ch'ao (朝) (as king), and Heaven's King (was forced) to live in Ti-ch't'an (徙東).<sup>2</sup>"

- Notes:
1. See II.A.6. above
  2. Occurred in reverse order in BC 519 (Chao 23.9,10).

31. HS27Cb/10b-11a - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 518 (Chao 24.3).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that



## II.A. (cont.d.)

the constellation (this occurred) in was Wei (胃)<sup>1</sup>, and that it was an omen for Lu. Afterwards, Duke Chao was expelled by the Chi (-sun) family.<sup>2</sup>"

Notes: 1. Seventeenth of the constellations (GHA 44° 8' 47").  
2. Occurred the following year, BC 517 (Chao 25.5).

## 32. HS27Cb/11a-b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 511 (Chao 31.7).

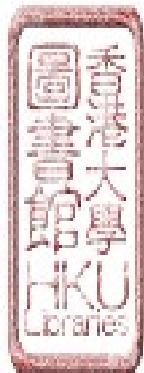
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the constellation (this occurred) in was Hsin (心),<sup>1</sup> and that it was an omen for the Son of Heaven. At that time, the Imperial Capital was weak. Later, the feudal lords joined together and walled Chou. Chung Chi (仲幾) of Sung was of a mind to forget to honour the Son of Heaven, and he did not thatch the wall.<sup>2</sup>"

Notes: 1. See II.A.6 and 30 above.  
2. Occurred BC 509 (Ting 1.2). TC alone gives the context. SA, KYC, and KLC record only the arrest of Chung Chi by the men of Ch'i.

## 33. HS27Cb/11b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 505 (Ting 5.1).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, Cheng destroyed Hsu (弑),<sup>1</sup> that Yang Hu (陽虎) of Lu created disorder (by) stealing (the state treasures), the Precious Jade and the Great Bow,<sup>2</sup> that Chi Huan-tzu (子罕子) had Confucius retired,<sup>3</sup> and that three ministers of Sung rebelled with a city.<sup>4</sup>"



## II.A. (cont'd.)

- Notes:
1. Occurred BC 504 (Ting 6.1)
  2. Occurred BC 502 (Ting 8.6).
  3. Chi Huan-tzu was the leader of the Chi-sun family at the time, but his dismissal of Confucius is not mentioned in SA or its three commentaries. For Confucius's official career, see Legge, Classics I, p.71-76.
  4. Occurred BC 499 (Ting 11.1, 2, 3, and 4.)

34. HS27Cb/12a - "Eclipse of the Sun."

Date: BC 498 (Ting 12.8).

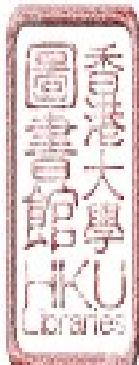
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that afterwards, three nobles of Chin rebelled with cities,<sup>1</sup> Hsüeh (越) assassinated its ruler,<sup>2</sup> Ch'u destroyed Tun (頓) and Hu (胡),<sup>3</sup> Yüeh defeated Wu,<sup>4</sup> and Wei expelled (its) Crown Prince.<sup>5</sup>"

- Notes:
1. Occurred BC 487 (Ting 13.5, 6).
  2. Occurred BC 497 (Ting 13.8).
  3. Occurred BC 496 (Ting 14.3), and BC 495 (Ting 15.3) respectively.
  4. Occurred BC 496 (Ting 14.5).
  5. Occurred BC 496 (Ting 14.9).

35. HS27Cb/12a-b - "Eclipse of the sun."

Date: BC 495 (Ting 15.10).

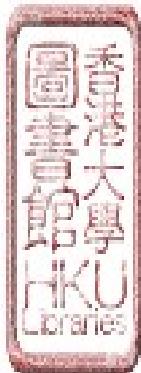
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that the constellation (this occurred) in was Yang (陽)<sup>1</sup>. (Thus) it was an omen that the House of Chou would fall in great ruin, and that barbarians would rule over the Hsia (States). The next year, an alliance of the feudal lords of the Central States followed Ch'u and besieged Ts'ai.<sup>2</sup> Ts'ai was afraid and moved



## II.A. (cont'd.)

(its capital) to Chou-lai (州來).<sup>3</sup> The Men of Chin captured the Viscount of the Man (曼) Jung, and returned him to Ch'u.<sup>4</sup> (In effect), Ch'u became the capital."

- Notes:
1. Twenty-fourth of the constellations (GHA 127° 31' 4").
  2. The force which besieged Ts'ai in BC 494 (Ai 1.2) included the rulers of Ch'u, Ch'en, Sui (隨), and Hsi (僖).
  3. Occurred B C 493 (Ai 2.9).
  4. Occurred BC 491 (Ai 4.6).



## Part II.B. - Other Astronomical Anomalies

There are thirty-eight entries in this section. Five of them are from the 'Spring and Autumn' period, and all of them are commented on by Tung Chung-shu:

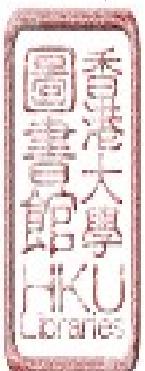
1. HS27Cb/17b-18a - "The regular stars were not visible. At midnight stars fell like rain."

Date: BC 687 (Chuang 7.2,3.)

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that the constant stars were the twenty-eight constellations, and that this was an omen for the rulers of men. The myriad stars were like the masses of the (common) people. That the ranking stars were not seen was an omen that the feudal lords were weak. That the myriad stars fell was (an omen) that the (common) people would lose their places. Midnight, (meant that it was an omen) for the Central States. That they did not reach the ground but returned<sup>1</sup> was an omen that (Duke) Huan of Ch'i would arise<sup>2</sup> and save and preserve them. Were there not to be a Duke Huan (of Ch'i), the stars would have subsequently reached the ground, and the good faith of the Central States would have been cut off. Liu Hsiang thought that .... "

- Notes:
1. This interpretation is preserved only in KYC.
  2. Duke Huan emerged as victor of the power struggle in Ch'i in BC 685 (Chuang 9.4,7). Virtual anarchy had followed the assassination of his predecessor in the year before (Chuang 8.5).

2. HS27Cb/19a - "A comet entered the great dipper."



## II.B. (cont'd.)

Date: BC 613 (Wen 14.6).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that that which was pen (晉)<sup>1</sup> was that which was produced by an evil aura. To say that it was that which pen was to say that its flashing (pen-pen) obstructed and concealed something. It was of an appearance which was dark, disorderly and not illuminating. (Occurring) in the great dipper, it was an omen for the powerful states. Afterwards, there were assassinations of the ruler of each of Ch'i, Sung, Lu, Chü (楚), and Chin.<sup>2</sup>"

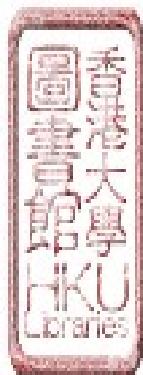
- Notes:
1. The basic meaning of pen is "the appearance of changing colour," from which it had come to mean comet (as in the compound hsing-pen - 星晉).
  2. The rulers were assassinated as follows: Ch'i, BC 613 (Wen 14.10), and BC 609 (Wen 18.3), Sung BC 611 (Wen 16.7), Lu, BC 609 (Wen 18.6. This was not Duke Wen, but rather his immediate heir.), Chü, BC 609 (Wen 18.9), and Chin (Hsüan 2.4).

3. HS27Cb/20b - "There was a comet in Ta-ch'en (大辰)."

Date: BC 525 (Chao 17.5).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu thought that Ta-ch'en was (the constellation) Hsin (心)<sup>1</sup>, and that Hsin was (representative of) the Ming-t'ang.<sup>2</sup> (Thus) it was an omen for the Son of Heaven. Afterwards, the Royal House became greatly disordered and three kings divided and contended.<sup>3</sup> This was its result."

- Notes:
1. This interpretation conforms with KYC. For Hsin, see II.A.6.30, and 32 above.
  2. See II.A.6.ff.2. above.



## II.B. (cont'd.)

3. After the death of King Ching (敬) of Chou in BC 520 (Chao 22.4), his son Meng (猛) succeeded (Chao 22.8,9), but he died later in the same year (Chao 22.10). King Ching (敬), another son, succeeded, but the next year, he was expelled (Chao 23.9), and Prince Ch'ao (朝) was established as king. In BC 516, King Ching was able to enter the Chou capital, causing the pretender and his supporters to flee to Ch'u (Chao 26.6,7).

## 4. HS27Cb/22a - "There was a comet in the east."

Date: BC 482 (Ai 13.10).

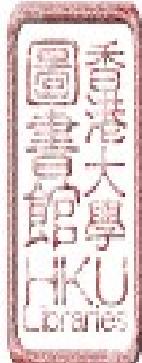
Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought that it did not mention the name of a constellation because it did not occupy a constellation.<sup>1</sup> It came out at dawn, (thus portending that) a disorderly aura would obscure the rulers brilliance. The next year, the events of the Spring and Autumn Annals came to an end."<sup>2</sup>

Notes: 1. That is to say, the twenty-eight constellations.  
2. The Spring and Autumn Annals ends the following year with the capture of the unicorn (Ai 14.1).

## 5. HS27Cb/23b-24a - "Five stones fell in Sung, and in the same month, six fish-hawks flew backwards over the Sung capital."

Date: BC 644 (Hsi 16.1).

Causation: "Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hsiang thought (this) a portent warning that Duke Hsiang (襄) of Sung wished to exercise the Way of the overlord, and that he would bring about his own defeat. Stone is of the category of Yin,



## II.B. (cont'd.)

(but) five is a Yang number, and they fell from above. This (meant that) Ying would act for Yang and (that although Duke Hsiang) wished to be supreme, he would, on the contrary, fall (in stature). Stone is of the same category as metal and it is controlled by the colour white. (Thus) it was a white omen. The fish-hawk is a water bird, six is a Yin number, and they flew backwards. (This meant that Duke Hsiang) wished to enter, but, on the contrary, retired. The (birds) were green in colour, and were (thus) a green omen belonging to 'appearance not being respectful'. Heaven was warning as though to say, '(Your) virtue is slight and (your) state is small. If you do not restrain the drying of the Yang<sup>1</sup>, wishing to become leader of the feudal lords, and contending with the strong and powerful, (then) you will inevitably receive harm from them'

Duke Hsiang (of Sung) paid no attention. The next year (Duke) Wei (威) of Ch'i died,<sup>2</sup> and (Duke Hsiang) attacked Ch'i when (it was) in mourning.<sup>3</sup> He captured the Viscount of T'eng (滕)<sup>4</sup> and besieged Ts'ao.<sup>5</sup> At the meeting at Yü (禹), he contended with Ch'u about the covenant, and in the end, he was taken prisoner (by Ch'u).<sup>6</sup> Later, when he was able to return to (his) state, he did not repent his errors or upbraid himself.

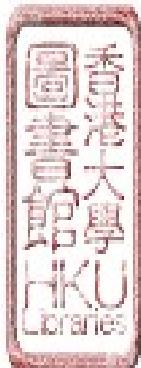
(Instead) he again assembled the feudal lords for an attack on Cheng.<sup>7</sup> He fought with Ch'u at Hung (泓) where (his) army was



## II.B. (cont'd.)

defeated and he was wounded.<sup>8</sup> He became the laughing-stock of the feudal lords."

- Notes:
1. See I.B.II.1. ff.3. above.
  2. The text should read "(Duke) Huan (桓) of Ch'i." He died BC 643 (Hsi 17.5).
  3. Duke Hsiang of Sung led the rulers of Ts'ao, Wei, and Chu (邾) in an attack on Ch'i in BC 642 (Hsi 18.1), the first year of Ch'i's mourning.
  4. Occurred BC 641 (Hsi 19.1).
  5. Occurred BC 641 (Hsi 19.4).
  6. The SA associated with KYC names the location as Huo (霍). Duke Hsiang was captured by Ch'u at this meeting in BC 639 (Hsi 21.4), but he was released later in the same year (Hsi 21.8).
  7. In BC 638 (Hsi 22.2), Duke Hsiang led the rulers of Wei, Hsü (侯), and T'eng (滕) in an attack on Cheng.
  8. Duke Hsiang was wounded in the battle of Hung in BC 638 (Hsi 22.4), and died of his injuries the following year (Hsi 23.2).

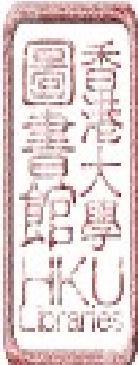


3:

Excerpt from:

"The Treatise on Ritual and Music" (HS22/4a-5a)

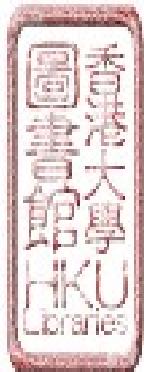
Later, the reply of Tung Chung-shu said: "(Thus) if the king wishes to perform some act, he ought to seek for some principle from Heaven. The greatness of the Way of Heaven lies in the Yin and Yang. Yang creates virtue, while Yin creates punishments. .... <sup>1</sup> Heaven causes Yang to dwell constantly in the height of summer, and to act as (that which) produces and gives growth, while (it causes) Yin to dwell constantly in the depth of winter, and to accumulate in useless and empty places. From this it can be seen that Heaven uses virtue and does not use punishments. .... Yang goes forth above to give copiously and to control the year's achievements, ... while Yin lies in wait below, coming forth occasionally to assist Yang. If Yang did not receive the aid of Yin, it could not alone complete the year's accomplishments. .... A king receives the will of Heaven, and in accordance (with it) conducts his affairs. Therefore he uses virtue and reduces punishments. Punishments cannot be used to govern the world any more than Yin can be used to complete the year. .... Now the virtue ..... of former kings has been done away with, and only officials who enforce the law are used to govern the people ..... (If this is done and you still) wish for moral suasion



to be general (within) the four seas, it will be difficult to accomplish.

..... This is the reason that of ancient kings ....  
 there were none who did not make moral suasion the greatest necessity. They established 'universities' to educate in the state (capitol), and set up local schools to educate in the cities.....

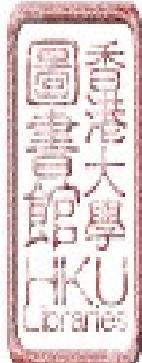
..... After education became brilliant and (correct) habits were completed ..... there was not a single case at law. Towards the end of the Chou (Dynasty, however), they lost the rule of the world because the Way had been greatly lost. The Ch'in (Dynasty) continued after this, .... but they also made things even worse. ..... Ever since ancient times, it has never happened that disorder relieved disorder, or that ..... the world was as greatly harmed as (in the case of) Ch'in. ..... It caused the habits to become mean and evil, and the people were ..... inconsiderate and shameless. .... Now the Han has continued the heritage of the Ch'in....., and even though you wish to govern it ....., there is nothing you can do. When laws are put forth, perfidy is engendered. When statutes are handed down, deception arises. The legal cases of one year are innumerable. It is like using hot water to stop boiling. ..... It is useless, for the boiling becomes even brisker. ..... It is comparable to the ch'in and the se



being inharmonious. When it is extreme, you must loosen and restretch (the strings) before they may be played. (This is like good) government not being put into practice. When it is extreme, it must be changed and reformed before rule can be (correct). .... Therefore, although the Han has wished to rule well ever since it gained the world, it has not, to this day, been able to triumph over violence and do away with murder. (This is because) it has been deficient in that it has been unable to reform that which ought to be reformed. The ancients had a saying which goes: "Standing by a stream and longing for a fish is not as good as returning and making a net." Now (the dynasty) has been in power and wishing to rule (well) for over seventy years. It would be better to withdraw and reform. If you reform you can govern well, ... and the days of harmful disasters will be done away with, and happy and prosperous days will come." At that time the emperor was in the process of punishing the four barbarians. He was acutely determined for military merit, and had no time to give attention to the business of ceremony.<sup>2</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

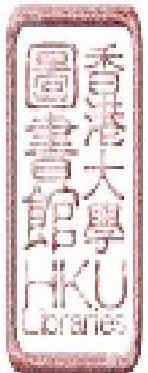
1. Deletions from the text of the biography are indicated by a series of dots, while additions and changes in wording are indicated by italics.
2. The full text is to be found on pages 9 to 13 of the biography.



PART I

SECTION II

"CH'UN-CHIU FAN-LU"



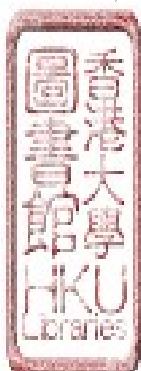
CCFL 1:

King Chuang of Chu

(When) King Chuang (莊) of Ch'u killed Hsia Cheng-shu (夏徵舒) of Ch'en, the Spring and Autumn Annals disapproved and the text does not mention him (by name). (This was because) he usurped (the right to administer) punishment.<sup>1</sup>

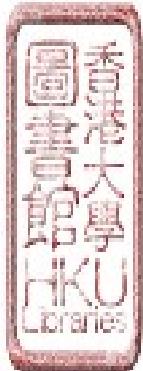
(Yet when) King Ling (靈) (of Ch'u) killed Ching Feng (楚封) of Ch'i it was straightforward about calling him the Viscount of Ch'u.<sup>2</sup> Why (is this)? I would say that King Chuang's actions were (generally) wise, and that (Hsia) Cheng-shu's guilt was grave. For a wise ruler to punish grave guilt is pleasing to men's minds; (thus) if it had not (shown) disapproval of (King Chuang), who could know that he was not correct (in this case)? The Spring and Autumn Annals constantly shows lack of virtue where virtue is suspect. This is the reason why (Duke) Huan (桓) of Ch'i is not mentioned (by name in those cases where) he usurped territory and infeudated (others).<sup>3</sup>

(Neither) is (Duke) Wen (文) of Chin mentioned (by name when he) caused the King to come and hold court.<sup>4</sup> Chuang of Ch'u was not mentioned (by name since) he usurped (the right to) execute by way of) punishment. (All) three were incorrect. The actions of the feudal lords were often thus. This is the reason that Ling of Ch'u is called Viscount (even though) he punished. In terminology of the Spring and Autumn Annals there are many (ca-



similar to this. The text is concise, yet its laws are manifest. A skeptic might say: "The non-mention of a feudal lord (by name where there was) usurpation of infeudation can again be seen in (the case of) the destruction of Ts'ai and Ch'en.<sup>5</sup> The non-mention of a feudal lord (by name when he) usurped (the right to administer) punishment is not to be seen in the execution of Ching Feng alone. Why?" I would reply: "The way that the Spring and Autumn Annals uses its phraseology is to do away with that which is clear and to emphasize that which is not clear. Now the fact that the feudal lords ought not to usurp (the right to administer) punishment was indeed already clear. Ching Feng's guilt, however, could not be seen. Therefore (Ling) was called the Viscount of Ch'u since he had, in the capacity of 'overlord' punished (Ching Feng). This emphasizes (the fact that Ching Feng's) guilt deserved death and thereby gives a warning to the world. It is as if to say: If ministers in their actions degrade the position of the ruler or disorder the state, even though they do not rebel and kill the ruler, their guilt deserves death.'

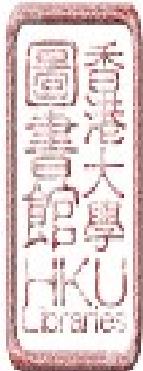
The Spring and Autumn Annals says: "Chin attacked the Hsien Yu (宣父)".<sup>6</sup> Why did it loathe Chin and liken it to the barbarians? I would say that the Spring and Autumn Annals respects propriety and gives importance to good faith. Good faith is more important than territory while propriety is



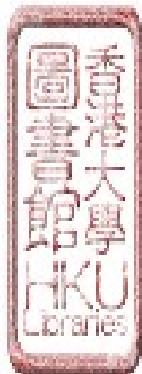
more respected than the individual. How do we know this is so? Po Chi (鮑姬) of Sung (so) feared (the lack) of propriety that she died in a fire<sup>7</sup>, while Duke Huan of Chi (so) feared (the lack) of good faith that he lost territory.<sup>8</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals considered them virtuous and raised them up as examples to the world of propriety and good faith as though to say that (as far as) propriety and good faith (are concerned) propriety cannot but be responded to while the demonstration (of good faith) cannot but be repaid. (This) is the way of Heaven. Now Lu's rulers and ministers were of the same surname as Chin, but Chin was without good intentions. Propriety (thus) evoked no response and there was fear that Lu would be endangered. How could this not be considered barbaric?<sup>9</sup> (When) the Duke's son Ching Fu (慶父) disordered Lu, almost causing its loss, (Duke) Huan of Ch'i passified it.<sup>10</sup> Lu was not related to them, yet they were concerned about Lu. How is it then that those of the same surname treated Lu in a vicious manner? The Book of Songs says:

"Small is the cooing dove;  
High it flies up to heaven.  
My heart is wounded with sorrow  
As I think of my ancestors.  
The dawn is breaking, it is no (longer) dark  
And (still) I long for my parents."<sup>11</sup>

All men share this feeling. But, at this time, Chin showed no concern for Lu, which had the same surname, and (on the contrary) violently oppressed Lu, and Lu resented it. Therefore (the

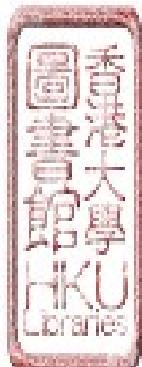


Spring and Autumn Annals) says it was wrong by writing 'Chin' and nothing more. This is indirect wording. A skeptic might say: "(When the ruler of) Chin was evil and could not be considered to be of the same family, it was reasonable that the Duke (of Lu) went but did not dare to arrive (at his court). But why was Confucius embarrassed and recorded (only) that the Duke fell ill?"<sup>12</sup> (I would reply) saying: "When evil comes spontaneously without cause, Confucius was not embarrassed." 'When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to worry about in your purpose?'.<sup>13</sup> This (refers to it). At this time Duke Chao brought on (himself) that which the Spring and Autumn Annals was ashamed of. Usurpation of the ruler by the ministers had begun with (Duke) Wen but became extreme (in the time of) Duke Chao. (At this time) there was disorder and decline and he was without alarm in his heart. Indifferently he made reckless plans and false punishments; he offended against the great rituals and married (a woman of) the same surname.<sup>14</sup> He accepted the unacceptable and compounded his lack of self-respect. People have a saying which reads: 'When the state is (well) governed, then the four neighbouring (states) are congratulatory, but when state is disordered, the four neighbouring (states) scatter.' This is the reason that when Chi Sun (季孫) usurped his position, none of the great states acted righteously (and saved Lu). (Duke) Chao fled and



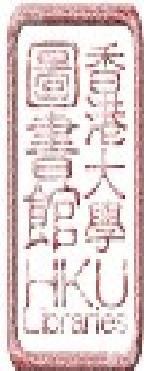
died eight years (later).<sup>15</sup> Subsequently (his body) was returned, but he had caused his own death and endangered his son. This was the acme of distressing (circumstances). Confucius was not embarrassed about his difficulties; he was embarrassed about the cause of his decline. Even though Duke Chao encountered such times, had he not taken (a woman of) the same surname as his wife, how could it have been this severe? Neither would it have been as severe had he been able to use Confucius to aid him even if he had married (a woman of) the same surname. The times were difficult yet government was careless. His actions were incorrect and he could not be saved. This was the cause of his decline.

The Spring and Autumn Annals is divided into twelve generations which can be considered (to comprise) three categories. There is what (Confucius) saw, what he heard (directly from observers), and what was orally transmitted (to him). He saw three generations; heard about four generations; and had orally transmitted (to him) five generations. Those that he saw, then, were (the reigns of Dukes) Ai, Ting, and Chao; those of which he heard were of (the Dukes) Hsiang, Ch'eng, Hsuan, and Wen; and those which were orally transmitted (to him) were of (the Dukes) Hsi, Min, Chuang, Huan, and Yin. (The period) which he saw (lasted) sixty-one years; about which he heard, eighty-five years; and which were orally transmitted (to him), ninety-six years.



Towards what he saw, he used (deliberately) obscure phraseology; towards what he heard about, he mourns the calamities; but towards what was orally transmitted (to him) he does away with compassion. This is harmonious with reason. It is the reason that (when the people of Lu wished) to drive out the Chi family he wrote: "There was another grand sacrifice for rain."<sup>16</sup> (This is the use of deliberately) obscure phraseology. When Tzu Chih (子弒) was killed he could not bear to record the day.<sup>17</sup> (This shows that) he mourned the calamity. When Tzu Pan (子般) was killed, (however) he records (the day as being) i wei (乙未).<sup>18</sup> (Here) he has done away with compassion.

(Confucius') purpose was (sometimes) restricted and (sometimes) extensive. To accord with this, the text (of the Spring and Autumn Annals) was (sometimes) detailed and (sometimes) brief. By this I know he treated as near what was near, and what was distant as distant; what was closely related as closely related and what was distantly related as distantly related. I know also that he honoured the honourable and despised the despicable; considered important the important and considered unimportant the unimportant. Further I know that he was generous to the generous and mean to the mean; like the likable and hated the hateful. (Still) further I know that he treated the Yang as Yang and the Yin as Yin; the white as

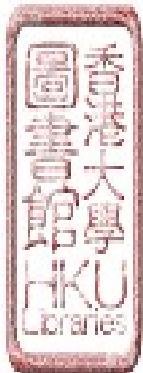


white, and the black as black. Everything in creation has a match. It is good that this is so.<sup>19</sup> The Book of Songs says:

"Their dignity and demeanour most elegant;  
Their virtuous fame spread far and wide;  
Without resentments and dislikes;  
It follows from their being (properly) matched."<sup>20</sup>

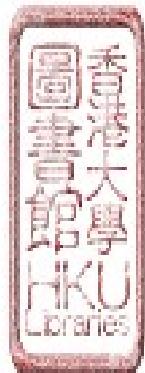
This refers to it. The righteousness of the Spring and Autumn Annals is great, and we can take one principle from it and make it broad and penetrating. When we see (that which it) approves and disapproves we can gain its righteous laws, and when we view its warm phraseology, we can know (how) it blocks up resentment. This is the reason that it records external (events) without making them obvious and glosses over internal (events) without obscuring them. It is thus also for (that which is) honourable, and (that which is) wise. This is (the way that) it differentiates between internal and external; distinguishes between wise and degenerate; and grades honourable and lowly.

It is righteous not to revile superiors and wise not to endanger the self. It is righteous to avoid mention of the distant and wise to hold in awe that which is near. When righteousness and awe act in concert, then the closer the age, the more careful the wording. This is the reason that Confuci used (deliberately) obscure phraseology for (the reigns of Duke Ai and Ting. When he was employed, the world was at peace and when he was not employed he (was able to) keep himself safe.

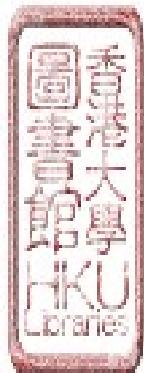


This is the Way of the Spring and Autumn Annals.

The Way of the Spring and Autumn Annals is to serve Heaven and to take the example of the ancients. Even though you have a skilled craftsman, if he does not measure with a compass and a square, he cannot determine square and round. Even though you have a discriminating ear, if you do not blow the six pipes, you cannot settle the five sounds. Even though you have a wise mind, if you do not examine the former kings, you cannot pacify the world. Thus the Way handed down by the former kings is simply the compass and square and the six pipes for the world. The sages patterned themselves after Heaven and the wise patterned themselves after the sages. This was their great way. Obtain their great way and (there is good) government; lose their great way and (there is) chaos. This is the difference between (good) government and chaos. Having learned that there are not two Ways in the world, the sages governed differently on the same principles. Ancient and modern (times) are the same; therefore the previous wise men transmitted the laws (of the sages) to later generations. The Spring and Autumn Annals serves the world, by considering good a return to the ancients and ridiculing a change of the constant. It wishes that a pattern be made on the former kings. In addition, it says that the king must change the system. Those who would demean themselves take this as an excuse and say: "If ancient times could be accorded with, how is it that the way of former

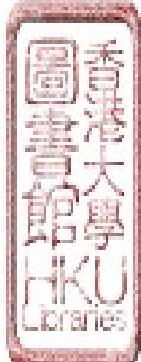


kings differed." The world has been misled by this question, and as a consequence (there is) doubt of the true Way and belief in heterodox sayings. It is to be greatly lamented. I would reply saying: "There were men who heard of the 'Fox's Head',<sup>21</sup> a shooting song of the gentlemen of the feudal lords. Thereupon they personally cut off the head of a fox, and hanging it up, shot at it, and then asked: "How can this be music?" This is (a case of) hearing the name, but not understanding the reality. Now to say that the new king must change the system does not (mean) he changes the Way, and does not (mean) he changes the principles (of good government). (It is simply that) he receives the Mandate from Heaven (thus) changing the surname of the royal (line). He does not rule as a successor to the previous king. If he uniformly followed the previous system and restored the old rule without changing anything, there would be no difference between him and one who ruled as a successor to the previous king. The ruler who receives the mandate is made very prominent by Heaven. He who serves his father continues his wishes; and he who serves his ruler is loyal to his purpose. (He who) serves Heaven is also thus. Now if Heaven makes a person very prominent (as the next ruler), he ought not<sup>22</sup> to continue what he has replaced and follow it. If it is the same, then he is not distinguishable and is not (acting in accordance with) Heaven's will. (The king) must therefore change his place of residence, take a new designation (to call his dynasty), change the first month of the year,

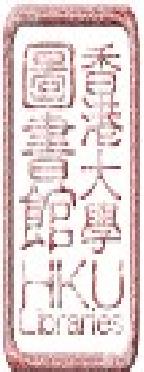


and change the (official) colour of (court) dress. (He does this) for not other reason than that he does not dare but to accord with the will of Heaven, and make clear that it is he personally who has been made obvious (as the new ruler by Heaven). As for the great principles of human relationship, morality, government, education, customs and the meaning of words, (all) remain entirely as before. How could they be changed! Therefore there were kings who had a name for changing the system, but none who changed the essence of the Way. Confucius said: "He who did nothing, yet ruled (well) - was (not) that Shun?"<sup>23</sup> (This is) to say that he ruled by the Way of Yao and nothing more. Is this not the (good) result of not changing anything (fundamental)?

A skeptic might ask: "Circumstances change and Heaven grants prominence (to a new ruler), but why must music be made anew?" (I would reply) saying: "Music is different from this. The system is changed in order to respond to Heaven, but music is made anew in order to respond to mankind. He who is the recipient of the mandate must be (he whom) the people are together in being happy about."<sup>24</sup> Therefore, changing the system at the beginning is the way (the new ruler) makes clear Heaven's mandate, and making music anew at the end is the means by which he makes manifest Heaven's merit (in choosing him). In accordance with that which has caused the world's new happiness he makes it into music. It both harmonizes government



and extends his virtue. Before the world is completely harmonized the king does not waste time making music. Music is that which wells up inside and issues forth outside. In response to the time when (good) government (is in effect), he determines ritual and creates music in order to complete it. In completion, beginning and end, basic and ornamental are brought together. This is the reason that the composer of the music must return to what the world first (found) in him to be happy about and consider it basic (to his compositions). In the time of Shun the people were happy that he manifested the rule of Yao. Therefore (his music is called) shao (堯樂). Shao (means) to manifest. In the time of Yü the people were happy about the (continuous) succession of the three sages. Therefore (his music is called) hsia (夏樂). Hsia (means) greatness. In the time of T'ang the people were happy that he had saved them from calamity. Therefore (his music is called) hu (虞樂). Hu (means) to save. In the time of Wen the people were happy that he raised an army and mounted attacks. Therefore (his music is called) wu (文武樂). Wu (means) to attack. In (all) four (cases) the world was the same in being happy, (but) the cause of (the people's) happiness cannot (be considered to be) the same. The law of composing music must be to return to the basis of the happiness. (Since) what (the world) was happy about was not the same, how could the music not but differ with the



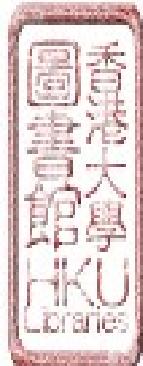
ages? This is the reason that Shun wrote the shao, Yü wrote the hsia, T'ang wrote the hu and Wen wrote the wu. The names of the four (types of) music differed, but each accorded with what the people first (found) to be happy about (in their ruler). (From this) we understand their merit. The Book of Songs says:

"King Wen received the mandate (of Heaven),  
And achieved military merit.  
After his attack on Ch'ung  
He built a city at Feng."<sup>25</sup>

(This is) a song of happiness. (The Book of Songs) also says:

"In great wrath the king arose  
And arranged his troops."<sup>26</sup>

At that time (King) Chou was acting contrary to the Way and the Feudal Lords were greatly disordered. The people were happy about King Wen's wrath and sang about it. (Later when) the virtue of the king<sup>27</sup> of Chou's virtue had already imbued (the nation), the world returned (to) the origin (of their happiness) and composed music (about it). In calling (his music) the ta wu (大武), they were saying that what the people were first happy about was his military (might).<sup>28</sup> Therefore, all music is composed at the end, but it takes its name from the beginnings. (This) is the meaning of giving importance to origins. Looking at it from this (point of view), changing the first month of the year and the (official) colour of (court) clothing accords with the mandate received from Heaven; and the difference in determining ritual and composing music - are caused by the minds of the people. The two (actions) depart



and blend together again to form a unity."

FOOTNOTES:

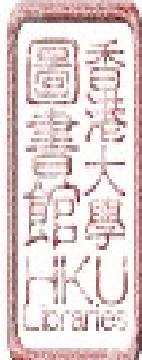
1. This occurred BC 598 (Hsian (宣) 11.5). The SA says only that the execution was carried out by a man of Ch'u. Hsia Cheng-shu had killed his ruler (who was possibly his father) the previous year and caused his two senior ministers to flee abroad. As the KYC points out, however, the rights of the feudal lords did not extent to punishment. This was the perogative of the king. Chuang of Ch'u, who was the 'over-lord' at that time, was also guilty of usurping the title of king. The rulers of Ch'u were properly termed 'viscount' (tzu - ), but this is not the point in question in this example.

2. This occurred BC 538 (Chao (昭) 4.3). Ching Feng had initially fled to Lu in BC 545 (Hsiang (襄) 28.6) after having threatened his ruler and disrupting his state. Later he fled to Wu where he was infeudated. It was here that he was attacked and killed by a combined force led by King Ling. Ling of Ch'u had also usurped the title of king; and Wu, as a feudal lord had not the right to infeudate; but neither of these are the point in question here.

3. In BC 659 (Hsi (僖) 1.2), Duke Huan of Ch'i is thought to have led the joint expedition to save Hsing (邢). Since Hsing had already fallen to a barbarian attack, however, it could not be saved. All Duke Huan could have done was reinfeudate the city, and this was the right of the king alone. Similarly, in BC 646 (Hsi 14.2), he was supposed to have led an expedition to wall Yüan-ling (袁陵). This was to become the new capital of Chi (邾), but since Chi had already been extinguished, this was tantamount to reinfeudation. In neither case is Duke Huan mentioned by name or rank in the SA itself.

4. On two occasions in BC 632 (Hsi 28.10, 16) it is recorded that the Duke of Lu went to court. The first time was at or near Chien-tu (郢土) which had been the site of a covenant at that time. The second was at or near Ho-yang (河陽) where a hunt had just been held. On both occasions court is supposed to have been held away from the capitol, and that the king had been forced to come away by Duke Wen of Chin who was the current 'overlord'. The SA itself does not mention his name in association with any of these events.

5. Ch'en had been destroyed by Ch'u in BC 534 (Chao 8.9)



while Ts'ai had been extinguished by the same power in BC 531 (Chao 11.10). But rulers for both states were reinstated by Ch'u in BC 529 (Chao 13.6). This was tantamount to infeudation by Ch'u, a right reserved to the king alone. The SA states only that both rulers "were returned" to their states.

6. Occurred BC 530 (Chao 12.10). None of the Commentaries remark upon this. It was believed that in the omission of the rank of the ruler of Chin in this entry, the SA was putting Chin on the same level as the barbarian Hsien Yu. The Hsien Yu were a tribe to the north and east of Chin.

7. Po Chi was a daughter of Duke Hsuan of Lu who had married the Duke of Sung BC 582 (Ch'eng 成 9.4). She was widowed six years later in BC 576 (Ch'eng 15.5), but she continued to live in seclusion in Sung until her death by fire in BC 543 (Hsiang 襄 30.3). The KYC does not comment upon this event, but the TC says that she was awaiting orders from the harem instructress when she died. The point is that rather than appear outside the harem, which was improper for a widow, she remained behind to die when it burned. This event is also referred to in HS27a/8a.

8. In BC 681 (Chuang 裁 13.4), Duke Huan was forced at sword-point to enter a covenant with Lu by which he agreed to return territory to Lu. According to law he was not bound to honour the covenant because he had entered into it under extreme duress, but in point of fact he did. This, comments the KYC, was the beginning of Duke Huan's good faith which hitherto he had not demonstrated.

9. The general historical context for this paragraph is not clear. At the time of her attack on the Hsien Yu, at least two of the states with the same surname as Chin were in trouble. Ts'ai had been extinguished the previous year (cf. ff.5.) and Lu was experiencing internal difficulties. Chin who was the current 'overlord', far from helping these states, mounted an easy raid to the north.

10. In BC 660 (Min 漢 2.5,6) Ching Fu assassinated the ruler and then fled to Ch'i (齊). Duke Huan of Ch'i sent an emissary, Kao Tzu (高子), to settle the resulting anarchy. Consequently Duke Hsi became the ruler of Lu. The ruling house of Ch'i had a different surname from that of the ruling house of Lu.

11. Songs 2.5.2.1. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.333). The



present rescentration of the Songs has hsı (兮) for pi (彼) of CCFL in line 4, and mei (昧) for mei (昧) in line 5. The first transposition causes no change in meaning, but the latter would then read: "I do not sleep" for the second half of the line.

12. In BC 519 (Chao 23.12) the Duke of Lu was going to Chin, the current 'overlord' but on reaching the river he fell ill and returned. He did so, remarks the KYC, because he feared Chin.

13. Analects 12.4.3, Legge, Classics I. p.252. The present rescentration of Analects has ho chü (何惟) "what is there to fear?" for CCFL yü chih (於志.) "in your purpose".

14. Analects 7.30.2. records the fact that Duke Chao had taken a woman of the royal house of Wu as his wife. (Wu had adopted the same surname as Lu when it achieved recognition by the central states.) Her death is recorded in the SA in BC 483 (Ai (亥) 12.2). The Eastern Han commentator Ho Hsiu (何休) thought that the marriage had taken place in BC 532 (Chao 10) but that it was not recorded because Confucius disapproved.

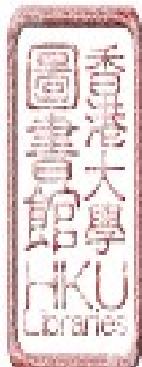
15. Duke Chao fled from Lu in BC 517 (Chao 25.5) and died in exile BC 510 (Chao 32.6).

16. In the Summer of BC 517 (Chao 25.4) the SA records two sacrifices for rain in the seventh month. The KYC holds that the second was not a sacrifice for rain, but rather a pretext on which to congregate the people to drive out the Chi family which had usurped the power of the Duke. It was unsuccessful, for the next entry records the Duke's flight into exile.

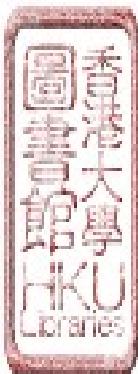
17. Tzu Chih was killed BC 609 (Wen (文) 18.6). He was the eldest son of Duke Wen and, since his father had just died, was the ruler of Lu awaiting the coming of the new year to assume the title. The SA records only the season and the month.

18. Tzu Pan was killed BC 662 (Chuang 32.5). He too was the eldest son of the Duke, and it was again after the death of his father. In this case, however, the SA records the season, month, and day.

19. The translation of this sentence is a paraphrase of the repetitious original.

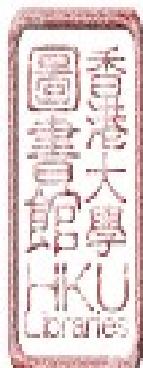


20. Songs 3.2.6.2. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.482). The present reversion of the Songs has ch'ün (𠂔) for CCFL ch'ou (𠂔) in the last line. Although the translation offered here differs from Legge's, the substitution does not necessarily change the meaning of the line.
21. The "Fox's Head", which was a hunting son of the feudal lords, is a lost poem from Songs.
22. Reading wu (舞) for wu (武) as suggested by the commentary.
23. Analects 15.4. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.295).
24. Throughout this passage music (yüeh) and happiness (le) are written with the same character - - in what is probably an intention<sup>al</sup> visual pun.
25. Songs 3.1.10.2. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.461).
26. Songs 3.1.7.5. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.453).
27. The text reads "man" but the reference is obviously to King Wen.
28. The name of King Wen's music, wu, also means military.



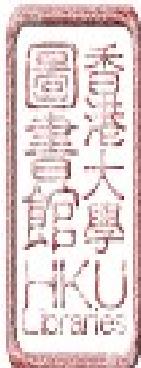
## "The Jade Cup"

The Spring and Autumn Annals was critical of Duke Wen (of Lu when) he married while in mourning.<sup>1</sup> In disagreement it could be said that the rule for mourning does not exceed three years, and that (in this case) three years of mourning (amounted to) twenty-five months.<sup>2</sup> According to the text of (the Spring and Autumn Annals) Duke Wen married only (after) forty-one months. (Therefore) at the time he married the rule for mourning was not (in effect). (The period he waited) was longer (than that required.) How then could it be said that he married while in mourning? (In answer) it could be said that in discussing events, the Spring and Autumn Annals finds nothing more important than intention. Now in marriage it is necessary to make (an earlier betrothal) present of silk, and the month in which he made the present of silk was within the period of mourning. Therefore it was said that he married while in mourning. Moreover, in the Autumn Duke Wen had made the communal sacrifice to his ancestors, and in the Winter (of the same year) made the present of silk. In both he erred by being too early.<sup>3</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals was not critical of the former but it was critical of the latter because (proper) feeling for (one's own) flesh and blood are shown by three years of mourning. Even though he followed the customs (of Lu) he was unable to com-



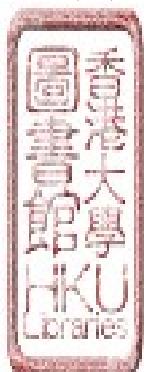
plete them for it was fitting still, that his mind not be at rest. He did not have the intention of mourning his ancestors, and on the contrary, was considering marriage. This is what the Spring and Autumn Annals greatly detested. It was critical about his not completing the three years and nothing more. It criticized him for marrying while in mourning. He did not discriminate about (the proper) order (of things) and it regarded him as mean for being heartless. From this (example) propriety can be discussed. That which propriety emphasizes is intention. If intention is respectful and restraint is complete, then Confucius praises it as knowledge of propriety; if intention is harmonious and the notes are elegant, then Confucius praises it as knowledge of music; and if intention is sympathetic and the way of life is frugal, then Confucius praises it as knowledge of mourning. Therefore it is said: "He did not emptily add (blame)".<sup>4</sup> This refers to the importance of intention.

Intention is the basic substance while action is the ornament. Ornament is added to basic substance. The basic substance does not (automatically) become ornamented, and ornament does not produce the basic substance. After the basic substance and ornament are both perfected, then propriety is completed. But when only one of ornament or basic



substance is in operation, then there can be no mention of either. When together they are not complete and only one is in operation it is better to have basic substance and be without ornament. (A case where Confucius could) not praise the ability in propriety, but still, to a small extent, thought well of it was the arrival (in Lu) of Ko Lu of Chieh.<sup>5</sup> (A case in which) there was ornament without basic substance, and although, to a small extent, he disapproved of it, he did indeed show disapproval, was the arrival of Duke Shih of Chou.<sup>6</sup> Thus in ordering the Way the Spring and Autumn Annals puts the basic substance first and ornament last; puts intention to the right and action to the left. Therefore (Confucius) said: "Propriety! Propriety! Is that jade and silk?"<sup>7</sup> Expanding upon this it would also be right to say: Court! Court! Is that rhetoric and orders? (He also said:) "Music! Music! Is that bells and drums?"<sup>7</sup> It can be concluded from this that it would also be right to say: Mourning! Mourning! Is that mourning garments? Confucius established the Way of a New King. He illuminated his veneration of intention in order to return to harmony. He manifested his love of sincerity in order to eradicate falseness. Thus was he to follow on the fall of Chou.

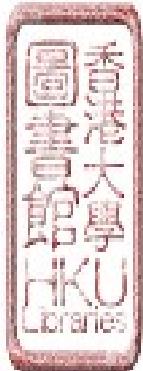
The rule of the Spring and Autumn Annals was for the



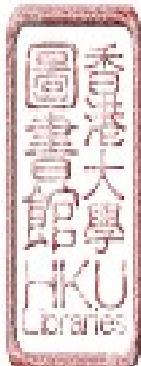
people to follow the ruler and for the ruler to follow Heaven.

(But it) says: "According to the minds of the people and the ministers, there can not be one day without a ruler."<sup>8</sup> For one day they cannot be without a ruler, yet "for three years he is called 'son' because the ruler's mind does not take the position (until mourning is completed.)" Is this not the people following the ruler? The mind of a filial son cannot act (as ruler) for three years. He does not act (as ruler) for three years, yet "the next year he takes up the position", to (accord) with the way of Heaven and complete the end (of the year) and the beginning (of the next). Is this not the ruler following Heaven? It deals briefly with the people and extensively with the ruler; briefly with the ruler and extensively with Heaven. This is the great meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals.

In discussing the events of twelve generations, the Spring and Autumn Annals deals thoroughly in the Way of the people and completely in the Way of the king. Its examples make clear that during (the course of the) two hundred and forty years (of history) they aided each other to complete their refinement. (But) its appearance is irregular and it does not copy antiquity. Therefore, those who discussed the Spring and Autumn Annals, unified, (the examples) and understood them, followed them and sought (meaning) from them.



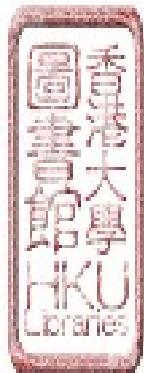
They associated the analogies, matched the categories, examined the clues and disregarded repetitions. Thus it is that it dealt thoroughly in the Way of the people and established the Way of the king. Those who disagree (would argue that the facts that) the Son of Heaven ascended the throne the year after (his predecessor's death) and that the feudal lords were called 'son' within their own fiefs for three years (after their accession) are neither of them in the Classic itself. Yet they can be held to be no different (from those) which are in the Classic (itself). (But) they are not without differentiation. There were (events) which were (historically) prominent, and the Classic (quite) naturally received repetitions. Therefore (students of the Spring and Autumn Annals) were able to achieve greatly by connecting analogies in categories and by giving discrimination to repetitions. Man, in receiving his *Decree* fate from Heaven has a nature which loves goodness and hates evil. (The former) can be nourished but it cannot be reformed, while (the latter) can be restrained but it cannot be eradicated. It is similar (to the fact that) the shape of the body can be fat or thin, but it cannot be changed. This is the reason that even though there is an exceedingly wise (person) who can prevent general knowledge of a ruler's or parent's evil for them, he cannot, on that ruler's or parent's behalf, cause them to be without evil. The Book of History says: "You act as King; do away with your (own) defects!"<sup>9</sup> (Those



who) serve their parents in a like manner are the ultimate in the loyal and the filial. How could this happen when there is not an exceedingly wise individual? If the father does not act as a father should, then the son does not act as the son should; and when the ruler does not act as a ruler should, then the minister does not act as a minister should.<sup>10</sup>

Duke Wen was unable to carry out mourning, and was untimely in offering the sacrifice (to his ancestors). He did not (offer it at the end of the full) three years. He also married while in mourning and in doing so married (the daughter of) a noble, thus demeaning his ancestral temple. By advancing (the position of) the previous duke, he disordered all his ancestors. (In his actions) there was not one which was to a small extent good, and there were four or five which were greatly evil. Therefore the feudal lords did not enter into a covenant with him<sup>11</sup>, and (one of his) nobles was caused to abandon his role of emissary<sup>12</sup>. (Because) he acted in an unminister-like manner, this is proof that he hated evil. Embarrassed abroad and superceded at home, (the Duke) was lacking in the (proper) position of a ruler. Confucius said: "Government has been in the hands of the Great officers for four generations."<sup>13</sup> This refers to Duke Wen and his successor

Confucius knew that those in the position (of ruler) could

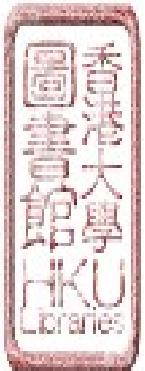


not rule people with evil. Therefore he compiled the Six Arts in order to support and maintain them. The Book of Songs and the Book of History arrange his intentions; the Book of Rites and the Classic of Music distill his goodness; the Book of Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals illuminate his wisdom. All of these six disciplines are great and each has (an area of) concentration. The Book of Songs gives instruction in intention, and is strong on basics. The Book of Rites determines restraint, and is strong on ornament. The Classic of Music sings of virtue and is strong in giving an example. The Book of History gives prominence to merit, and is strong on affairs. The Book of Changes bases (itself) on the universe, and is strong on the way. The Spring and Autumn Annals rectifies right and wrong, and is strong in government. Mankind is able to comprehend their strong-points simultaneously, but he cannot be complete about (all) their details. Therefore if a ruler of men is too restrained, his knowledge is hidden, and if he is too open, his rule is oppressive. The error in these two is different, but are alike in being censured and their ill-effects are inevitable. This must be examined. This is the reason that those who are good at teaching who have perfected their Way are cautious in their actions. They arrange time into early and late, responsibility into great and small, and travelling into humied and stately. They go without haste, and if they are obstructed, they are

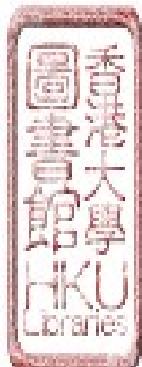


without bitterness. They understand what they do and complete what pleases them. Therefore their strength is not wearied and their persons are greatly completed. This is to say that the sages have influenced us, and that we follow them.

The Spring and Autumn Annals is fond of subtlety and honours intention. It regulates the meaning of important and unimportant; penetrates to the responses to calamities; understands the meaning of life and death; and, follows the examples of the Way of man. For this reason when a ruler is killed and the assassin is punished, it considers this good and records his execution. But when (the assassin) is not punished, the ruler's burial is not recorded and the assassin's (name) is not seen again. The burial is not recorded (to show that the ruler) is without (loyal) ministers or (filial) sons. The assassin's (name) is not seen again (to indicate that) he should have been destroyed. (When) Chao Tun (趙盾) (of Chin) assassinated his ruler, (however), we again see his name in another section four years later.<sup>14</sup> This is not the Spring and Autumn Annals' usual (method of) phraseology. In ancient and modern (times) scholars have found this strange and question it saying: 'This is an assassination of a ruler. How is it that (the assassin's name) is seen again? (I would) reply that this is similar to asking why the burial (of an assassi-



nated ruler) is recorded when the murderer has not been punished. Why is a burial recorded when it was not fitting to record it? Yet the burial was recorded. Why was (the assassin's name) seen again when it was also not fitting that it be seen again? Yet it was seen again. The two cases cannot but be similar. If we are direct in the discussion of the problems raised by (Chao Tun's name) being seen again, (we find that) he did not personally kill (his ruler). But it was not that he did not deserve punishment. Thus we cannot but discuss the recording of the burial of Duke Tao (太子) (of Hsd<sup>15</sup>). If we are direct in the discussion of the problem raised (by this case, we find that) it did not amount to assassination. (But) it was not that (the prince) did not deserve the guilt. Were this not so, the wording of the Spring and Autumn Annals would be chaotic. How could they then be followed? There is consistency in meaning, even though it is difficult to be comprehensive in connecting analogies and discussing right and wrong. In (the case of Chao) Tun, there is neither an entry (recording) his execution, nor one (recording) that he was not executed. If there is an analogy which refers, this is correct reasoning, but if there is no analogy, then it is false phraseology. Now if, (when) we examine the analogy, (we find that) neither (men) deserved death, why should they be punished? The problems raised by the Spring and Autumn Annals number in the hundreds, but the

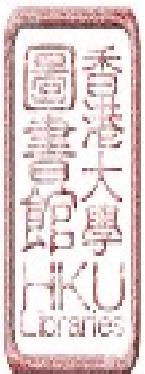


responses to these problems number in the thousands. These all exist together in the classics and we organize them into categories in order to discover their principles. There are never any falsehoods for the responses are obtained from (other) entries. (Confucius) has allowed (both) the culprits (who were from) other (states) to go unexecuted and both are seen again. Yet a skeptic (might ask) saying: 'How is it that (Chao Tun) is seen again? There is nothing more false than this! Where is the response (to this problem)?' Because I have obtained the response, I know that the question is not foolish; and because I know the question is not foolish, I know that the case of (Chao) Tun cannot but be examined.

(We) already have (a case which) is named patricide, but (in which) (the son) was, in reality, excused of guilt. (Here we) also have (a case in which) he is named as the assassin of his ruler, but (in which) he is not executed for his crime. Rather than anticipate the conclusion, it is better to make a slow careful study. Moreover I know that there was a basis for (the phraseology in the case of Chao) Tun. The Book of Songs says:

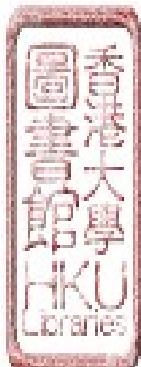
"What other men have in their minds  
I can measure by reflection".

This is to say that there is nothing which is unconnected. By examination of externals, internals can be perceived. Now by



examining (Chao) Tun's actions we can see that his heart was sincere and not criminal. Combing (all the facts) we can be confident (that his actions) are not related to usurpation and assassination. When we see how (Chao) Tun cried out to Heaven, how could he be like this if he lacked internal sincerity? This accords with his being without the intention of assassination from the beginning to the end (of the affair). The reason that he was implicated in the evil plot was simply that he made the mistake of not fleeing far (enough); and his guilt was that he did not punish the criminals.<sup>17</sup> The necessity for the minister to punish the criminals for the ruler is similar to the necessity for the son to taste the medicine for the father. The son did not taste the medicine, and therefore the (blame) was increased to patricide. The minister did not punish the criminal, and therefore the (blame) was increased to assassination. Thus does it demonstrate to the world the great evil of ministers and sons doing away with their integrity. (The case in which Chao) Tun did not punish the criminals for his ruler is no different from (the one in which Prince) Chih did not taste the medicine for his father. (Therefore when we) compare these (cases we see that) it was not fitting to execute (Chao) Tun.

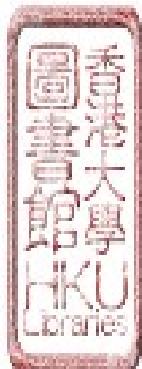
The skeptic (might then ask) saying: 'It was termed an



assassination, yet in neither (case) was there an execution. The reasoning is difficult to understand and is not one that I can see. The pardoning of (Prince) Chih's guilt is explained in (another) entry, but the (reasons for Chao) Tun not being executed have no entry. Why is this?

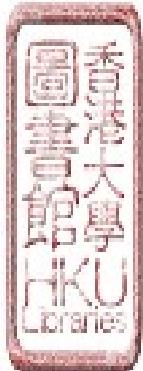
(I would) reply that it was a disordered age in which righteousness had been done away with. There were many who turned their backs on the king and acted in an unministerlike manner, and many who overturned, usurped and assassinated their rulers. Accusations are always recorded (in those case where) the great evil was clear. (The reason why) the accusations of Chao Tun of Chin and of Prince Pi (丕) of Ch'u<sup>18</sup> have no entry is (because Confucius) did not wish to make it manifest.

The skeptic (might then go on to ask) saying: 'There was more than one state in which a senior minister was present when someone whom the (senior minister) was unable to punish assassinated the ruler. Yet when Duke Ling was assassinated Chao Tun was not present. There is a difference in the degree of evil between being present and not being present. (Yet) the Spring and Autumn Annals blames those who were present but unable to punish the criminals with nothing more than not classifying them as ministers or sons. It increases the blame to assassination for those who were not present and unable to



punish the criminals. Why is the degree of blame less for the greater evil and more for the lesser evil?

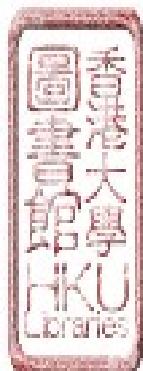
(I would) reply that the Way of the Spring and Autumn Annals was to perceive that which could mislead people and make a statement about it in order to make it clear. Now, Chao Tun was wise, but (in this case) he did not follow the correct principles. All could see his goodness, but none could see his guilt. therefore, because of his wisdom, it made the evil (he did) greater. Giving him the heavier blame causes people to think deeply and (gain) self comprehension, and thus return to the Wau. (Thus we would) say: 'Ah! Important is the great righteousness of (the connection between) ruler and minister and the Way (connecting) father and son!' This is why the evil was minor but the blame was major. All those from other states who did not punish the criminals are worthless people. How could they be taken into account?<sup>19</sup> (Confucius) simply did not classify them as men. This is why the evil was major but the blame was minor. (It is as though) the entries were saying: 'The light becomes heavy and the heavy becomes light.'<sup>20</sup> Is this not (relevant)? Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) doubted that Prince Pi should have been set up (as ruler); it doubted that Chao Tun should be without the blame of a minister (in such circumstances); and it doubted that (Prince) Chih of Hsu should be without the guilt of a son (in like situations). The Spring and Autumn Annals was co-



cerned that people would not know the evil and carry on tranquilly, unwarned. Therefore it compounded the blame in order to reform an unjust age and rectify it. (But) if the reform did not over-correct, it would be unable to rectify it. Know this and its meaning is completed.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The problem here is clearly set out in CCFL below. Duke Wen's predecessor Duke Hsi had died in the twelfth month of the thirty-third year of his reign (BC 627 - Hsi 33.10). But Wen did not actually marry until the summer of the fourth year of his reign (BC 623 - Wen 4.2). According to the KYC, however, betrothal gifts were delivered to Ch'i in the second year (BC 625 - Wen 2.8), immediately after he had performed an ancestral sacrifice (which was also too early - cf ff.3 below). Again, according to the KYC, the bride was the daughter of a noble who had the same surname as the ruling house of Ch'i. Since the Duke could properly marry only the daughters of other ruling houses, this too was disapproved of.
2. Because the death had occurred in the last month of the year, the mourning for the entire year took only the part of the month left. Therefore the three years of mourning would, in this case, cover only twenty-five months.
3. In the Autumn of BC 625 (Wen 2.6), Duke Wen had made the Hsia ( ) or communal sacrifice to his ancestors. Although commentators seem to be unsure of the time when this sacrifice should have been carried out, it is obvious from CCFL below that Tung thought it should have been performed after the three years of mourning had been completed. Duke Wen compounded his crime by giving his father, Duke Hsi, precedence over Duke Min, his uncle, whom his father had succeeded as Duke of Lu. For a discussion of how this disrupted the family temple cf. Legge, Classics V, p.234.
4. KYC, Wen 2.8 (in which it comments on the betrothal gifts.)
5. Ko Lu of Chieh came twice to Lu in BC 631 (Hsi 29.1,5). O



the first occasion the Duke was absent, but on the second he gained an audience. The point here is that as the unranked ruler of a small barbarian state, he would not have been aware of the correct court procedures. Although the KYC does not indicate favour, it is obvious that Tung credits him with good intent.

6. The Duke of Chou came to Lu in the Spring of BC 706 (Huan 6.1). The previous year he had passed through Lu when escaping to Tsao from his collapsing state. He is not accorded his title in the SA on this second occasion. The KYC interprets this as a censure. The Duke did not, the KYC explains, act as a guest should - presumably by crossing Lu the previous year without permission or coming to court.

7. Analects 17.11. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.324).

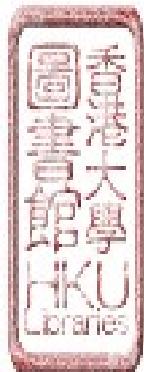
8. The background to this passage is described in KYC Chuang 32.5 (the death of Tzu Pan - cf. Ch.I.ff.18) and in Wen 9.1 (the visit of an emissary of the King). All the quotations in it are drawn from the latter. The problems as outlined in it are: 1) "The people cannot be one day without a ruler"; 2) "There cannot be two rulers in one year"; 3) "There cannot be a year without a ruler"; and 4) "The mind of a filial son cannot bear to succeed (his father) until three years (have passed)" (i.e. until the period of mourning is completed.) The problem is resolved by having the son succeed to the position the year following his father's death, but, within the state, not succeeding to the title until the three years of mourning are completed.

9. A similar passage occurs in History 4.5.1.3, but the meaning is markedly different. (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.201).

10. An almost identical passage occurs in Analects 12.11.3. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.256.)

11. In BC 625 (Wen 2.3) Duke Wen entered into a covenant with a noble of Chin called Yang Ch'u-fu (陽處父). Like his forthcoming marriage, this sort of relationship with a noble was disapproved of. The TC says that this covenant was forced on him by Chin because he had not paid a requisite court visit.

12. On the death of the King in BC 618 (Wen. 8.6) Kung-



sun Ao (公孫敖) was sent to the capital to express the Duke's condolences. He turned back before arriving and fled to Ch'u (楚). The point is that the Duke himself should have gone.

13. Analects 16.3. Legge, Classics I, p.511.

14. The SA records the assassination of Duke Ling (靈) of Chin by Chao Tun in BC 605 (Hsüan 2.4), but the assassin is again mentioned in BC 601 (Hsüan 6.1). He was not, as it happened, the actual killer. He was given the guilt of assassination because he did not punish the real killer. The fact that Duke Ling was an evil and depraved ruler bears no relation to the problem. Duke Ling's burial is not recorded.

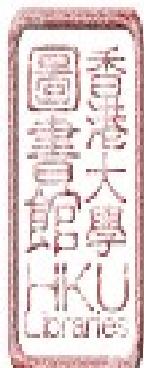
15. Duke Tao died as a result of medicine administered to him by his son in BC 523 (Chao 19.2). The SA records this as an assassination, yet the son was not executed, and the Duke's burial is recorded (Chao 19.5). The KYC explains that Confucius used the term 'assassinated' to indicate the son's responsibility, but records the Duke's burial in order to show that he pardoned him.

16. Songs 2.5.4.4. Legge, Classics IV, p.342.

17. Immediately after the assassination, Chao Tun fled from the capital. Before reaching the border, however, he returned. Had he crossed the border and remained in exile, he would not have had to assume the responsibility of punishing the assassins.

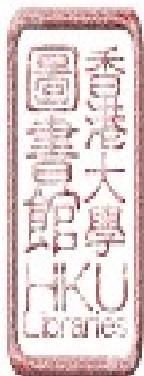
18. In BC 529 (Chao 13.2) Prince Pi returned from Chin, whence he had fled in BC 541 (Chao 1.11), and was established as ruler. His elder brother who had been the current ruler and who had been away from the capital at that time, fled, and the next month committed suicide. The reasoning here is that the usurpation caused the suicide and could therefore be termed assassination. Prince Pi was in turn assassinated by his brother Prince Ch'i-chi (姬疾) (Chao 13.3). The term used here in the SA was 'assassinate' not 'execute'. The KYC makes it clear that Prince Pi had returned to Ch'u innocent of the intention of killing his brother the ruler, and that the latter had ruled in an unprincipled manner.

19. The same thing was said by Confucius in almost the same words of "those of the present day, who engage in government."



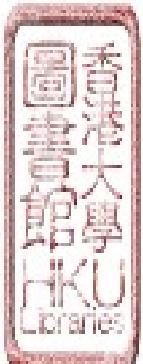
Analects 13.20.4. Legge, Classics I, p.272

20. The text here reads as though this were an actual quotation from the KYC. It does not, however, contain these phrases.



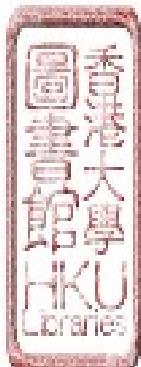
CCFL 3:"The Bamboo Forest"

It is a constant in the phraseology of the Spring and Autumn Annals to consider not the barbarians but the Central States as the (most) proper. Why is it, (then) that when we come to the battle at Pi (this rule) is unexpectedly broken?<sup>1</sup> I would argue that the Spring and Autumn Annals is without generalizations, and shifts with the changes (in circumstance). At this time Chin had become barbaric, while Ch'u had become gentlemanly. Therefore it shifted its terminology in order to follow changed circumstances. The goodness of King Chuang's forgiving Cheng could be honoured. The men of Chin did not recognize his goodness and wished to attack him. What they were going to save had already been released and they fought for no reason. This is (the kind of) reasoning which does not value goodness and (the kind of) thinking which takes lightly the saving of the people. Therefore it despises them and does not call them wise people who act properly. (Earl) Mu (子圉) of Ch'in insulted Chien Shu (蹇叔) and suffered a great defeat.<sup>2</sup> (Earl) Wen (文子) of Cheng thought (too) lightly of the masses and lost his army.<sup>3</sup> Thus does the Spring and Autumn Annals honour wisdom and lay emphasis on the people. Therefore even though battles, attacks, and invasions numbered in the hundreds it had to record in each case, he was grieved



by the severity of the harm (that they did). A skeptic (might ask) saying: 'It is most attentive in the recording of battles and invasions, but there is no mention that it detests them. How is this?'

I would reply that in the business of the meetings (of the feudal lords), the great are considered more important than the small; and that in the business of battles and invasions, (the state mentioned) last is considered more important than (the state mentioned) first. If it did not detest them why does it put the instigator in the inferior position? This is the phraseology (by which it shows that it) hates warfare and aggression.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore it is a rule of the Spring and Autumn Annals that in bad years the old (should) not be repaired.<sup>5</sup> The purpose (of this is to) avoid giving hardship to the people. Is not wounding the people even more hateful than causing them hardship? And is not killing the people more extreme than wounding them? Therefore if the old is repaired in a bad year, then it is (openly) critical; but if (a wall) is constructed (around) a city, then it suppresses (its criticism).<sup>6</sup> When the harm to the people is small, the hate is small; but when the harm to the people is large, then the hate is large. How much greater is

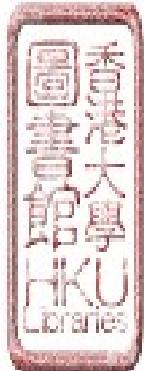


the harm done to the people in battles and invasions! When we examine the meaning and study its implications, then (we see that) what the Spring and Autumn Annals hates is failure to use virtue and the use of force; coercing the people and victimizing them. (We see also that) what it likes are the establishment of virtue and the neglect of force; the treating of the people with humanity and righteousness. The Book of Songs says:

"He displayed his culture and virtue,  
And they permeated the four corners of  
the state."<sup>7</sup>

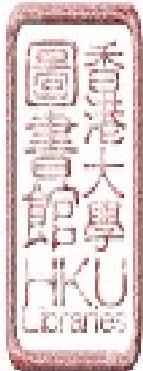
This is what the Spring and Autumn Annals considered good. But the Spring and Autumn Annals despised those whose virtue could not reach the near, and whose culture could not reach the distant, but who quarrelled in order to do battle and invade. In all (cases) it considered them to be unrighteous. An opponent (might argue) saying: 'In recording battles and invasions, there were those which the Spring and Autumn Annals thought good, and there were those which it thought evil. It disliked surprise attacks and approved of set battles; thought shameful attacks (on those in) mourning, and considered revenge to be glorious. How (can you say that) the Spring and Autumn Annals considered that there were no righteous battles?'

I would reply that in the recording of disasters and



anomalous occurrences, the Spring and Autumn Annals always says that there were no wheat sprouts even when there were a number of stalks in the fields.<sup>8</sup> Now for the greater part of three hundred years the world (had had) innumerable battles, attacks, and invasions, yet of these (only) two were (wars of) revenge.<sup>9</sup> How is this different (from the case in which) there were a number of stalks in the field (but it was recorded that) there were no wheat sprouts? (Since) there were not enough to contradict (this rule) it (can be) said that there were no righteous battles. If it is not possible (to say that) there were no righteous battles, then neither is it possible (to say that) there were no wheat sprouts. If it is permissible (to say that) there were no wheat sprouts, then it is also possible to say that there were no righteous battles.

With respect to (the attitude) of the Spring and Autumn Annals towards set battles, it approved of their openness, but disapproved of warfare. There is proof of this. The Spring and Autumn Annals loved mankind, and battles kill mankind. How could Confucius say that killing what he loved was good? (The attitude of) the Spring and Autumn Annals towards set battles was similar to its (attitude) towards the central states. When referring to Lu they were external, but when referring to the barbarians they were internal. Compared to surprise attacks, (set battles could) be called righteous; but compared to not fighting (at all they could) be called without



righteousness. Forming a covenant was not as good as not forming one, but still there were covenants which were called good. Entering into battle was not as good as not doing so, but still there were battles which were called good. In the midst of (that which) is not righteousness there is righteousness, and in the midst of righteousness there is (that which) is not righteous. The phraseology cannot be sufficient; it is all in the implications. (These) cannot be understood by one who is not of clear and penetrating thought. The Book of Songs says:

"The flowers of the plum tree,  
How they flutter and turn!  
How can I not think of you!  
But your home is far away.'

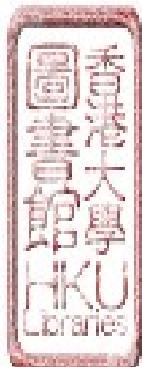
Confucius said: 'He did not (really) think of her. (If he had,) how could it be distant?'"<sup>10</sup> Looking at it from this (point of view), we should look for the implications, and not depend on the phraseology (alone). If we do not depend on the phraseology (alone), then "we can join in progress along the Way."<sup>11</sup>

Sse-ma Tzu-fan (司馬子反), while acting as an emissary for his ruler, disregarded his ruler's orders and sympathized with the enemy. He complied with their request and made peace with Sung.<sup>12</sup> This is usurping government at home and arrogating fame abroad. Usurpation of government is



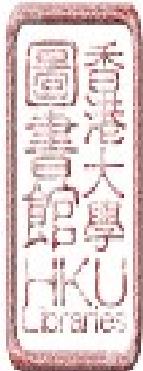
treating the ruler with disrespect; while arrogation of fame is acting in an unministerlike manner. For what reason, then, does the Spring and Autumn Annals consider him great? It could be argued that because his benevolence was grieved, he could not bear the starvation of the people of the state which was causing them to eat one another. When the extension of benevolence is far, it is considered good; and when the exercise of humanity is natural it is considered good. (Sse-ma) Tzu-fan's heart went out to them and he pitied the people of Sung. There was no time to consider (propriety). Therefore it considered him great.

An opponent (might argue) saying: 'According to the rules of the Spring and Autumn Annals, high ministers (ought) not to grieve for the feudal lords (of other states)<sup>13</sup>, and that government (ought) not to be with the nobility.<sup>14</sup> (Sse-ma) Tzu-fan was a minister of Ch'u, yet he sympathized with the people of Sung. This is grieving for the feudal lords (of other states). Without returning to his ruler he made peace with the enemy. This is government in (the hands of) the nobility. At the covenant at Chu Liang (楚梁) good faith was with the nobles, yet the Spring and Autumn Annals<sup>15</sup> criticises them for demeaning the honour of their rulers.<sup>16</sup> The making of peace by a noble is also demeaning the honour of his ruler, yet the Spring and Autumn Annals considers him



great. This is a mistake. Moreover, the meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals (proper) officials hate to arrogate the splendour of fame. Therefore a loyal official does not publicize his advice (since) he wishes (it to appear as though) it came from his ruler. The Book of History says: "When you have good plans or councils, go in and tell your ruler in private. Henceforth in public, act in accordance with them and say: 'This plan or this council is due to our ruler's virtue.'"<sup>17</sup> This is the pattern for officials. All the excellent nobles of ancient times served their rulers like this. Now (Ssu-ma) Tzu-fan was near to his ruler but he did not return; King Chuang could have been seen, but he did not report. In relieving the trouble (between) the two states he had no alternative. Why did he demean the splendour of his ruler's name? This is a place where (the Spring and Autumn Annals) is misleading.'

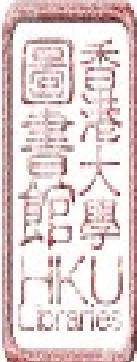
(I would argue) in reply that the Spring and Autumn Annals has constants and variables. The variables are used in (situations which) change, while the constants are used in (situations which are) constant. Each stops with its category and they do not interfere with one another. All that are praised by the Minister of Instruction<sup>18</sup> are constants for the world. It is correct to copy them. (Ssu-ma) Tzu-fan's action was a small variation (from them). (Under the circumstances) it was corre



independent remedial action. When the eyes become alarmed, one's appearance changes, and when the mind is frightened, some of one's duties are forgotten. (These) are men's (natural) feelings. One who understands that feelings were stricken by alarm, chooses the goodness and ignores the mistake. The Book of Songs says:

"When gathering feng and picking the fei  
We do not (reject them) if the roots  
(are bad)."<sup>19</sup>

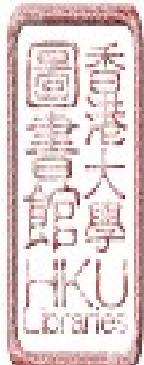
This refers to it. (Ssu-ma) Tzu-fan went to observe (the situation in the capital of) Sung, and when he heard that the people were eating each other he was greatly alarmed and grieved for them. He had not thought that (the starvation) was this extreme. This is the reason his mind was startled and his eyes were moved, and he transgressed against the constant, propriety. Propriety derives from humanity; it is that which ornaments the basic substance and completes the body. Now that the people were eating each other, on what could propriety be placed when there was (such a) great loss of humanity? How could the ornament be mourned at the time when he was rescuing the basic substance? Therefore (Confucius) said: "You must not yield in the performance of humanity."<sup>20</sup> This refers to it. In the phraseology of the Spring and Autumn Annals there is what it calls the "evil" and there is also the "more evil than the evil".<sup>21</sup> Since there is the "more evil than the evil", there would also be the "more honourable than the honourable". But the Spring and Autumn Annals honours



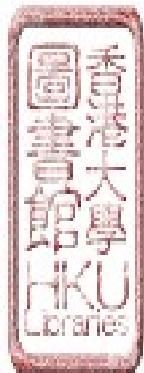
(ministers) who defer. (Ssu-ma Tzu-fan) saw them eating each other and he was horrified that they were cooking each other. In saving them he forgot to defer. The way of the true gentleman has something more honourable than deference. Therefore those who teach the Spring and Autumn Annals do not use a constant righteousness to doubt the great principles of the variables. The meaning is clearly understood (by them).

The Spring and Autumn Annals records the successes and failures of the world and shows their causes. It illuminates what is very obscure, and manifests that which is unspoken. This must be examined. If you do not examine (something) as large as M . T'ai, you will not see it. How much more (obscure) would be the minute! Relying on the Spring and Autumn Annals to explain past events, we (can) make a thorough investigation of beginnings and see their causes. (This we know that) ambitious rulers and people who are (too) happy cannot but be cautious.

Duke Ch'ing (襄) of Ch'i was the grandson of Duke Huan of Ch'i. His state was vast and its physical resources were profitable. He received the inherited honour of the (position of) 'overlord', and his ambition was to be greater than the feudal lords. For this reason he opposed meetings (of the feudal lords) and was arrogant and wasteful. For nine years



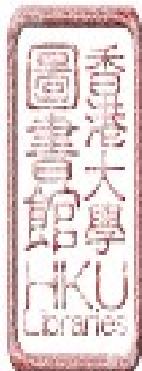
after succeeding to the throne he was unwilling to convene even one meeting (of the feudal lords). Having the intention of offending Lu and Wei he followed the feudal lords to neither Ch'ing-ch'iu (清丘) nor Tuan-tao (團道).<sup>22</sup> In the Spring (of BC 589) he invaded Lu, penetrating to the northern suburbs,<sup>23</sup> and then turning, he invaded Wei and defeated it at Hsin-chu (新渠).<sup>24</sup> At this time he was seizing victories and his ambitions were vast. (When) the (other) great states sent embassies, he was rude and he did not respect their emissaries. Chin and Lu were both offended. Internally they gathered the masses and externally they formed alliances. Together with Wei and Ts'ao, four states (in all), they supported each other and put (Duke Ch'ing) in gravest difficulty at An (安). Duke Ch'ing of Ch'i was captured, and (his charioteer), Feng Ch'ou-fu, was executed.<sup>25</sup> Duke Ch'ing caused great humiliation to himself, almost lost his state, and became the laughing stock of the world. The basic cause of this began from his repression of Lu and his victory over Wei. When he invaded Lu, the Lu (forces) did not dare to come out (and face him), and when he attacked Wei he greatly defeated it. It was the fulfilling of his ambitions and a lack of enemy states which caused his calamity. Therefore we have said that ambitious rulers and people who are too) happy cannot but be cautious. This is the proof. From this time on Duke Ch'ing was fearful. He did not listen to music, drank no wine and ate no meat. At home he cherished the common people, inquired after the sick



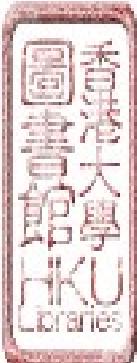
and condoled with mourners. Abroad he respected the feudal lords and attended their meetings and covenants. For the rest of his life his state was in peace.<sup>26</sup> Good fortune is based in sadness (for others) while disaster arises from being (too) happy (with oneself). Alas! How close is the origin of things to (the actions of) mankind! Can this be neglected?

Feng Ch'ou-fu lay down his life that his ruler might live. Why is he not considered circumspect? (Feng) Ch' ou-fu deceived Chin and Chi Chung made a promise to Sung.<sup>27</sup> Both acted incorrectly in order to preserve their rulers, but what (Feng) Ch'ou-fu did was more difficult than (what was done by) Chi Chung. Why is it that Chi Chung is shown as wise while (Feng) Ch'ou-fu is shown as wrong?

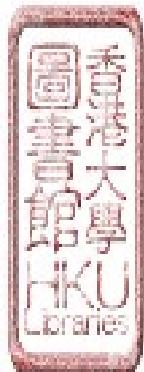
I would reply that in this (example) right and wrong are difficult to distinguish. They seem to be similar but the principle is different. This must be examined. Abdication (in the favour of) a brother is most honoured by Confucius, but being captured and escaping is what he most despises. Chi Chung placed his ruler in the most honoured position that he might live. Therefore the Spring and Autumn Annals considers



that he was circumspect and judges him wise. (Feng) Ch'ou-fu placed his ruler in the most despised position that he might live. Therefore the Spring and Autumn Annals considers that he was not circumspect and judges him shallow. They were the same in that they acted incorrectly to preserve their rulers, but the principle differed. (The one) caused his ruler glory, while (the other) caused his ruler disgrace. In all of men's actions, if the wrong precedes the righteousness, it is called circumspect. (People who) were unable to succeed, but whom the Spring and Autumn Annals considered good were Duke Yin of Lu<sup>28</sup> and Chi Chung of Cheng. When correctness precedes the wrong, (however), it is called misguided. (People who) were able to succeed, but whom the Spring and Autumn Annals did not favour were Duke Ch'ing of Ch'i and Feng Chou-fu.<sup>29</sup> If you risk great humiliation in order to live, your feelings will not be happy. Therefore the wise man does not do it; but the masses are in doubt about it. The Spring and Autumn Annals consider that mankind does not know what is right and are in doubt. Therefore it shows what is right by saying: "It is correct that when a state is extinguished its ruler dies."<sup>30</sup> It is correct (in the sense) that Heaven gives mankind his *Decree* nature and destiny. In giving mankind his nature and destiny, Heaven causes him to practise humanity and righteousness; to be ashamed of disgrace. We are not like the animals who merely live and benefit (themselves). This is the reason that the Spring and Autumn Annals expands on Heaven's gift and accords

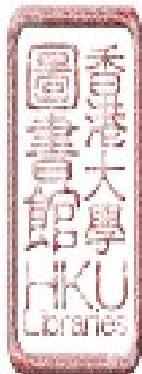


it with the principles of man. The acme in honour cannot be placed in the great disgrace of the utmost in humiliation. Therefore a captive (ruler) is cut off (from his position). Neither can the utmost in disgrace be placed in the great position of the acme of honour. Therefore, since he had lost his position he was no longer the ruler. After he returned to his state and was restored to his position the Spring and Autumn Annals does not use the phraseology (due to a) ruler. How much more so when he had vilely allowed himself to be captured and made prisoner! With respect to righteousness, it is certain that he was not a ruler. Since he was not the ruler, in what way was (Feng) Ch'ou-fu circumspect? He deceived the enemy and greatly sinned against Chin. In allowing Duke Ch'ing to escape he disgraced the ancestral temple (of the ruling house) in Ch'i. Therefore, even though (what he did) was difficult, the Spring and Autumn Annals did not favour him. (To gain) great righteousness (Feng) Ch'ou-fu should have spoken to Duke Ch'ing saying: 'In insulting and offending the feudal lords, your loss of propriety has been great. Now we have been greatly humiliated. If we are unable to die, we will be shameless, and the crime will be compounded. Let us die together (so that) we will not humiliate your ancestral temple and disgrace the national altars (of Ch'i).' Had he done this, his name would have been pure even though his life would have been lost. At a time (such as) this it was wiser to die than to live. The true



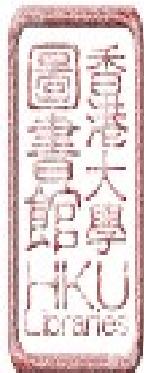
gentleman "considers it better to die in glory than to live in humiliation".<sup>31</sup> Discussing this from the rules (we can say that Feng) Ch'ou-fu was not circumspect in his deceit; was not righteous in his loyalty. If you disagree (let us) look again at the Spring and Autumn Annals. In the introductory phrase to the Spring and Autumn Annals (the word) king is placed between (the words) Spring and correct. Is this not to say that (the king) receives Heaven's gifts from above, and below rectifies mankind? (Only) afterwards can he be considered to be king. Revering goodness, hating evil, loving glory, and detesting humiliation are not (actions which) mankind can create of himself. They are what Heaven bestows on mankind. Confucius, judging it by what Heaven bestows on mankind, (finds Feng) Ch'ou-fu to have been disloyal. What Heaven bestows on mankind causes mankind to have a sense of shame. Having a sense of shame, he cannot live in great humiliation. There is no greater humiliation than abandoning the position of ruler and being captured and made prisoner. Tseng-tzu said: "If you can avoid humiliation, then avoid it; but when humiliation is unavoidable, the true gentleman takes death gladly."<sup>32</sup> (This) refers to Duke Ch'ing.

The Spring and Autumn Annals says: "Cheng attacked Hsü (子圉)." <sup>33</sup> Why did it hate Cheng and consider it barbaric? (I

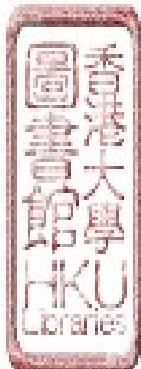


would) answer that Marquis Su (蘇) of Wei had died (recently before) Cheng invaded (that state).<sup>34</sup> This is attacking (a state which is) in mourning. Cheng entered into a covenant with the feudal lords at Shu (蜀).<sup>35</sup> By this covenant (Cheng) returned to (membership in) the feudatory. (Cheng) then attacked Hsü. This was a repudiation of the covenant. To attack (a state which is) in mourning is to be without righteousness, and to abrogate a covenant is to be without good faith. (Cheng) had neither righteousness nor good faith. Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) hated it greatly.

A skeptic (might ask) saying: 'When that ruler (of Cheng) died, his son was termed Earl before the next year began.'<sup>36</sup> This is not (the correct phraseology) for sons. How does (this) (indicate his) guilt? (I would) reply that the rule of former kings was that those in high mourning did not speak (outside) their gates for three years; their intentions complied by not engaging in (public) affairs. The Book of History says: "Kao Tsung (lived) in the mourning shed, and did not speak for three years."<sup>37</sup> This is the meaning of mourning. Now (the new Earl of Cheng) could not, of course, be as good as this. (But) before the year following his father's death, how could he raise an army while (still) in mourning? It was because of his lack of love (for his father). Because he had abandoned the (proper) intentions of a son, the Spring and



and Autumn Annals (considers that) he no longer deserved to be called 'son'. It called him Earl to humiliate him. The previous ruler, Duke Hsiang, had attacked (a state which was) in mourning, and in abrogating a covenant, had offended the feudal lords. The anger of the feudal lords had not yet been appeased; their hatred had not passed away. His successor in the rule (of Cheng) should have devoted himself to goodness in order to ameliorate the situation. (But) without reason, he compounded (the crime) and while (still) in mourning, attacked others. The father attacked others while they were in mourning, and the son attacked others while in mourning (himself). The father was not righteous towards others, while the son abandoned love towards his own (father) by offending the central states. The father was responsible for the earlier evil, but later, (the son) himself caused even greater evil. As a result the feudal lords were angry and hated him. They met together and planned a concerted attack (on Cheng). At this Cheng became afraid, and abandoning Ch'u, entered into a covenant at Ch'ung-lau (忠牢). Ch'u and the central states (in turn) mounted attacks (on Cheng) from both sides. Cheng was weak and in danger, and he ended his life in grief and sadness. I have traced the origins (of this) to lack of righteousness. His defeat was caused by disrespect. Thus Confucius has said: "The ruler of a state of one thousand chariots attends carefully to (public) affairs and (exhibits) good faith."



He knows their importance towards success or failure and in consequence is attentive and careful. The (new) Earl of Cheng had neither the benevolence (proper to) a son, nor mature plans. Once he had made the mistake of resorting to war he suffered endless calamities. He had brought it on himself. While he lived he could not be called son because he had done away with righteousness, and when he died his burial was not recorded in order to manifest his guilt. I would ask the (rulers) of states to examine (this case). If they are not righteous in their personal actions and untimely in their conduct of (public) affairs, how could it be other than this?

FOOTNOTES:

1. In BC 597 (Hsüan 12.3) the SA records a battle between Chin, whose army was led by a noble, Hsün Lin-fu (荀林父), and Ch'u, whose army was led by the marquis. The army of Chin was badly defeated. The KYC explains that the noble of Chin is mentioned by name, and the ruler of Ch'u by rank in order to show that propriety was on the side of Ch'u. It was improper for a noble to oppose a ruler. Ch'u had been considered less civilized than the other ranking states, but at this time the position of 'overlord' was in the process of passing from Chin to Ch'u.

The army of Chin had marched to the aid of Cheng, but Cheng had already fallen. In both battle and victory, the viscount of Ch'u had deported himself as a moral ruler. At the time of his encounter with Chin, he had forgiven the ruler of Cheng for instigating the clash, and was returning in peace to his own state.

2. In BC 627 (Hsi 33.3) an army of Ch'in was defeated by an



army of Chin at Yao (堯). The KYC explains that Ch'in is mentioned without rank to show that her actions were considered to have been barbaric. At the time of her defeat, Ch'in was on the way to attack Cheng, much against the arguments of the Ch'in noble Chien Shu.

3. In BC 660 (Min 2.8), the SA records that Cheng abandoned its army. It is explained that the ruler of Cheng sent the army away to the border because he hated its general, Kao K'o (高克). After a time the army disbanded.

4. Lu Wen-chao (盧文弨) thinks that Tung is wrong in this and that there are instances in the SA which do not follow this rule. However the KYC comment on Wei's defeat by Ch'i in BC 666 (Chuang 28.1) supports Tung.

5. In BC 665 (Chuang 29.1), the repair of the stables is recorded in the SA. The KYC informs us that this ought not to have been done, because it was a year of famine. By recording this repair (which it usually does not), the KYC held the SA to be indicating direct censure.

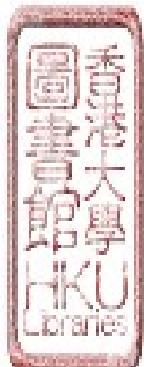
6. In BC 666 (Chuang 28.6), a famine is recorded. The KYC informs us that this entry follows directly on the one recording the walling of Mei (郿) to show that it was suppressing disapproval of this construction in a year of famine.

7. Songs 3.3.8.6. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.555). The present rescentration of Songs has shih (矢) for CCFL shih (矢).

8. In BC 687 (Chuang 7.4) there was a flood followed by a lack of wheat sprouts. While the KYC does not add to the information on this, TC says that the good grain was not harmed.

9. In BC 690 (Chuang 4.4) the SA records the departure of the Marquis of Chi (季) from his state. The KYC explains that this wording is used to conceal the fact that it was at this time that Chi was extinguished by Duke Hsiang (襄) of Ch'i. This repression, we are told, was because the SA approved of the action since it revenged the death, in BC 894, of Duke Ai (艾) of Ch'i, an ancestor of Duke Hsiang (removed from Duke Hsiang by nine generations). He had been killed by the Marquis of Chi of that time.

In BC 685 (Chuang 9.6), Lu mounted an attack on Ch'i, but



in spite of internal difficulties due to the recent assassination of its ruler, Ch'i roundly defeated Lu at Jan-shih (淹師). The KYC explains that the defeat was recorded, even though the SA did not normally record Lu losses, because it was a campaign of revenge, and that death or defeat in pursuit of revenge are glorious. It is to be presumed that this attack was a belated attempt on the part of Lu to avenge the death, under curious circumstances, of the previous ruler, Duke Huan, in Ch'i in BC 694 (Huan 18.2.5.)

It is to be noted that Tung is concerned here only with the rulers. That is to say revenge between states. In BC 506 (Ting 4.4) when Wu and Ts'ai defeated Ch'u, revenge was involved, in that Ch'u had executed a hostage. This was neither revenge between states nor the main question at issue in this case.

10. This is from one of the poems which have been lost from the present rescentration of Songs. The entire text as quoted here, however, is to be found in Analects 9.30 (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.266). The present rescentration of Analects has t'ang (盜) for CCFL t'ang (盜).

11. Analects 9.29. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.266.)

12. Pressed for supplies when laying seige to Sung in BC 594 (Hsian 15.2), King Chuang of Ch'u sent Ssu-ma Tzu-fan to spy on the city. In the course of his mission, the latter met a noble of Sung, Hua Yüan (華元), from whom he learned that conditions in Sung had deteriorated to the point where the people "were exchanging their children and eating them, and breaking up their bones for fuel." Distressed by this he told Hua Yüan that his forces had only seven days of provisions left. After returning to his own camp he told King Chuang what he had done, and he used the fact that the enemy knew of their predicament to persuade him to lift the seige and retire. The KYC explains that the SA recorded this event (when it usually did not record peace settlements between foreign combatants) in order to give importance to it.

13. Paraphrase from Hsiang 30.3.

14. Paraphrase from Ting 1.2.

15. Su Yü's edition has chu hou (子侯), the feudal lords, instead of Ch'un Ch'iu (春秋).

16. The covenant at Chü-liang was convened in BC 557 (Hsiang



16.2), and while their feudal lords were present, it was the nobles who formed the covenant. The KYC explains that although the good faith was with the nobles, the SA was criticising them for acting as though their rulers were useless.

17. History 5.21.6. (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.540). The present resentment of History has hou (侯) for each chün (臣), and ssu (庶) for each tz'u (子) of CCFL. CCFL has also lost the tse (則) before the ju (且).

18. Chu-tzu (諸子), a minister in the royal court of both the Hsia and the Chou who was responsible for the instruction of the sons and younger brothers of the nobility.

19. Songs 1.3.10.1. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.55). Legge says (ibid, p.56, ff.) that the feng and fei were plants which had edible leaves, roots and stalks.

20. Analects 15.25. (Legge, Classics I, p.304.)

21. KYC Ai 2.1.

22. The covenant at Ch'ing-ch'iu was held in BC 597 (Hsüan 12.6) and was attended by Chin, Sung, Wei, and Ts'ao. The covenant at Tuan-tao was convened in BC 592 (Hsüan 17.6) and was attended by Lu, Chin, Wei, Ts'ao, and Chu (邾). The KYC comments on neither. The first was apparently attended only by the ministers, whereas the rulers themselves took part in the latter.

23. The SA has "northern border" (pei-pi - 北鄙) while CCFL has "northern suburbs" (pei-chiao - 北郊).

24. These invasions occurred in direct succession in BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.1,2.), but the KYC comments on neither. The army of Wei was led by a noble, and the site of the battle, Hsin-chu, was in Wei.

25. The reprisal occurred the same year and the events are recorded in Ch'eng 2.3,4. Feng Ch'ou-fu bore a marked resemblance to his ruler. When capture was imminent, he took his ruler's place on the left of the chariot and was captured in his place while the latter escaped.

26. The new virtue of Duke Ch'ing of Ch'i is related in the KYC for the year BC 583 (Ch'eng 8.1.).

To say that he attended all the remaining covenants of the feudal lords is not strictly correct. There was a covenant held later in BC 583 (Ch'eng 2.10) which according to



TC, was attended by the Duke of Lu, a Prince of Ch'u, the Marquis of Ts'ai, the Baron of Hsü (侯), a noble of Chin, a noble of Sung, a noble of Ch'en, a noble of Wei, a noble of Cheng, and a noble of Ch'i. Out of the ten participants, only three were the rulers of their states, and the Commentaries are unanimous in condemning it. Prior to his death in BC 582 (Ch'eng 9.7), however, Duke Ch'ing did attend all the other covenants between rulers. They were held in BC 586 (Ch'eng 5.7), BC 584 (Ch'eng 7.8) and in BC 582 (Ch'eng 9.2).

27. In BC 701 (Huan 11.4) shortly after the death of the Earl of Cheng, the Prime Minister of Cheng, Chi Chung, was captured by Sung. He was told that if he did not set up Prince T'u (太子) as the successor in the place of the heir-apparent Prince Hu (君), the state of Cheng would be extinguished and its ruler killed. In order to save both state and ruler Chi Chung agreed and entered into a covenant with Sung. Prince T'u was the son of a woman from Sung. Four years later (Huan 15.4) he forced Prince T'u (who had become Earl Li (庶子)) to flee. This allowed Prince Hu to return and take up his rightful position as Earl Hsiang (襄) (Huan 15.5).

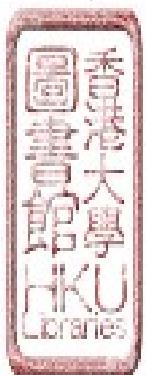
28. On the death of Duke Hui of Lu in BC 723, his heir (who eventually became Duke Huan in BC 711) was too young to take the throne. Duke Yin, who ruled as marquis of Lu until his death in BC 712, was an older brother who had not been made the heir because his mother was not of a royal line. (Duke Huan's mother was from the royal line in Sung.) Duke Yin, after refusing to take the position of ruler, allowed himself to be named Marquis, but during his lifetime he considered himself as nothing more than the regent for his younger brother.

Neither Duke Yin nor Chi Chung could have been considered to have been successful because too much time had elapsed after their incorrect action before the rightful ruler was installed.

29. It is probable that Duke Ch'ing's name should not be included here. The commentators feel that this is a copyist's error.

30. Said in the KYC on the destruction of Lai (賴) by the Lord of Ch'i, BC 567 (Hsiang 6.8).

31. Ta-tai Li-chi, "Tseng-tzu Chih-yen", shang. (大戴禮記，曾子制言上).



32. ibid.

33. The attack by Cheng on Hsü was made in BC 588 (Ch'eng 3.16), but none of the Commentaries elaborate on it.

3

34. Duke Su of Wei died BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.6) and was buried early in the following year (Ch'eng 3.2). Ch'u and Ch'eng attacked Wei before his burial, in BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.8).

35. The participants of the covenant at Shu are listed above, ff. 26 para. 2.

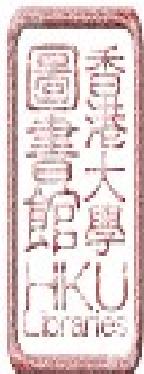
36. The Earl Hsiang (襄) of Cheng (who was the ruler in question in the previous case) died BC 587 (Ch'eng 4.2) and was buried the same year (Ch'eng 4.6). Yet the succeeding Earl is given his full title in the SA when he made his attack on Hsü (Ch'eng 4.9). He should not have been accorded it until the year after his father's death.

37. Paraphrase of History 4.8.1.1. (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.248). A quotation from History in Analects (14.43.1) however, is almost identical. Analects as an (殷) for CCFL's an (殷). (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.291). Kao Tsung was the Shang Emperor who ruled BC 1339 - 1281.

38. Afraid of Ch'u, Cheng turned to Chin in BC 586 and in the twelfth month entered into a covenant (Ch'eng 5.7) with Lu, Chin, Ch'i, Sung, Wei, Ts'ao, Chu (邾) and Chi (\*邑). Because of the covenant, Ch'u attacked Cheng in the Autumn of the following year (Ch'eng 6.9) and because of Ch'u's attack, Chin invaded in the Winter (Ch'eng 6.11). It is to be noted that both these attacks occurred after the death of the Earl Tao (聃) (Ch'eng 6.7) who had offended everybody.

39. Analects 1.5. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.140). A state of one thousand chariots would have been one of the larger states of the period.

40. Earl Tao of Cheng died BC 585 (Ch'eng 6.7) but his burial is not recorded.



CCFL 4:"Jade Blossoms"

To say 'the one origin' is (to say) 'the great beginning'. Knowledge of the meaning of the 'first year' is what the great man considers important and what the common man considers trivial.<sup>1</sup> This is the reason that the beginning of (good) government of the state is in the rectification of names. Rectification of names (must) flourish for five generations. After five transmissions it can be said that good and evil have attained their true form. This is not something which (a person such as) Tzu-lu<sup>2</sup> could see.<sup>3</sup>

Duke Mu of Sung ascended a throne which was not (properly) his. Even though he had received it from the former ruler, the Spring and Autumn Annals considered it dangerous.<sup>4</sup> Wang Liao (王僚) of Wu ascended a throne which was not (properly) his and which he had not received from the former ruler, and the Spring and Autumn Annals considered it dangerous.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this, if a ruler behaves morally and gains (the minds of) the masses, the Spring and Autumn Annals does not consider it dangerous. The establishment of Duke Chin (晉) of Wei (is an example of this).<sup>6</sup> (It demonstrated this by) recording his burial. It was improper for any of them to be established. Yet Duke Mu of Sung received it from the former ruler and it



was considered dangerous, while Duke Chin of Wei did not receive it from the former ruler and it was not considered dangerous. From this we can see the great goodness of gaining the minds of the masses. Not only had Duke Huan of Ch'i not received it from the former ruler, but also was it not at all fitting that he become ruler. The guilt of his establishment was also great.<sup>7</sup> But he was wise enough to be fearful, and he carefully promoted the wise in order to recover himself.<sup>8</sup> He knew enough not to abrogate the forced covenant<sup>9</sup> and thereby cleansed himself. Consequently he was a wise ruler and became 'overlord' of the feudal lords. Had Duke Huan of Ch'i been evil and without this goodness, he would have been lucky to escape destruction. How could he have been 'overlord'? Duke Huan of Lu forgot to be concerned and calamity visited him personally.<sup>10</sup> Duke Huan of Ch'i was concerned about the sorrows (of others) and he established a meritorious name. To generalize upon this (we can say that) he who has cause for concern and does not know it will have bad fortune, while he who has cause for concern and is deeply concerned will have good fortune. The Book of Changes says:

"Return to the Way.  
How can there be blame in this?"<sup>11</sup>

For an ordinary man to return to the Way and thereby do away with error is quite difficult; but for a ruler of men to

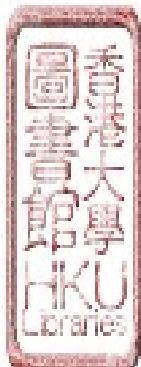


return to the Way, thereby doing away with error, is very easy. The Book of Songs says:

"Virtue is light as a hair,  
(But few are able to lift it.)"<sup>12</sup>

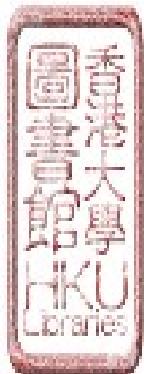
This speaks of the ease (with which a ruler can return to the Way).

What was wrong when "the Duke (of Lu) observed the fishing at T'ang (棠)"?<sup>13</sup> The nature of man is to admire nothing more than righteousness, and those who are unable to be righteous fall prey to profit (-seeking). For his entire life, the words of Confucius did not touch upon profit. By not speaking of it, he wished merely (to indicate) that he considered it to be shameful. He treated it as shameful in order to stop it at its origins. If it is wrong for the one who occupies the throne and exercises moral suasion to merely speak the name of profit, how much more so for him to seek profit! Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) records that it considered it greatly evil when Heaven's King (*i.e.* the King of Chou) sent men to seek for burial contributions, or to seek for gold.<sup>14</sup> Now not only did (Duke Yin of Lu) send men (to seek profit), but also did he personally (go to) seek it. This is why he was greatly wrong. Why did it criticise him? Saying (Duke Yin) "observed the fishing" is like saying (Duke Chuang) "observed the Sacrifice to the God of the Soil (in Ch'i)"?<sup>15</sup> In both (cases) the phraseology (indicates) that it is con-



cealing (the fact that) it considered it greatly evil.

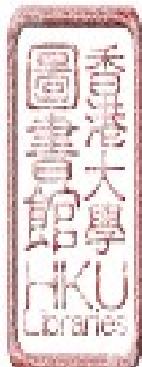
The Spring and Autumn Annals contains conformations to ritual and variations on ritual. That which is pacifying to the nature and settled to the mind is a conformation to ritual. That which is not different from the Way, even though it is not pacifying to the nature nor settling to the mind, is a variation on ritual.. It is a conformation to ritual when "in the marriage ceremonies, the (future) husband is not named." (When) referring to an orphan there is no one (else) to name, and (in this case) the naming of the (future) husband is a variation on the ritual.<sup>16</sup> It is a conformation to ritual when "the Son of Heaven is called King (only) after three years after (his father's death)." It is a variation on ritual when there is a reason to call him King before three years (has elapsed).<sup>17</sup> It is a conformation to ritual when wives do not (concern themselves) with events which take them abroad. It is a variation on ritual when a mother takes a wife for her son, or when (a wife) goes to mourn for her parents.<sup>18</sup> After we understand the workings of variation and conformation, we can know the difference between the important and the trivial. We can (then) go together in the weighing of events. An opponent (might argue) saying: 'When events are the same in the Spring and Autumn Annals, the wording is identical. These four are all



variations on the ritual. How is it that some of them reach the constant while others do not?

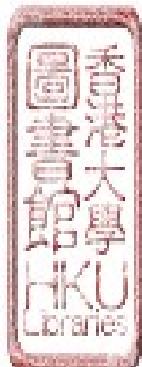
I would answer that the Spring and Autumn Annals orders all things, differentiates classes, distinguishes between (open) doubt and concealment, and regulates the basic and the ~~necess-~~<sup>非</sup> ~~ential~~<sup>之</sup>. This is the reason that when stars come down it says "they fell", and that when insects come down it says "they rained".<sup>19</sup> The place that they came from was not the same; the former fell from heaven while the latter came from earth. The wording could not be the same. Now these four are the same in that they are variations on the ritual, but they are different in origin. Some were done by men while the others were done by women. The wording cannot be the same. Some of them reach the constant while the others do not.

It was the desire of Duke Huan (of Lu) that there be no king. Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) does not (often) record (the word) 'king' (during his reign). (But) it was his intention to be established (as ruler). Therefore it records that he ascended the throne.<sup>20</sup> In recording his succession to the throne it is saying that he assassinated his elder brother, the ruler. In not recording (the word) 'ki' it is saying that he turned away from the Son of Heaven. In not speaking of the establishment of (Duke) Yin, and not (often



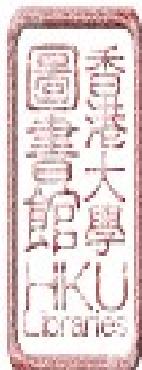
using the word 'king' (during the reign of Duke Huan, it was following their ambitions in order to show us (the natures of) their rules. It followed the wise ambitions (of Duke Yin) to demonstrate his righteousness. It followed the unfilial ambitions (of Duke Huan) in order to manifest his evil. Looking at it from this (point of view, we can see that) the Spring and Autumn Annals liked what was good and disliked what was not good. These two (rules) must be made clear.

The Classic says: "(Hua-fu) Tu of Sung assassinated his ruler Yu-i (禹夷)." <sup>21</sup> But the (Kung-yang) Commentary says that Duke Chuang (of Sung) killed him. Why is this not sufficient (to be mentioned) in the Classic? I would say that it was not that it was not sufficient (to be mentioned) in the Classic. Principles about what is sufficient are obscure and insufficient to make analogies. Thus they are difficult to understand. The (Kung-yang) Commentary says that Tsang-sun Hsi (張叔) (of Lu) and Hsi K'o (公彊) of Chin were at the same time on embassies in Ch'i, but this is not in the Classic. <sup>22</sup> How can this not be concealment? In not recording that they went it was (deliberately) avoiding (the mentioning of it). Now in this case where the (Kung-yang) Commentary mentions Duke Chuang (of Sung) while it was not recorded in the Classic is also (an instance of deliberately) avoiding (mention). In not



recording the embassy to Ch'i it was avoiding what it considered to be humiliating, while in not recording the murder (of the ruler of Sung by) Duke Chuang it was avoiding what it considered to be good. The Spring and Autumn Annals" thinks well of those who give up (their thrones). Duke Hsüan (宣) (of Sung) gave (the throne) not to his son, but to his younger brother. The younger brother gave (his throne) not to his own son but returned it to his older brother's son. Although it was not in accordance with the law, both yielded (their thrones), and their greatness could not be neglected. Therefore Confucius conceals it on their behalf and avoids mention of their improper actions. Later, (the blame) for the chaos is shifted to (Hua-fu) Tu of Sung in order to preserve their good intentions. In this it is the meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals to not neglect goodness. If it had recorded (Duke Chuang's) usurpation directly, the greatness of (Dukes) Hsüan and Mu would have been destroyed and there would have been no evidence of their goodness. An opponent (might argue saying): 'It always explains it (in the Commentaries when) there has been a concealment on the behalf of wise people. Why is it that (in the cases of Dukes) Hsüan and Mu alone there is no explanation?'

(I would) answer that they could not be considered to have been 'wise'. Since their goodness was contrary to (the King's) law, they can not be taken (to have been wise) and yet

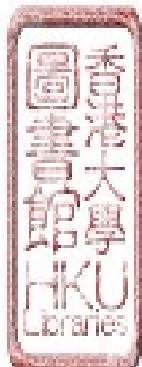


they cannot be ignored. If they are ignored, then it is ignoring their good intentions, but if they are taken (to have been) wise, then it is destroying the King's law. Therefore they are neither ignored nor chronicled. It is merely by inference that we see it. "If you are determined to be humane, there will be no evil."<sup>23</sup> This refers to it.

"Implements (are known) by their (original) names, (while) places follow their ruler."<sup>24</sup> The reference to the principles for the control of circumspection in this cannot but be examined. Even though circumspection contravenes the regular, it must fall in the realm of the correct. If it does not fall in the realm of the correct one should never do it even though it causes one's death. (The case of) Prince Mu-i (of Sung is an example of) this.<sup>25</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals views the states in which the fathers, sons or brothers of the feudal lord had been established (as the succeeding ruler) when they should not have been, as no different from those in which the ruler had been correctly established. All of these are within the realm of the correct. But when we come (to the case where a daughter of the ruler of) Tseng (曾) married in Chü (楚) and (the viscount of Tseng) made (the new son-in-law) his successor<sup>26</sup> the entry says: "Chü extinguished Tseng."<sup>27</sup> This falls in the realm of the incorrect. Therefore when a feudal lord is in th



realm of the incorrect it is called an affair of great moral import. "In affairs of great moral import, the boundary is not transgressed."<sup>28</sup> This refers to the correctness of the regular. When a feudal lord is in the realm of the correct it is called an affair of small moral import. "In affairs of small moral import, it is permissible to pass beyond it and return."<sup>29</sup> Circumspection is adaptability, but we still (must) turn it back in order to serve the great constant. Therefore the Way of the Spring and Autumn Annals is broad yet concise; detailed yet unified. Prince Mu-i (of Sung) obeyed his ruler and did not surrender the state. Chi Chung (of Cheng) surrendered the state, but later corrected (the situation).<sup>30</sup> Hsün Hsi of Chin died without complying.<sup>31</sup> (Shih) Man-ku (石曼姑) of Wei obstructed and did not concede.<sup>32</sup> Although the actions of these four ministers differed, their intentions were the same. They were identical in their righteousness. In not surrendering, (Prince) Mu-i was respecting the ancestral temple of the ruling house. In surrendering, Chi Chung was also respecting the ancestral temple of the ruling house. In dying, Hsün Hsi was honouring the order of the previous ruler. In obstructing, (Shih) Man-ku was also honouring an order of the previous ruler. Although their actions were mutually opposed, they were the same in that they were either respecting the ancestral temple of the ruling house, or were honouring the



order of the previous ruler. An opponent (might argue) saying: 'The actions of both Prince Mu-i and Chi Chung involved preservation, and it is permissible for a gentleman to consider them good. The actions of neither Hsün Hsi nor (Shih) Man-ku involved this. Moreover (the rulers) whom they wished to serve ought not to have been established. How can they be ranked as righteous?'

I (would) reply that it was the rule of the Spring and Autumn Annals that when a (former) ruler establishes someone who ought not to be established, it did not record it; but when he is established by a noble, then it did record it. In recording this, it does not approve (of the fact that) the noble established (a ruler) who ought not to have been established. (But) when it is not recorded, it approves (of the fact) that the (former) ruler established him. It is wrong for the (former) ruler to establish someone who ought not to have been established, but it is right for a noble to serve a ruler who is already established. This is the reason that Hsün Hsi and (Shih) Man-ku are considered to have been righteous.

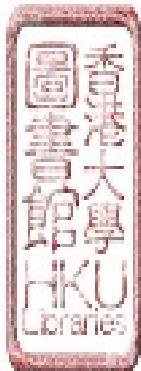
(Those who) disagree with (the actions of) Chi (季) of Chi (季) (might argue) saying: 'It is a rule of the Spring and Autumn Annals that a noble should not usurp territory.'<sup>33</sup> The might also say: 'A Prince does not consider it proper to leave



his state (forever).<sup>34</sup> Finally they (would argue) saying:

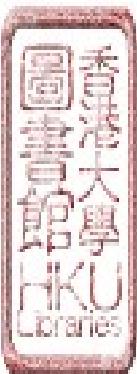
'Confucius did not avoid (mention) of troubles external to Lu'.<sup>35</sup> Chi of Chi offended against these three (rules).<sup>36</sup> How could he be considered wise? Can a wise official deliberately steal territory and surrender it to the enemy and abandon his ruler to avoid calamity?'

I would reply that a wise person could not do that. It attributed (the word) wise to Chi of Chi to show that Chi did not do it. We can know that it was done, not by Chi of Chi, but by the Marquis of Chi. In recording of events, the Spring and Autumn Annals distorts reality in order to escape (shame, and in recording (the names of) people, it changes the name in order to avoid (humiliation). It distorted the reality of (Duke) Wen of Chin's attaining his ambitions in order to successively prevent (shame and humiliation) from reaching the king.<sup>37</sup> It misrepresents the Viscount of Chu' (晉) calling him 'man' to escape (shaming) Duke Yin (of Lu.).<sup>38</sup> It changes (Prince) Ching-fu's name calling him Chung-sun (仲孫).<sup>39</sup> It changes Ch'eng (盛) calling it Ch'eng (成).<sup>40</sup> (In these three cases) it was avoiding mention of great evil. Thus when those who study the Spring and Autumn Annals are penetrating, they follow the complications of the distorted phraseology, and then obtain (the meaning). Now Chi of Chi received the order from his ruler, yet the Classic records usurpation. It does



not once use the word good, but in the commentary he is shown to have been wise. This is (a case of deliberately) distorted phraseology, and it cannot but be examined (carefully). With respect to what the Spring and Autumn Annals considers to be wise, it accords with his intentions and unifies its phraseology; it makes manifest his righteousness, and praises his goodness. Now the Spring and Autumn Annals considered the Marquis of Chi to be honourable. Therefore when it heard of his intention to submit to Ch'i it distorted the phraseology (which indicated) his admission of guilt and shifted it to Chi of Chi. In reality, it was Duke Chuang (of Lu) who sought permission to buy grain in Ch'i, but the Spring and Autumn Annals distorts its phraseology and says it was Tsang-sun Ch'en (張辰).<sup>41</sup> In reality, it was the Marquis of Chi who submitted Hsi to Ch'i, but the Spring and Autumn Annals distorts its phraseology and says it was Chi of Chi. What was distorted was different, but the reality was the same. An opponent (might argue) saying: 'He had the state, and the people wanted him to (remain) established, but he refused to listen. It is proper that when a state is destroyed its ruler dies. What was wise about the Marquis of Chi?'

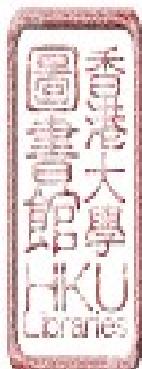
(I would) reply that Ch'i was about to take revenge and that the Marquis of Chi knew that he was not strong enough to



ward it off. Therefore he spoke to his younger brother saying: '(I), the master of our ancestral temple, cannot but die. Take Hsi and acknowledge my guilty in Ch'i, and ask to (re) establish the ancestral temple so that our former rulers may have something to depend on for the years and seasons (ahead)'. (Chi of Chi then) lead the masses of one state in order to protect nine generations of rulers. Duke Hsiang (of Ch'i) expelled (the Marquis of Chi) but (the latter) did not go. (Duke Hsiang) sought (his submission) but he did not agree. Ruler and subject were of the same mind and they died together.<sup>42</sup> Therefor the (Spring and Autumn Annals) called it a "grand leaving".<sup>43</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals considered the (Marquis of Chi's) death wise and considers it righteous that he gained the minds of the masses. Therefore it avoids mention of the destruction (of his state). Because of the avoidance we see that he was wise; and because he was wise, we can see that he achieved (both) humanity and righteousness.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. See HS56 trans. p.10.
2. Tzu-lu (子路) was a disciple of Confucius who was noted for his vigour, but not for his intelligence.
3. The inclusion of the first paragraph in this chapter is obviously a mistake dating from a time when the book, then written of bamboo slips, had fallen into disorder. All Ch'ing



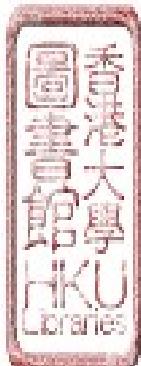
commentators associate it with sections of CCFL 13 and 15.

4. The burial of Duke Mu of Sung is recorded BC 720 (Ying 3.5) as is his burial (Yin 3.7). Duke Hsüan (宣) who had died in BC 729, had ordered his younger brother, who became Duke Mu, to succeed him rather than his son Yü-i (與夷). On his deathbed, Duke Mu, in turn, ordered that he be succeeded by Yü-i, rather than his own son P'ing (憑). Yü-i, who became Duke Shang (尚) was assassinated by his Minister of War in BC 710 (Huan 2.1). Hua-fu Tu (華父督), the Minister of War, then invited Duke Mu's son P'ing to return from exile and become ruler. P'ing accepted, and becoming Duke Chuang (莊), left Hua-fu Tu unpunished. In discussing this case in Yin 3.7, therefore, the KYC names P'ing as the assassin of Duke Shang, and lays the blame for the entire situation on Duke Hsüan who had interrupted the correct process of succession in the first place. In Yin 3.7 KYC outlines the rules for discovering Confucius' attitude towards the ruler being buried. In this case the burial was at the correct time (five months after his death) but since the day is mentioned, the interpretation was that the SA considered Duke Mu to have been a destructive influence whose mistake had been taking the position of ruler.

5

5. Although Wang Liao did not become ruler of Wu until BC 526, the story is recounted in KYC on the occasion of the visit to Lu of Prince Chi-cha (季札) of Wu in BC 544 (Hsiang 29.8). The latter was the youngest of the four legitimate sons of Shou-meng (壽夢) who had ruled Wu BC 585-561. Chi-cha was the most talented of the sons but in the face of pressure from his father and his brothers, he refused to become ruler of Wu. His brothers then ruled in succession, Chu-fan (子羔) from BC 560-548, Yü-chi (餘祭) from BC 547-544, and Yü-mei (餘昧) from BC 543-527. His continued refusal to rule left a power vacuum into which his half-brother Wang Liao stepped. Chi-cha's nephew, Ho-lü (侯呂) who was the son of Chu-fan, finally arranged the assassination of Wang Liao in BC 515 (Chao 27.2). Again Chi-cha refused to become ruler, and he departed from the capital, leaving Ho-lü in power. It is to be noted that the SA dating for these Wu rulers differs from that of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's.

6. Duke Huan (桓) of Wei was assassinated by his half-brother Chou-yü (叔愈) in BC 719 (Yin 4.2) but he was in turn put to death by the people of Wei later in the same year (Yin 4.6). The people of Wei then summoned Chin from Hsing (邢), to which he had fled previously, and established him as ruler. He became



Duke Hsuan (宣) and both his death in BC 700 (Huan 12.2) and his burial early in the following year (Huan 13.2) are recorded in SA. The KYC comments on neither of the latter events, but remarks earlier that he ought not to have been set up as ruler.

7. After Duke Hsiang of Ch'i was assassinated in BC 686 (Chuang 8.5), his younger brother Chiu (翫) fled to Lu to escape the subsequent disorder. Early in the following year the Duke of Lu entered into a covenant with the nobles of Ch'i in an agreement to set up Chiu as Duke of Ch'i (Chuang 9.2). Before Chiu could return, however, his younger brother, Hsiao-pai (少伯), had arrived in Ch'i and set himself up as Duke Huan. He had fled to Chu (楚) to escape the disasters in Ch'i which he felt sure the reckless rule of his brother, Duke Hsiang, would bring. The KYC explains that the terminology of the SA indicated usurpation of the throne. Duke Hsiang, Chiu, and Duke Huan were all sons of Duke Hsi (僖) of Ch'i.

8. He promoted the famous scholar and statesman Kuan Chung (管仲) to be his Prime Minister.

9. see CCFL 1 ff.8.

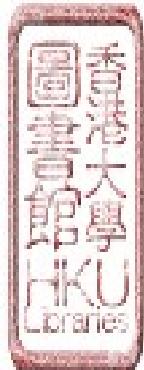
10. In BC 712 (Yin 11.4), Duke Huan, who was the chosen successor of his father (see CCFL 3 ff.28), had his elder brother, Duke Yin, assassinated, when the latter was on the point of abdicating in his favour. Duke Huan himself died under suspicious circumstances in Ch'i in BC 694 (Huan 18.2.5) (see CCFL 3 ff.9).

11. Changes, "Hsiao Ch'u" (小畜). Wilhelm, I Ching, p. 41.

12. Songs, 3.3.6.6. Legge, Classics V, p.544. The second line has been added to the translation here to make the first comprehensible in this context.

13. In BC 718 (Yin 5.1), Duke Yin went to T'ang to observe the fishing. The KYC explains that this was disapproved of because it was too distant from the capital. Censure was also indicated because he had been in search of personal profit.

14. After the death of King P'ing (平) of Chou in BC 720 (Yin 3.2), a noble of Chou came to Lu seeking contributions for the burial ceremony (Yin 3.4). The KYC explains that censure was being indicated here because it was contrary to ritual to seek such contributions.



Again, the year following the death of King Hsiang (宣) of Chou in BC 619 (Wen 8.3) a noble of Chou came to Lu seeking money (Wen 9.1). The KYC explains that the critical attitude of the SA was due to the impropriety of the seeking.

15. In BC 671 (Chuang 23.3), Duke Chuang of Lu went to Ch'i to observe the sacrifice to the god of the soil. The KYC says the SA was critical of this because it was wrong for a feudal lord to attend such a sacrifice abroad. (Italics are the translators to indicate the word being question.)

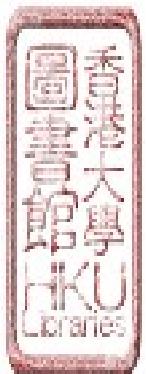
16. The KYC records the rule that "in the ceremonies of marriage, the (future) husband is not named", on the occasion of the arrival of Lu-yu (魯縕) of Chi (邾) in BC 721 (Yin 2.5) to escort the ruler's bride back to Chi. The text of the SA says only that "he came" (lai - 来). Had it recorded that he was sent (shih - 使) it would have had to record his ruler's name, and this was not permissible.

The only exception to this rule is to be found in the SA for the year BC 583 (Ch'eng 8.5), where it is recorded that the Duke of Sung sent Kung-sun Shou (公孫壽) to Lu to make the betrothal presents of silk. It is explained that he had no older relatives to arrange it for him, and that in this case it was permissible to name him.

17. The rule that the king does not take the title until three years after his father's death is recorded in Wen 9.1. On the death of King Ching (靖) of Chou in BC 520 (Chao 22.4) his son and successor is accorded the title in the very next year (Chao 23.9). The KYC explains that this was done to show that it was he who was the real king. The problem was that some of his nobles had established his younger brother, Chao (朝), as king at this time (Chao 23.10). Chao and his clique were not expelled from their usurped position until BC 516 (Chao 26.6,7).

18. In BC 635 (Hsi 25.3), the eldest daughter of Duke Hsi, who had married into the T'ang family of Sung, returned to Lu to escort her son's bride back to Sung. Again in BC 629 (Hsi 31.5), the eldest daughter of Duke Chuang of Lu, who had married the previous ruler of Chi (邾), came to Lu to seek a wife for her son. In both cases the KYC approves, were the KLC does not.

In BC 618 the departure (Wen 9.2) and arrival (Wen 9.6)



of the Duchess nee Chiang (姬) of Lu is recorded. Her destination had been Ch'i. The KYC does not comment, but Ho Hsiu's commentary to it assumes that she went to mourn one of her parents.

The KYC itself does not have the rule that "wives do not (concern themselves) with events which take them abroad". Ho Hsiu's commentary does have it for Chuang 2.4, and it is here for the first of several times that the KLC lists it.

19. The only incidence of "falling stars" was recorded as having happened in BC 687 (Chuang 7.3). The entry reads: "Stars fell like rain."

The only incidence of a "rain" of grasshoppers was recorded as having happened in Sung in BC 624 (Wen 3.5).

20. The word king (wang - 王) occurs in the introductory phrase only in the first, second, tenth, and eighteenth years of the section of the SA devoted to the reign of Duke Huan of Lu. KYC does not comment on it. Duke Huan's method of succeeding to the rule of Lu is described in ff.10 above. It is explained that in failing to punish his brother's assassin, he both assumed the guilt and broke the law of the king. This was tantamount to wishing that there were no king.

21. see ff.4 above. The SA names Hua-fu Tu as the assassin. According to the rules, however, it is the succeeding ruler who left him unpunished who should have been named. The latter is named as the murderer, however, in KYC Yin 3.7.

22. At some date prior to the battle at An (安) in BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.3) and its concluding covenant (Ch'eng 2.4), Tsang-sun Hsü (臧孫許) of Lu and Hsi K'o (郤克) of Chin were both in Ch'i on embassies at the same time. When Duke Ching's mother saw that one was lame and the other had only one eye, she had a lame man and a one-eyed man serve them. Their embassies are not recorded in the SA, but are mentioned in KYC (Ch'eng 2.4).

23. Analects 4.4, (see Legge, Classics I, p.166).

24. KYC Huan 2.5.

25. Prince Mu-i was an elder half-brother (the son of a concubine) of Duke Hsiang (宣) of Sung (ruled BC 650-637), and



held the post of Master of the Horse under him. Because he failed to listen to Mu-i's advice, Duke Hsiang was captured by Ch'u in BC 639 (Hsi 21.4 - but KYC discusses it under 21.6). Duke Hsiang thereupon ordered Mu-i to return and guard Sung. When Ch'u discovered that Sung could not be taken in spite of the fact that they held its ruler prisoner, they released him. Mu-i received him back into Sung as the ruler (even though he had been given the state by Duke Hsiang when he was captured.)

26. The commentary of Su Yü suggests that t'ung chü (同族) should be ssu chün (叔族). This correction has been followed here.

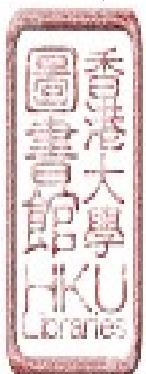
27. Tseng was extinguished by Chü in BC 657 (Hsiang 6.5), but the background is related by KYC in the preceding year (Hsiang 5.3), and in Ho Hsiu's commentary on both. Although the Viscount of Tseng had a son by his first wife, he was prevailed upon by his second (who had several daughters but no sons) to make a maternal grandson of Chü (who had married one of the second wife's daughters) his heir. This meant that the rule of Tseng was continued under a different surname and this was tantamount to extinction.

28. Analects 19.11 (see Legge, Classics I, p.342).

29. ibid.

30. see CCFL 3 ff.27.

31. When Duke Hsien (姬) of Chin died in BC 651 (Hsi 9.5), he was succeeded by his fourth son Hsi-ch'i (姵季), but the latter was assassinated almost immediately by Li K'o (里克) (Hsi 9.6). Li K'o had been tutor to Duke Hsien's eldest son who had already been put to death by his father in favour of Hsi-ch'i. Hsi-ch'i's tutor, Hsün Hsi, then set up Cho-tzu (子胥) who was the son of a younger sister of Hsi-ch'i's mother. Both Hsün Hsi and Cho-tzu were murdered by Li K'o early in the following year (Hsi 10.3 - it is here that most of the story is related.) Before killing Hsün Hsi, Li K'o had made an unsuccessful attempt to include him in the plot. His refusal had sealed his fate. In establishing both the half-brothers as ruler, Hsün Hsi had been fulfilling a promise made to Duke Hsien on his death-bed. In reality, however, neither of them were the proper successor. Duke Hsien had three older sons. The first he had had killed, while the others, who were sons of Jung (戎) wives, had been moved to distant outposts. The murder of the eldest and the virtual



exile of the others was the result of the machinations of Li Chi (馬姬), the mother of Hsi-ch'i. She was the daughter of the chieftan of the Li Jung (馬族), and a woman of great beauty. Eventually Li K'o set up one of the surviving sons and was forced by him to commit suicide (Hsi 10.5).

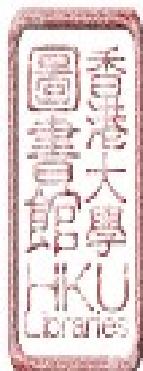
32. When Duke Ling (靈) of Wei died in BC 493 (Ai 2.4), he was succeeded, not by his son, K'uai K'uei (蒯瞷), but by his grandson, Che (禒). K'uai K'uei had fled to Sung in BC 496 (Ting 14.9) after an unsuccessful attempt to kill his mother. From there he had gone to Chin, and Chin, after the death of his father, had installed him as ruler of Wei in the border city of Ch'i (戚) (Ai 2.6). He was besieged there in BC 492 (Ai 3.1 - it is here that much of the story is related) by Kuo Hsia (國夏) of Ch'i, the representative of the 'overlord', and Shih Man-ku of Wei. It was to the latter that Duke Ling had given orders to by-pass his son and establish his grandson as the new ruler. The seige was unsuccessful, however, and after more than a decade of plotting, K'uai K'uei entered the capital of Wei as ruler (Ai 16.1) while his son fled to Lu (Ai 16.2). The KYC (Ai 3.1) approves of the investiture of the grandson. Note: From Analects 7.14 (see Legge, Classics I, p.199) however, it would appear that Confucius did not approve.

33. Although this rule is not given in KYC it is consistent with the rule that "feudal lords should not usurp territory" which is given in KYC in Hsi 1.2. Disapproval of a noble (heir-apparent) actually conducting government is shown in KYC in Huan 9.4.

34. When Prince Chi-cha of Wu (see ff.5 above) made his final refusal of the throne of Wu he moved to Yen-ling (延陵) in Wu. Ho Hsiu remarks that: "A prince does not consider it proper to leave his state (forever)".

35. This rule is found in KYC Chuang 27.3.

36. In BC 691 (Chuang 3.4), the younger brother of the Earl of Chi submitted to Ch'i with Hsi (奚), the city with which he had been entrusted. The KYC explains that the action was virtuous because he did it to acknowledge the crime which his ancestor had committed (see CCFL 3 ff.9 para.1), to continue the ancestral temple and to preserve his female relatives.



He apparently continued as ruler of Hsi as a subsidiary state of Ch'i, thus carrying on the sacrifices.

37. see CCFL 1, ff.4

38. In BC 715 (Yin 8.8), Duke Yin of Lu entered into a covenant with a "man of Ch'u at Pao-lai (包來)". The KYC does not elaborate on this, but Ho Hsiu insists that it was actually the Viscount of Ch'u with whom the covenant was made, and that this wording was used to indicate censure of Duke Yin. It lists several improprieties which he had committed.

39. The SA records the arrival of Chung-sun of Ch'i in BC 661 (Min 1.6). In disagreement with the TC, the KYC holds that this was in fact Kung-sun Ching-fu. He had fled to Ch'i in BC 662 (Chuang 32.6) after having arranged the murder of Lu's new ruler (death: Chuang 32.5; guilt recorded: Min 1.1, KYC). After his return he proceeded to arrange the murder of the reigning duke who was another of Chuang's sons (death: Min 2.5; guilt recorded Hsi 1.9, KYC). He then fled to Ch'u (楚) (Min 2.5) and the following year committed suicide. He was a younger brother of Duke Chuang. The KYC explains that his name was concealed because he was a relative of the royal line (the SA, it also explains, conceals the names of the wise and the honourable.)

40. Ch'eng was a small state held by the descendants of one of King Wen's sons. It had, therefore, the same surname as Lu. Armies of Lu and Ch'i (which had a different surname) besieged it in BC 686 (Chuang 8.3). The KYC explains that the SA calls it by a different name and records that it surrendered to Ch'i in order to conceal the shame of Lu's attack on a state of the same surname.

41. There was a famine in Lu in BC 666 (Chuang 28.6) and Tsang-sun Ch'en of Lu went to Ch'i to seek permission to buy grain (Chuang 28.7). The KYC explains that this entry is critical of Duke Chuang's administration. The famine had only started and he should have had supplies adequate for three years accumulated.

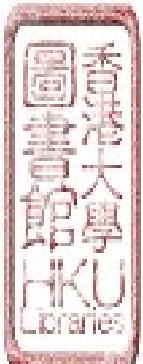
42. A contraction of the repetitious original.

43. SA Chuang 4.4.



The Spring and Autumn Annals is cautious in its phraseology in that it is attentive in the naming of rank and in the grading (of the importance) of things. This is the reason that for minor barbarians, it says 'they invaded', not 'they did battle'; that for major barbarians, it says 'they did battle', not 'they took prisoners'; and that for the Central States, it says 'they took prisoners', not 'they took hostages'. Each has its (proper) phraseology. With minor barbarians it conceals (the facts on behalf of) major barbarians, and does not say 'they did battle'; with major barbarians, it conceals (the facts on behalf of) the Central States, and does not say 'they took prisoners'; and with the Central States, it conceals (the facts on behalf of) the Son of Heaven, and does not say 'they took hostages'. In naming of rank it is strict, (thus) clarifying the phraseology (referring to) prime ministers and (other) officials. Thus the major and minor do not transgress (the bounds of their) rank, and the honourable and mean accord with their grade. (This demonstrates) the correctness of righteousness.

What is the Grand Sacrifice for Rain?<sup>1</sup> It is the sacrifice (held in times) of drought. An opponent (might argue) saying: 'In a severe drought, they held the Grand Sacrifice for Rain in which they pleaded for rain, (but when) there was



severe flooding, they beat drums and there was an execution at the altar.<sup>2</sup> The actions of Heaven and Earth are caused by the Yin and Yang. (But) in some (cases) they pleaded, and in others, they showed anger. Why?

(I would) reply that in a great drought, the Yang has destroyed the Yin. When the Yang destroys the Yin, the honourable has repressed the mean, and this is indeed righteous. Even though (the drought) is of great severity, they worshipfully plead and nothing more. How could they increase on it? But when there is severe flooding, the Yin has destroyed the Yang. When the Yin destroys the Yang, the mean has overcome the honourable. The same is true when there is an eclipse of the sun. In both (instances) inferior has transgressed against superior. When the humble injures the honourable, it is contrary to proper order. Therefore they beat the drums, held an execution, (used) vermillion silk, and acted in a threatening manner.<sup>3</sup> It was because (the cause of the flood) was not righteous. This is another (case) where the Spring and Autumn Annals "does not fear (to show) strenuous opposition".<sup>4</sup> It changes the position of Heaven and Earth to correct the order of Yin and Yang; it is straightforward in practising the Way without forgetting difficulties. This is the acme of righteousness.

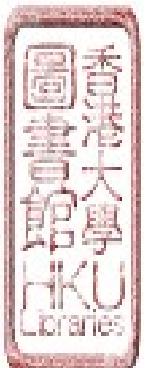


A stern and threatening act (is performed) at the altar without being disrespectful to the spirit (of the altar).

Heaven's King (can be expelled without dishonouring (the position of) the kings.<sup>5</sup> A father's orders (may) be disobeyed without interrupting the family's (wishes).<sup>6</sup> Connections with a mother (may) be cut off without being unfilial.<sup>7</sup> (This is indeed) righteous!

An opponent (might argue) saying: 'It is a rule of the Spring and Autumn Annals that "a noble does not act on his own."<sup>8</sup> But it also says: "When beyond the borders and there is a possibility to give peace to the national altars and profit the state, unauthorized action is permissible".<sup>9</sup> It says also that: "When a noble goes out under his ruler's orders, advance and retreat are up to the noble".<sup>10</sup> And again it says: "(When a noble goes out under his ruler's orders, and he leans (of his parent's) death) (he should) go sedately on without turning back".<sup>11</sup> It says "does not act on his own", and then says unauthorized action is permissible". It says "advance and retreat are up to the noble", and then says "without turning back, go sedately on". It would seem that (these examples) are in contradiction to one another. What can you say about it?'

I would reply that each of the four (examples) have their



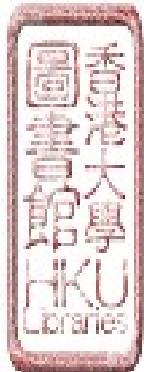
(proper) place. When they are in that place, they are correct, but when they do not attain their (proper) place they are incorrect. The Spring and Autumn Annals does indeed have a constant righteousness, (but) it also has adaptation to circumstances. "Does not act on his own", refers to (times of) continual peace. "Unauthorized action is permissible", refers to saving from danger and prevention of calamity. "Advance and retreat are up to the noble", refers to generals deploying troops. "Without turning back, go sedately on", refers to (situations in which) one (should) not harm the honoured with the personal; not obstruct the public with the private. This is to say that before acting on your own behalf, you (must) know (which category) is indicated. Prince Chieh (of Lu) received an order from (his ruler) to escort the wife of a man of Ch'en to Ch'uan (晉). While on the road, he took the opportunity to enter into a covenant with (Duke) Huan of Ch'i, and the Spring and Autumn Annals did not consider it incorrect.

<sup>12</sup> It considered that he had saved Duke Chuang (of Lu) from danger. Prince Sui (of Lu) received an order (from his ruler) to act as an emissary to the capital. While on the road, he acted on his own and went to Chin, and the Spring and Autumn Annals considered it incorrect. It considered that at this time, Duke Hsi (of Lu) was at peace and in no danger. Therefore if there is danger and you do not act on your own it is called disloyal; but if there



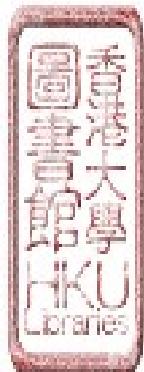
is no danger and you act on your own it is demeaning your ruler. Both these ministers acted on their own, but one was correct and one was incorrect. Righteousness is thus.

(Duke) Huan of Ch'i relied on the abilities of a wise Prime Minister and utilized the riches of a large state, but for five years (after) his accession he was unable to summon one feudal lord. It was at the covenant at K'o that he manifested great good faith and very shortly all the rulers of the nearby states arrived.<sup>13</sup> These were the meetings at Ch'üan (鄒) and Yu (幽).<sup>14</sup> For twenty years thereafter, an even longer period, he was unable to cause great harmony among the feudal lords.<sup>15</sup> When we come to the business of the saving of Hsing (邢) and Wei,<sup>16</sup> he manifested the righteousness of preserving the lost and continuing the cut off, and the next year all the rulers of the distant states arrived. These were the meetings at Kuan-tse (覲節) and Yang-ku (陽穀).<sup>17</sup> Therefore it is said: "For developing close relationships with those who are near, do not use words. For summoning those from afar, do not use envoys."<sup>18</sup> This is the proof. After this (Duke Huan) boasted of his merit; was overbearing and self-satisfied; and he did not cultivate his virtue.<sup>19</sup> The men of Ch'u extinguished Hsien (弦), and it was not his intention to be concerned.<sup>20</sup> Chiang (江) and Huang (黃) attacked Ch'en and he did not go to save it.<sup>21</sup> He pillaged the country of the people and kidnapped



(one of its) nobles. He did not save Ch'en from disaster, but (instead) punished it for failure to submit.<sup>22</sup> He did not restore peace in Cheng, but (rather) was firm in his resolve to oppress it militarily.<sup>23</sup> His merit was not yet completed, yet his conceit was satisfied. Therefore (Confucius) said: "Small indeed was the capacity of Kuan Chung!"<sup>24</sup> This refers to it. From the (time of the covenant at K'ueu-chiu, Duke Huan) became daily weaker, and there was a rebellion of nine states.

In judging legal case it was necessary for the Spring and Autumn Annals to get to the basis of the situation and to the source of the (defendant's) intention. The guilt of a personal of evil intent, (even though) he cannot be considered to be an arch-criminal, is especially heavy. If he is basically honest, then the sentence will be light. This is the reason that Feng Ch'ou-fu (of Ch'i) deserved to be beheaded,<sup>25</sup> and Yüan T'ao-t'u (of Ch'en) should not have been kidnapped;<sup>26</sup> that Chi-tzu of Lu pursued Ch'ing-fu,<sup>27</sup> while Chi-tzu of Wu did not punish Ho Lü.<sup>28</sup> The crime of each of the four was the same, (but because) the basis differed, the sentence was not the same. Two deceived the army, but some died and some did not. Two assassinated their rulers, but some were executed and some were not. (But) can litigations be heard and lawsuits be



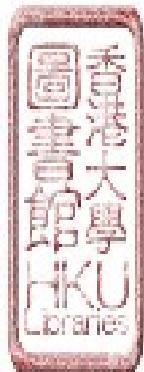
decided without (a criterion for) judgement is correct it has made principles even clearer and it has given progress to (moral) suasion; and when a judgement is incorrect it has obscured principles and deceived the multitudes (in such a way as to) obstruct (moral) suasion. (Moral) suasion is intrinsic to government, while punishment is extrinsic. Their jurisdiction differs, but their use is the same. They must accord with one another. Therefore Confucius gave great importance to them.

(With respect to) the Affair in Chin, an opponent (might argue) saying: 'According to the rules of the Spring and Autumn Annals, (when the) year (after his father's death) has not yet come, the ruler (is still) called son. (This) is because it is correct (to do so) in the minds of men. Why is it that when we come to (the case where) Li K'o murdered Hsi Ch'i, this correct phraseology is avoided and he is called the ruler's son?' 29

I would answer that I have heard that the Book of Songs has no well defined commentary, that the Book of Changes has no well defined prognostications, and that the Spring and Autumn Annals has no well defined phraseology. (The latter) accords with variations and follows righteousness; unifying them and thereby serving mankind. It is indeed fitting that a humane man should



use a different method to record the calamities (of a state) of the same surname. The surname of (the state of) Chin is the same as (the state in which) the Spring and Autumn Annals (was written). The (entire) world was saddened (by the fact that) in one plot by Li Chi, three rulers died. (When we seek for) the cause of her actions, (we see that) she was blinded by her desire for the throne and did not (fore)see the (inevitable) difficulties. The Spring and Autumn Annals hated her blindness and as a consequence, does away with the correct phraseology, and changes the wording to 'ruler's son'. It is as though it were saying to Hsi Ch'i: 'Alas! Alas! As the son of the ruler of a major state you had riches and honour enough! Why did you wish to occupy your older brother's position and cause this?' It is a phrase which records its sorrow. Sorrow of (all) sorrows it is that Shen Sheng, Hsi Ch'i, and Cho Tzu, (though) free from guilt received death at her (hands). Prince Shang-jen (商人) of Ch'i was evil of (all) evils, for he personally established and personally murdered his ruler).<sup>30</sup> (His crime) was more severe than (that of) other ministers who assassinated their rulers. Therefore it mourned the calamity in Chin but considered serious the calamity of Ch'i. The Spring and Autumn Annals is wounded by sorrowful (circumstances) and gives importance to severe (crime). This is why it deleted the phrase (denoting that) the Prince of Chin had continued the rule. Compare this carefully with (the



way it) designates the Prince of Ch'i as having become the ruler.

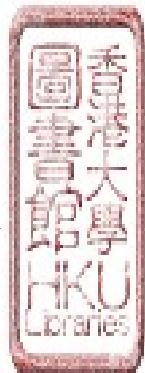
A man of ancient times had a saying which reads: "If you do not know the future, look for it in the past."<sup>31</sup> Now the discipline of the Spring and Autumn Annals recounts the past in order to illuminate the future. But since its phraseology embodies the subtleties of Heaven, it is difficult to understand. If you are unable to be inquiring it is as mute as though there were nothing there, but if you are able to investigate it (properly) there is nothing which is not there. In studying the Spring and Autumn Annals, we take one suggestion and correlate it profusely; we take one opening and connect it broadly. Thus (we can) treat the world exhaustively. Duke Hsi of Lu (was able) to ascend the throne because of disorder. But he was knowledgeable and personally employed (his brother) Chi-tzu.<sup>32</sup> While Chi-tzu lived within, there was no disorder (among) the ministers and inferiors, while abroad there were no calamities (among) the feudal lords. This continued for twenty years and the state was at peace. After the death of Chi-tzu (however) Lu could not defend itself against its neighbouring states (in times of) calamity. (Lu had to send) directly to Ch'u begging for (the assistance of) an army.<sup>33</sup> Duke Hsi's sentiments were not completely bad, but his state



was weak and in increasing peril. Why? It was because he was without Chi-tzu. Because Lu was like this we know also that the other states were all like this; and because the other states were all like this, we know also that the entire world is like this. This refers to correlation and connection. Although the world is large, and although ancient and modern times are distant, we can make decisions on this (basis). When the wise are employed we say that the ruler is honoured and the state is peaceful; but when an unsuitable person is employed, we say that the ruler is demeaned and the state is endangered. Through ten thousand generations it must, without a doubt, be thus. In the Book of Changes it says:

"The legs of the ting are broken,  
Spilling the Duke's meal."<sup>34</sup>

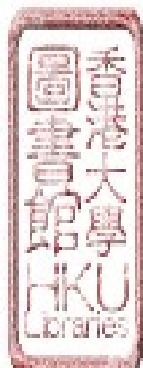
"The legs of the ting are broken," (represents) the employing of an unsuitable person. "Spilling the Duke's food." (represents) the collapse of the state. This is the reason that from ancient times down to the present, we have never heard of a state which did not collapse when an unsuitable person was employed. I have studied the Spring and Autumn Annals and examined the successes and failures (therein), and I have become greatly depressed about the (way in which the states of) former times flourished and fell. The (rulers of) states which employed wise officials flourished, but there was nothing which could be done for the (rulers of those states whose) knowledge



was not sufficient to recognize wisdom. When he recognizes it but is unable to employ it, at worst (the ruler) will die (and his state) will be lost; and at best there will be disorder and danger. Are there examples of this? Did Duke Chuang (of Lu) not recognize the wisdom of Chi-tzu? Then why, when he knew he was about to die of his illness, did (Duke Chuang) summon him and deliver the government of the state to him?<sup>35</sup> Did Duke Shang (of Sung) did not recognize the wisdom of K'ung-fu (Chia)? Then why, when he knew that he must (also) die when (K'ung-fu Chia) died, did he rush out to save him?<sup>36</sup> The knowledge of both these rulers was sufficient to recognize wisdome, yet they made no decision and did not employe (Chi-tzu and K'ung-fu Chia). But (Duke) Chuang of Lu was endangered and (Duke) Shang of Sun was assassinated. If Duke Chuang had earlier availed himself of (the services of) Chi-tzu, and if Duke Shang had employed K'ung-fu (Chia) beforehand, (their states) would even have caused the neighbouring states to prosper. How could they not escape (danger and) assassination? This is why I am depressed and sad.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. The first Grand Sacrifice for rain which is recorded in the SA was performed in BC 707 (Huan 5.7).
2. In response to the flood in BC 669 (Chuang 25.5), the SA



says that "They beat the drums and made sacrifices at the altar and at the gate." The KYC adds that "it was in accordance with ritual to sacrifice at the altar, but not proper to sacrifice at the gate". The KLC finds nothing wrong, while the TC finds the entire proceedings incorrect.

3. In response to the eclipse of the sun in BC 669 (Chuang 25.3), the SA says that they "(beat) drums and offered sacrifices at the altar". The KYC adds that they coiled strands of scarlet silk about the altar.

4. KYC, Chuang 12.4.

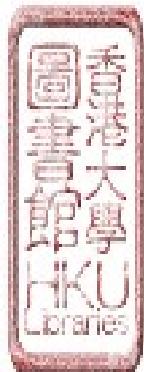
5. In BC 636 (Hsi 24.4) King Hsiang (襄) of Chou left Chou and resided in Cheng. The KYC explains that he had done so because he had not been able to serve his mother correctly and that there is no greater crime than this. The wording of the entry in the SA, then, indicates censure without actually doing so.

6. For the background to the case in question see CCFL 4, ff.32. The KYC says that "a father's commands should not override the king's father's commands," but that the opposite is acceptable.

7. In BC 693 (Chuang 1.2) the widowed Duchess of Duke Huan of Lu (who was the mother of Duke Chuang) fled to Ch'i. She had been guilty, among other things, of complicity in the murder of her husband. The KYC does not mention the severing of the relationship, although both of the other Commentaries do. Instead the KYC records her complicity in the murder and goes on to remark that she had never returned from Ch'i, and that Duke Chuang thought sorrowfully of her at this time. In this context, however, it can be assumed that the KYC took the attitude that the wording of the SA indicated a cutting off of the relationship. The point is that she could no longer be treated as a relative because of her guilt.

8. In BC 690 (Hsi 30.9), when on an embassy to the Chou capital, Prince Sui (遂) of Lu visited Chin without having had orders to do so. The KYC disapproved of his "acting on his own". This quotation is found in this passage and in Chuang 19.3.

9. From Chuang 19.3. In BC 673, Prince Chieh (子蟬) of Lu was escorting a woman to a foreign harem when he was able to take the opportunity to enter into a covenant with Duke Huan of Ch'i, the current 'overlord', and with Duke Huan (桓) of Sung. The KLC finds him to have been in error.



10. In BC 554 (Hsiang 19.8), when leading a Chin army against Ch'i, Shih Kai (\* 壴) heard of the death of the Duke of Ch'i. He retreated immediately without attacking. The KYC considers it good that he did not attack a state which was in mourning and concludes its remarks with this quotation. The KLC finds him guilty of disobeying his ruler's orders.

11. When on his way to Ch'i on state business in BC 601 (Hsian 8.2), Prince Sui (遂) of Lu heard of the death of one of his parents and feigning illness himself, turned back. The KYC criticises him in these words. The preceding phrase (in double brackets) has been included in translation to make its context clearer. The KLC found no fault in his actions, saying that he had completed his business before returning.

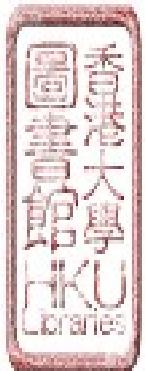
12. According to the commentary of Ho Hsiu, Duke Chuang had failed to attend the two previous meetings of the feudal lords. The first was held BC 676 (Chuang 15.1) at Ch'üan (鄆), and the second was held the following year (Chuang 16.4) at Yu (驁). While the SA associated with the KLC and the TC agreed that the Duke was not present, only one of the editions of the SA associated with the KYC says that he was not. Hsü Yen continues Ho Hsiu's argument by depending on the other two Commentaries to prove the Duke's absence.

Ho Hsiu says that because of the Duke's absence, Ch'i and Sung were planning an invasion of Lu. A few months later Ch'i and Sung did indeed abrogate the covenant with Prince Chieh, and invaded Lu (Chuang 19.5).

From Tung's remarks below, it is obvious that he thought that the Duke had been present at the second meeting; and Lu's danger is confirmed by the winter attack which is mentioned above.

13. The covenant with Lu at K'o (括) in BC 681 (Chuang 13.4) was Duke Huan's first official encounter with another feudal lord since becoming ruler of Ch'i in BC 685 (Chuang 9.4). Although this was a forced covenant, Duke Huan honoured its terms, thus exhibiting his good faith. (see CCFL 1, ff.8).

14. Meetings were held at Ch'üan in BC 680 (Chuang 14.4) and BC 679 (Chuang 15.1). Both were attended by the Marquis of Ch'i (Duke Huan), the Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Wei and the Earl of Cheng. The first meeting was also attended by the Earl of Tan (聃), while the second was also attended by the Marquis of Ch'en.



The covenant at Yu was convened in BC 678 (Chuang 16.4) and was attended by the Marquis of Ch'i (Duke Huan), the Duke of Lu (see ff.12 above), the Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Ch'en, the Marquis of Wei, the Earl of Cheng, the Baron of Hsu, the Earl of Tsao, the Earl of Hua (滑), and the Viscount of T'eng (滕).

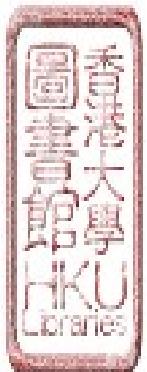
Chuan was a place in Wei, while Yu was a place in Sung.

15. This is not to say that there were no covenants or meetings during this period. There were a number of small covenants as well as a relatively large covenant and a slightly larger meeting. The covenant was held at Yu in Sung in BC 667 (Chuang 27.2), and was attended by Duke Huan of Ch'i, the Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Ch'en, and the Earl of Cheng. The meeting was held at T'ing (亭) in Cheng in BC 659 (Hsi 1.7), and was attended by Duke Huan of Ch'i, the Duke of Lu, the Duke of Sung, the Earl of Cheng, the Earl of Tsao, and a noble of Chu (邾). It is to be noted that in each case, membership included only the rulers of the neighbouring states.

16. Ch'i was successful in saving Hsing in BC 661 (Min 1.2), but arrived too late to save it a second time in BC 659 (Hsi 1.2), and arrived too late to save Wei in BC 658 (Hsi 2.1). Both had been destroyed by the Ti (狄) barbarians. Duke Huan of Ch'i is associated with neither of these events in the SA, but the KYC explains that it was concealing the shame of Duke Huan's failures. In both instances the rule of the destroyed state was restored. (see CCFL 1, ff.3).

17. The covenant at Kuan-tze was held in BC 658 (Hsi 2.4) and the meeting at Yang-ku was held the following year (Hsi 3.5). The SA says that both were attended by "the Marquis of Ch'i, the Duke of Sung, a noble of Chiang (江), and a noble of Huang (黃)". Both the KYC and the KLC understand the recording of the rulers of Ch'i and Sung to be indicating the presence of all the central states, and the recording of the representatives of Chiang and Huang to be indicating the presence of all the distant states. Thus all the recognized states of the day were in attendance. Both Chiang and Huang were small states to the east of southern Ch'u in what is now the S.E. corner of Honan.

18. Paraphrase from Kuan-tzu, "Hsing Shih" (形勢), (W.A.Ricket trans., Kuan-tzu, p.131, 2.) It is to be noted that Tung uses this in an interstate context whereas the Kuan-tzu Chieh (管子解) for this section gives an intrastate explanation.



19. At the covenant attended by the feudal lords in BC 651 (Hsi 9.4) at K'uei-ch'iu (葵丘), the KYC says that "Duke Huan was overbearing and boastful". As a consequence, it goes on, nine states rebelled. Ho Hsiao explains that the KYC recorded neither the time of the rebellion, nor the names of the nine states, in order to avoid mention of the king, on the one hand, and Duke Huan, on the other. The position of the former, and the previous virtue of the latter would otherwise have been compromised.

20. Hsien was extinguished by Ch'u in BC 655 (Hsi 5.7). Hsien was a small state near Huang in the S.E. of present Honan.

21. Chiang and Huang attacked Ch'en in the Autumn of BC 656 (Hsi 4.6). In the winter of the same year Ch'en was also invaded by armies from Lu, Ch'i, Sung, Wei, Cheng, Hsü (許), and Tsao (Hsi 4.9). The KYC comments on neither. The KLC holds that Lu also took part in the first attack, and the TC says that it was because Ch'en had been disloyal. The wording of the SA certainly supports this position. Lu had also attacked Ch'u (Hsi 4.7) at about the same time for having abrogated the covenant which had been convened earlier that year (Hsi 4.4).

22. In BC 656 (Hsi 4.5), Ch'i captured the Ch'en noble Yuan T'ao-t'u (袁濤徒). Duke Huan of Ch'i had been on an expedition to the south from which he was returning at the time. Yuan T'ao-t'u, fearing that the Ch'i forces would draw heavily on the resources of his state if they crossed it, advised Duke Huan to return by the east along the coast, subduing the Eastern Barbarians as he went. Duke Huan followed this advice and encountered great difficulties. For this reason he returned and took Yuan prisoner. The KYC is critical of this act.

23. In BC 655 (Hsi 5.5,6), Cheng had refused to enter into the covenant at Shou-tai (首貳) with the other feudal lords. Because of this, Duke Huan of Ch'i, together with the Duke of Lu, the Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Ch'en, the Marquis of Wei, and the Earl of Tsao, led their combined forces in an attack on Cheng in the summer of the following year (Hsi 6.2). The KYC was critical of this action, while both the KLC and the TC found it to have been correct.

24. Analects 3.22.1. Legge, Classics I, p.162.

25. see CCFL 3,ff.25. His case is also discussed in CCFL 3, p.9-12.



26. see ff.22 above.

27. When Prince Ch'ing-fu assassinated Duke Min in BC 660 (Min 2.3), he fled, almost immediately to Ch'u (楚). Because he was a relative, Chi-tzu (Prince Yu 叔) delayed pursuit and allowed him to escape (KYC Min 2.3). When Ch'u expelled him and Ch'i would not grant him sanctuary in the following year, Prince Ch'ing-fu requested permission to return to Lu. His request was denied by Ch'i-tzu and he committed suicide (KYC Hsi 1.9). (see CCFL 4, ff.39).

28. See CCFL 4, ff.5. Although Ho Lü had arranged the assassination of the previous ruler, Wang Liao, Chi Cha neither accepted the throne nor punished the assassins.

29. SA, Hsi 9.6. The rule is given in KYC Wen 9.1 (cf. CCFL 2, ff.7). Background to this case is given in CCFL 4, ff.31. It is to be noted that the SA associated with the KYC has "assassinated" while that associated with both the KLC and TC have "murdered".

30. Prince Shang-jen assassinated his ruler Price She (子) in BC 613 (Wen 14.10), and set himself up as ruler. He was assassinated in his turn four years later (Hsi 16.2). Although the previous ruler had died the same year as the first assassination, the SA refers to Prince She as "the ruler".

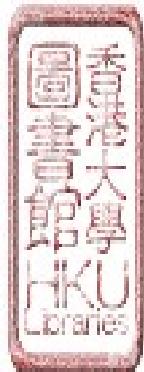
31. Paraphrase of Kuan-tzu, "Hsing Shih". (W.A.Rickett, Kuan-tzu, p.143).

32. See CCFL 1, ff.10. Duke Hsi's Prime Minister was his brother, Prince Yu (叔 - here referred to as Chi-tzu). The latter died in BC 644 (Hsi 16.2).

33. In BC 634 (Hsi 26.5), Lu sent to Ch'u begging for the assistance of an army with which to attack Ch'i and Sung. This was caused, so it would seem, by two attacks by Ch'i on Lu (Hsi 26.2,3) earlier in the same year. The request was apparently granted, for Ch'u made successive invasions of Sung and Ch'i (Hsi 26.7,8) later in the year.

34. Changes "Ting" (廷). (Wilhelm, I Ching, p.196).

35. In BC 662 (KYC, Chuang 32.3), when on his death-bed, Duke Chuang summoned his brother, Prince Yu (i.e. Chi-tzu) and



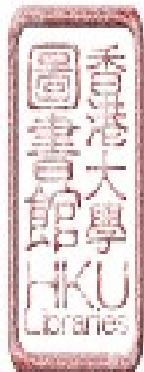
delivered the affairs of state into his hands.

36. K'ung-fu Chia, Confucius' ancestor, was murdered in BC 710 (Huan 2.2) by Hua-fu Tu, because of the former's beautiful wife (see CCFL 4, ff.4). Duke Shang, hearing of the attack on his loyal subject, rushed to save him. He arrived too late, however, and was himself assassinated for his pains (Huan 2.1).



CCFL 6:**"The Way of the King"**

Why does the Spring and Autumn Annals honour the origin (yuan - 元) and speak of it? The origin is the beginning and speaking of it makes correctness the base. It indicates the Way of the King. The king is the beginning of mankind. If the kind is correct, then the original vapours<sup>1</sup> are harmonious, wind and rain are seasonal, lucky stars appear, and a yellow dragon will descend. If the king is not correct, then above, overcast skies and injurious vapours will both be seen. When the Five Emperors and the Three Kings ruled the world they did not presume to have the intention to (differentiate between) the ruler and the people. The tax was one part in ten. (The people) were taught to love and encouraged to be loyal. They respected the aged, treated relatives as relatives, and honoured the honourable. They did not steal the peoples time; taking only three days of corvee labour a year. In the homes of the people there was a sufficiency for all and there was no evil of grief or wrath, and no trouble of strong and weak. Neither were there people who slandered and hated. The people nurtured virtue and loved goodness. Letting their hair fall freely they ate and ro ed. They coveted neither wealth nor honour, and being ashamed of evil did not transgress. Fathers did not mourn their sons, and elder brothers did not mourn their

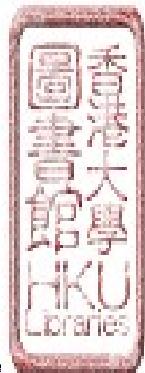


younger brothers. Poisonous insects did not sting, vicious animals did not attack, and there was no incidence of harmful insects. Because of this Heaven sent down a sweet dew, vermilion grass grew, sweet springs burst forth, the wind and rain were seasonal, bounteous crops flourished, phoenix and unicorn roamed in the outskirts, and the prisons were empty. They (merely) painted the clothing (of criminals) and the people did not transgress. The Four Barbarians, transmitting and translating (their) languages) came to court. The feelings of mankind were of the utmost of simplicity and not cultured. They sacrificed to Heaven and Earth and to the mountains and streams, and at the proper times they performed the Feng Sacrifice on T'ai Mountain and the Shou Sacrifice on Liang-fu (Hill). They established a Ming T'ang and performed the ancestral sacrifice to former emperors, thus matching their ancestors with Heaven. Each of the feudal lords of the world came to conduct sacrifices and make offerings according to their rank. First (the king) brought what their territories had into his ancestral temple and afterwards he put on his full dress and ceremonial cap and held an audience (with them). This was an acknowledgement of the virtue and kindness (of their ancestors); a response to the serving of origins.

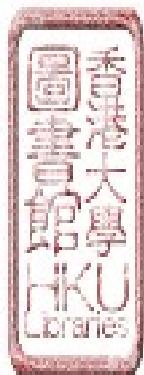
Chieh and Chou were both descendants of Sage Kings.<sup>2</sup> (Yet



they were arrogant, extravagant, and reckless in their actions. (The latter) expanded his palaces and enlarged his parks. He exhausted the transformations of the five colours, and used ornament work to an extreme. He harrassed the feet of wild animals, exhausted the profits of mountain and swamp and devoured fierce and evil animals. He grasped the people's wealth and foodstuffs, and made high the carved and inlaid towers. He squandered the work of gold, jade, bone and invory, made numerous the ornaments of banner and plume, and exhausted the transformations of white and black. He used extreme punishments and killed recklessly, thus oppressing his inferiors, and he listened to licentious music. He fulfilled his ambition of (constructing) an enormous palace, and he considered violent and ornament animals to be lucky. Because they fell in with his wishes, he rewarded flatterers and made gifts to slanderers. He made a hill of cakes<sup>3</sup> and a pool of wine, but orphans and the poor were without nourishment. He executed his saintly and wise servant (Pi-kan (丕干)), and cut out his heart, and he burned people alive (in order) to smell the stench. He cut open pregnant women (in order) to look at the embryo, and cut off the feet of (the people who) forded the river in the morning (in order) to examine their big toes. He executed the Earl of Mei (梅侯) and made mince-meat of him.<sup>4</sup> He tortured the Marquis of Kuei's<sup>5</sup> daughter and took her ring. His demands were insatiable and the world became empty. His

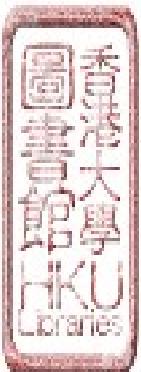


officials all feared him and none of them dared to be completely loyal. (Yet King) Chou considered himself to be even wiser (than before). The (future King of) Chou despatched troops and the feudal lords who spontaneously assembled at the Meng Ford<sup>6</sup> numbered eight hundred. Together they put (King) Chou (of the Shang) to death, and he greatly lost the world. The Spring and Autumn Annals considered it to be a warning (from Heaven) when it said: "The altar at P'u burned."<sup>7</sup> The (House of) Chou declined and the Son of Heaven became weak. The feudal lords governed by force, while the nobles usurped states and the knights usurped cities. They were unable to carry out the correct settling of regulations or the proper study of deportment. The feudal lords rebelled and none of them carried out the offering of tribute, the sending of embassies or the reverent submission to the Son of Heaven. Ministers assassinated their rulers, sons murdered their fathers and sons of concubines killed legitimate heirs. It was uncontrollable. They invaded and harassed each other in order to expand their territory. The stronger (within the states) were contending with each other, (and the rulers) were unable to control their officials. The strong defeated the weak, the many were violent to the few, and the rich exploited the poor. Each of these was endless. The usurpation of superiors by ministers and inferiors could not be stopped.

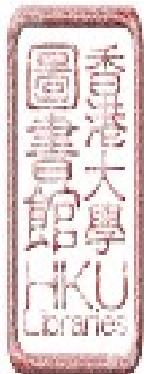


Because of this the sun was eclipsed,<sup>8</sup> stars fell like rain,<sup>9</sup> it rained grasshoppers,<sup>10</sup> Sha-lu fell<sup>11</sup>, there were heavy falls of rain in summer and snow in winter,<sup>12</sup> five meteorites fell in Sung and six fish-hawks flew backwards,<sup>13</sup> there was a fall of frost which did not kill the grass and the plum trees blossomed,<sup>14</sup> it did not rain from the first month in spring until the seventh month in autumn,<sup>15</sup> there were earthquakes,<sup>16</sup> Liang Mountain fell and the Yung (巫) River did not flow for three days,<sup>17</sup> there was darkness during the day,<sup>18</sup> there was a comet seen in the east which passed through Ta-ch'en,<sup>19</sup> and grackles came and nested in trees.<sup>20</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals considered these to be anomalous occurrences, and in them found the proof of rebellion. Confucius illuminated the successes and failures and differentiated between the honourable and the mean, (thus) returning to the basis of the Way of the King. He was critical of Heaven's King in order to cause the great peace. He censured evil and was critical of weakness, neglecting neither large nor small. No good was too small to mention and no evil was too small to censure. (He did this) simply to promote goodness and do away with evil, cutting it off at its roots.

"(When Heaven's King sent the officer Hstian to bring funerary presents for Duke Huei and Chung-tzu," it was critical

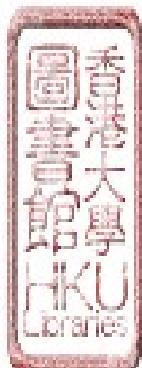


(because) "they did not come in time for the service."<sup>21</sup> When Heaven's King invaded Cheng it was critical (because) they were related.<sup>22</sup> When (the feudal lords) met the Crown Prince, it was critical of his weakness.<sup>23</sup> When the Duke of Chi (姬) came (to Lu) to meet the Queen, it was critical of the lapse in ritual.<sup>24</sup> It was critical when Chia-fu (姬父) sought chariots,<sup>25</sup> when Wu-shih sought burial contributions and when the Earl of Mao sought gold;<sup>26</sup> when the king's men (attempted unsuccessfully) to save Wei;<sup>27</sup> when the king's army was defeated at Mao-jung (冒叔);<sup>28</sup> when Heaven's king was unable to serve (his mother) and went to live in Cheng;<sup>29</sup> when (the king) murdered his maternal brother;<sup>30</sup> when the Royal House was disordered and (the legitimate ruler) was unable to summon (help) from abroad,<sup>31</sup> and Chou became divided into east and west; when he was without the means to lead the world, and although he summoned (the ruler of) Wei he was unable to make him come, and when he sent Tzu-t'u to attack Wei, but was unable to cut it off;<sup>32</sup> when, in his attack on Cheng, he was unable to cause (all the feudal lords) to follow;<sup>33</sup> and when he was unable to execute Wu-hai (吳驥) for extinguishing Chi (姬).<sup>34</sup> Thus the feudal lords caused great disorder and there was usurpation and assassination without end. Ministers and inferiors pressured and usurped (the rites of) the Son of Heaven. The strong among the feudal lords were overbearing while the small states perished. Chin thrice invaded Chou and in the battle with



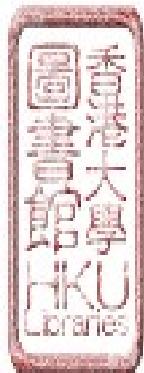
Heaven's King at Mao-jung greatly defeated him.<sup>35</sup> The Jung barbarians captured the Earl of Fan at Ch'u-ch'iu and took him back (with them).<sup>36</sup> The feudal lords, taking hatred as a base, followed evil (ways). They despatched troops, ruining each other, and destroying the ancestral temples and states of others. (The king) was unable to control this. The violence of minister and son extended (even) to assassination and patricide. Laws were abandoned and no longer used; majesty was cut off and no longer practised. Therefore Cheng and Lu exchanged territory;<sup>37</sup> (Duke) Wen of Chin twice summoned the Son of Heaven;<sup>38</sup> and Duke Huan of Ch'i met the Crown Prince,<sup>39</sup> and usurped infeudation of Hsing, Wei and Chi.<sup>40</sup> (Duke Huan) treated the central states perversely, wishing to rule the world. In Lu they used eight rows of dancers,<sup>41</sup> in the north sacrificed to T'ai Mountain, and sacrificed to Heaven and Earth just as the king did. For this reason there were thirty-two assassinations of rulers,<sup>42</sup> and fifty-two states were lost. This was what was caused by not cutting off small evils.

(According to) the righteousness established by the Spring and Autumn Annals, the king sacrificed to Heaven and Earth while the feudal lords sacrificed to their state altars and to all the mountains and streams, but they did not sacrifice to those which were not within their fiefs.<sup>43</sup> While a Son of

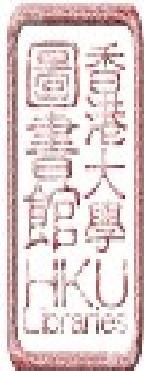


Heaven existed, the feudal lords could not usurp territory, usurp infeudation,<sup>44</sup> presume to take captive a noble of the Son of Heaven,<sup>45</sup> dance to the music of the Son of Heaven,<sup>46</sup> collect the taxes of the Son of Heaven, or oppose the honour of the Son of Heaven. "The relatives of the ruler (must) not order a general to kill a noble"<sup>47</sup>, cause noble rank to be hereditary,<sup>48</sup> or disregard the orders of the ruler.<sup>49</sup> "It is the eldest, not the wisest of the sons of the Duchess who is established (as heir. When the Duchess is childless) it is the most noble and not the eldest of the sons of concubines who is established (as heir)."<sup>50</sup> The Duchess is selected from among legal wives, and not from among concubines.<sup>51</sup> The Son of Heaven does not make ministers of (people belonging to) the clans of his mother or of the Empress. He is kind to (those who are) near in order to summon (those who are) distant. There has never been (a ruler) who did not give primacy to the near who caused the distant to arrive. Therefore "it treats its (own) state as internal while treating the central states as external, and treats the central states as internal while treating the barbarians as external. .... (This) says (that it is best) to begin from those who are near."<sup>52</sup>

When the feudal lords come to court it is praiseworthy. I-fu (儀父) of Chu is called by his honourific title;<sup>53</sup> the (rulers) of T'eng (滕侯) and Hsieh (薛侯) were called Marquis;<sup>54</sup>

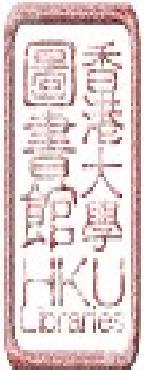


Ching (卿) attained 'man';<sup>55</sup> while Ko Lu (苟盧) of Chieh (介) attained his name.<sup>56</sup> In internal (affairs) it says such things as: "When a feudal lord comes it is called, 'coming to court', but when a noble comes, it is called, 'an embassy'".<sup>57</sup> This is the meaning of the way of the king. In punishing evil one should neglect neither large nor small. A feudal lord should not "go to war on behalf of a commoner."<sup>58</sup> Neither should he capture a noble of the Son of Heaven. The crime of capturing the noble of the Son of Heaven is the same as that of attacking a state. (Therefore) the capture of the Earl of Fan is called an 'attack' (fa - 伐).<sup>59</sup> (When) there was a performance with either rows of dancers (in Lu), it avoided mention of (the number) eight, and said six.<sup>60</sup> (When) Lu and Cheng examined territory it avoided mention of (the word) exchanged, and said 'borrowed'.<sup>61</sup> (When Duke) Wen of Chin twice summoned the Son of Heaven, it avoided mention of (the word) summoned, and said that (the King) went hunting.<sup>62</sup> The preserving of Hsing, Wei, and Chi by Duke Huan (of Ch'i) is not to be seen in the Spring and Autumn Annals.<sup>63</sup> In his heart (Confucius) approved, but in practice he would never show approval. This is the Way of putting a stop to disorder. This is something which the feudal lords could not do. (According to) the righteousness of the Spring and Autumn Annals, if a minister does not punish an assassin he is not a (proper) minister, and if a son does not carry out revenge, he is not a (proper) son. Therefore it



blames Chao Tun for not punishing the assassin and does not record the burial (of Duke Ling of Chin).<sup>64</sup> This is the blame (attached to improper) ministers and sons. Prince Chih of Hsü did not taste (his father's) medicine, and is blamed with (the crime of) patricide.<sup>65</sup> Prince Pi of Ch'u was established by force, and he did not escape death.<sup>66</sup> (Duke) Huan of Ch'i usurped (the right) to infeudate, and (Duke) Wen of Chin summoned the Son of Heaven. Yet in punishing disorder, continuing the cut off, preserving the lost, invading and attacking, and in convening meetings (of the feudal lords) it was always on behalf of the King. (Therefore) it says: "Duke Huan saved the central states, drove off the barbarians, and caused the complete submission of Ch'u. Great was he in the service of the king!"<sup>67</sup> It stopped (short of mentioning) the two times (Duke) Wen of Chin summoned the King (in order) to avoid erradicating his goodness. He governed the feudal lords, served the Son of Heaven, and restored the House of Chou. The Spring and Autumn Annals approved of him, calling him 'overlord'. This is to say that it punished him by its meaning, but not by its phraseology.

(Duke) Yin of Lu was established (to rule) on behalf of (Duke) Huan.<sup>68</sup> Chi Chung did away with (Prince) Hu and established (Prince) T'u.<sup>69</sup> Ch'ou,<sup>70</sup> Kung Fu,<sup>71</sup> and Hsun Hsi<sup>72</sup> (all)

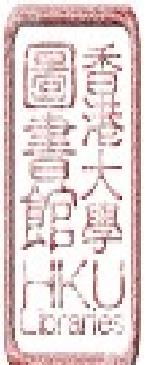


died for their country. Prince Mu-i did not give his state to Ch'u.<sup>73</sup> In each case they wielded power and saved their states. This is the righteousness of correcting the world. They (all) maintained the intention to be careful and attentive. The Spring and Autumn Annals considered them to be good and righteous. Therefore it shows it in each (case). This is to say that they cased a return to correctness. But it considered barbaric that the "men" of Chu, Mou (牟) and Ko (葛) exchanged court visits and embassies when Heaven's King died.

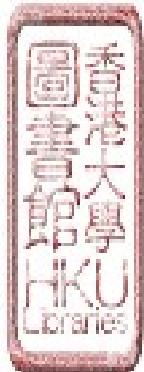
(Calling the rulers "men") was their punishment.<sup>74</sup> "To directly mention the ruler's name when the crown prince or a maternal brother is murdered,"<sup>75</sup> demonstrates a failure to treat a relative as a relative. (But when) Chi-tzu of Lu escaped punishment,<sup>76</sup> and when Chi-tzu of Wu yielded his state,<sup>77</sup> the benevolence of treating a relative as a relative was demonstrated. When the gate-keeper killed Yü-chi, the Viscount of Wu, it could be seen that men who have received punishment should not be approached.<sup>78</sup> When K'un-yüan, the Earl of Cheng, died at the meeting, it avoided mentioning that it was an assassination (because) it was said that a strong minister had usurped his ruler's (power), and that the ruler had failed to be good.<sup>79</sup> When the men of Wei killed Chou-yü,<sup>80</sup> and when the people of Ch'i killed Wu-chih (無知),<sup>81</sup> it demonstrated the righteousness of ruler and minister and the correctness of preserving the state. When the people of Wei established



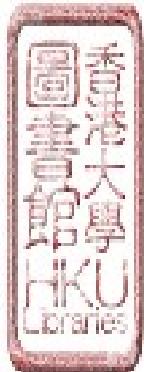
(Prince) Chin (as ruler), it thought it good that he had gained the masses.<sup>82</sup> "When the ruler acts as general, it does not say 'lead the troops'",<sup>83</sup> gives importance to the righteousness of the ruler. "In the first month the Duke was (still) in Ch'u",<sup>84</sup> means that minister and son (should) think of their ruler, and that there cannot be one day without a ruler. It was critical (of Duke Chuang of Lu) for receiving the order (of Duke Hsiang of Ch'i) and for coveting the treasure of Wei, in order to cause justice to be equitable.<sup>85</sup> It says, "we besieged Sheng," and, "On Chia-wu we exercised our army,"<sup>86</sup> in order to differentiate between the crime of intimidation, and the way of judging guilt by intention. When we built the Southern Gate,<sup>87</sup> carved the rafters and painted the pillars red,<sup>88</sup> built the South Gate and the two side-towers,<sup>89</sup> constructed the three towers,<sup>90</sup> and renewed the stables,<sup>91</sup> it was critical that (the Duke of Lu) was arrogant and immoral and that he did not pity his inferiors. Therefore when Tsang-sun Ch'en sought permission to buy grain in Ch'i, Confucius said: "A ruler must have three years supply of grain for his state. To have one year without a crop and to ask for permission to buy grain is a failure to rule (properly)."<sup>92</sup> (The Spring and Autumn Annals) is critical of the beginnings of crime. (In order to) reduce punishments, and cut off evil, it (demonstrates) hate for (such) beginnings. When the nobles



entered into a covenant at Shan-yüan, it was critical that the nobles had usurped government.<sup>93</sup> When wisdom governed the meetings of the feudal lords, it considered wisdom wise. The Spring and Autumn Annals recorded the slightest mistake (in order) to cause a return to the way of the king. When we go back to antiquity, (we find that) they honoured good faith and simply made verbal agreements. It was not necessary to use a sacrificial beast, enter into a covenant, and then to draw up an agreement. Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) said: "The Marquises of Ch'i and Wei made a pledge to each other at P'u", and the (Kung Yang) Commentary said: "In ancient times, they did not enter into covenants. They made verbal agreements and then withdrew."<sup>94</sup> "Po-chi of Sung said" 'As for a wife going out at night, if the harem instructress is not present, she does not leave the hall.'"<sup>95</sup> (The Kung-yang Commentary) said: "In ancient times, when the Duke of Chou made an expedition to the east, the states in the west were resentful."<sup>96</sup> "Duke Huan (of Ch'i) said: 'There is to be no hoarding of grain, no blocking of valleys, no changing of the appointed heir, and no making wives of concubines.'"<sup>97</sup> Duke Hsiang of Sung said: "(When) they have not (yet) formed ranks do not beat the drums (for attack) ..... (so as) not to endanger men."<sup>98</sup> "King Chuang (of Ch'u) said: "When the cups are not broken, and the garments are not worn out, then we do not go out (on the attack).... The true gentleman gives importance to propriety,



and considers profit unimportant. It is people, not territory that matter. (Since) they have announced their surrender, it is unlucky not to forgive them."<sup>99</sup> The strong do not maltreat the weak. Duke Ch'ing of Ch'i "mourned for the dead and visited the sick."<sup>100</sup> "K'ung-fu stood with a serious countenance in the court. No one (dared) pass him and cause his ruler trouble."<sup>101</sup> Kuo-tso (國佐) of Ch'i did not dis-honour his ruler's commission and caused his ruler to be respected.<sup>102</sup> This, in the Spring and Autumn Annals, is the saving of refinement by basics. (But) we have also seen that there were those among the feudal lords of the world who lost their states by saving refinement by basics. The Viscount of Lu (魯) wished to assimilate the central states' propriety and righteousness. (But) before assimilating with the cen-tral states he departed from the barbarians. Therefore he was lost.<sup>103</sup> Fu-ch'ai, the King of Wu treated Yüeh with violence. He made servants of other men's rulers and concu-bines of other men's wives. In the end he was killed, his ancestral temple was destroyed, and the state altars were extinguished. It causes sadness. The old king caused (his own) death. Alas! Is this not to be pitied!<sup>104</sup> The conduct of (Duke) Ling of Chin was derelict. From his tower he pelted his ministers (with stones). He dismembered his chef and abandoned (the body). He disclosed the plot of Yang Ch'u-



fu (陽處父) which caused Yang Ch'u-fu's death. He eschewed Chao Tun's advice and wished to put him to death. In the end he was assassinated by Chao Tun.<sup>105</sup> The conduct of Duke Hsien of Chin was unprincipled. He murdered his crown prince, Shen-sheng, and because of Li-chi set up Hsi-ch'i and (then) Cho-tzu. Both were murdered, and for four generations the state was in great disorder before becoming settled. (The state) was almost extinguished by Ch'in. (All this) was caused by Li-chi.<sup>106</sup> The conduct of King P'ing (平) of Ch'u was reckless. He murdered the father and elder brother of Wu-Tzu-hsü (伍子胥). Duke Chao (趙) of Ts'ai paid him a court visit, and when asked to give his furs (to Nang Wa (斬瓦)) Duke Chao refused. Because of this he was blamed by the King of Wu who raised an army and dealt Ch'u a severe defeat. "The ruler occupied the ruler's house, the nobles occupied the nobles houses ..... and (the King of Wu) took the King of Ch'u's mother as his wife."<sup>107</sup> This is what was brought on by greed and violence. The conduct of Duke Li of Chin was savage. He killed innocent men, and in one morning he executed three senior officials. The following year, his officials and inferiors were fearful and the (people) of the state of Chin put him to death.<sup>108</sup> The Marquis T'a of Ch'en debauched himself in Ts'ai and the people of Ts'ai killed him. In ancient times, when a feudal lord went abroad, he had to have his ministers



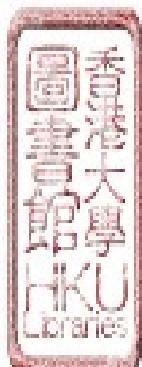
and an army ready in order to be prepared for the unexpected.

Now the Marquis acted licentiously in Ts'ai, and personally went among the people. He died (at the hands of) rustic commoners. This was certainly not (proper) conduct for a ruler.<sup>109</sup> Duke Min of Sung loved his wife, but he was jealous. When gambling with his noble (Nan-kung Ch'ang-)wan, (Ch'ang-)wan praised Duke Chuang of Lu saying: "Among the feudal lords of the world, only the Marquis of Lu is suitable to be a ruler." Duke Min, made envious by these words, said: "'This is a prisoner! You are a prisoner! What is your reason? Where is the Marquis of Lu's goodness?' Enraged, (Ch'ang-)wan struck Duke Min with his fist, breaking his neck."<sup>110</sup> This was because he made the mistake of gambling with an official. In ancient times the ruler stood in the Yin and the Minister stood in the Yang. (This) was the means by which their positions were differentiated, and noble and mean were made clear. Here he sat facing his official gambling with him, while placing his wife nearby. This is (a situation in which there was) no differentiation between ruler and official. Therefore he allowed (Ch'ang-)wan to praise (the ruler of) another state with the intention of demeaning Duke Min. Duke Min trusted (Ch'ang-)wan and personally gambled with him. (Thus) he dishonoured himself. (Duke Min) also embarrassed (Ch'ang-wan) in the women's quarters when both were boasting to the women. This is only the road to death.



(The Kung-yang Commentary) to the Spring and Autumn Annals

says: "A noble (should) not be close to his ruler."<sup>111</sup> This avoids (the problem of) familiarity. In Liang (梁) corvee labour was exacted from the people without end and the people could not bear it. The people were attached to the land in (families) of five. If one family fled, (all) five families were executed or tortured. The people said: 'The first to flee are buried, while the last to flee are tortured.' A ruler ought to cause his people to be filial to their parents, obedient to their elders, to protect the grave mounds, to carry on the ancestral temples, and from generation to generation, to sacrifice to their forebearers. (But) here (the ruler) insatiably sought wealth, carried out punishments as though he could never be enough, and slaughtered (people) like a butcher exacted revenge. His people caused internal disorder and they fled. The state became empty and the Spring and Autumn Annals said: "Liang perished."<sup>112</sup> It perished on its own. It was not that other people caused its loss. The Duke of Yü lusted after riches and paid no attention to his troubles. He pleased his ears and delighted his eyes and he accepted the jade and the team of Chü-ch'an horses from Chin. He allowed an army of Chin to pass (through his state, thus) it was because of his own (actions) that (his state) was destroyed when they returned. His ancestral temples were destroyed, and there were no sacri-



fices at the state altars. He died but he was not buried.

This is what comes of lusting after riches.<sup>113</sup> In this the

Spring and Autumn Annals shows us that things do not come

from nothing, that riches do not come from nowhere. "If

there are no common people, nothing is produced within (the

state), and if there is no (proper) ruler, nothing is pre-

vented from arriving from abroad."<sup>114</sup> This is its response.

King Ling of Ch'u practised violence towards Ch'en and Ts'ai,

intending to expand (his territory) by military (means). He

was careless in his actions, and planning for (what he thought)

beautiful, overworked the masses within (his state). At Kan-hsi

there was a statue of a woman which could be seen when the

water was gone, but could not be seen when the water was high.

King Ling raised his state for corvee labour, but in three years

(the work) was not completed. The (people of) the State of Ch'u

were greatly resentful. He also harboured the intention of

violence and killed his innocent official Ch'eng Jan (成然).

The (people) of the State of Ch'u became greatly angry. Event-

ually Prince Chi-chi (季姬) caused King Ling and his sons to

commit suicide and (himself) took the state.<sup>115</sup> The foresters

did not leave the marshes and swamps, the farmers did not leave

their fields, and the people loved one another.<sup>116</sup> Was not

(King Ling's) mistake that he was over-ambitious? Duke Chuang

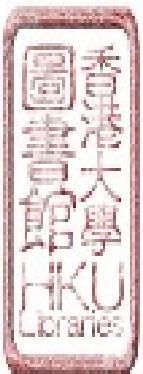
of Lu loved palaces, and in one year he erected three towers.<sup>117</sup>



Within (his state) his Duchess committed adultery with two of his brothers. Younger brother, older brother, father, and son killed each other. The state was cut off and there was no one to continue it. (But) if was preserved by (Duke Huan) of Ch'i.<sup>118</sup> The fault (here) was the adultery of the Duchess. One cannot but be careful when taking a commoner as a concubine or raising the rank of a concubine. The disaster was caused entirely by being overconfident and wilful within (the state). We have already seen the disaster of overconfidence, but we have yet (to see) the ignoring of good advice. In the end all perished. Chi (晉) of Tsao advised his ruler saying: "The Jung masses are without righteousness. You ..... (ought) not to oppose them personally." His ruler did not listen with the result that he died in the Jung violence.<sup>119</sup> Wu Tzu-hsü advised the King of Wu that he considered it imperative that Yüeh be taken. The King of Wu did not listen and caused the death of Wu Tzu-hsü. But nine years (later) Yüeh did, in fact, cause the great destruction of Wu.<sup>120</sup> When Duke Mu of Ch'in was about to attack Cheng, Pai Li and Chien Shu advised him saying: "There has never been anyone who made an attack over one thousand li and did not perish." Duke Mu did not listen, and his army was, in fact, badly defeated at Yao. "There was not a single horse or chariot that returned."<sup>121</sup> Chin was permitted to take a road through Yü by the Duke of Yü. Kung Chih-ch'i (宮之奇)

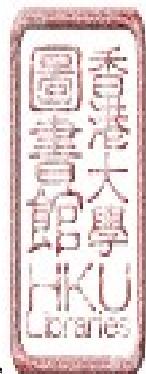


advised him saying: "When the lips are gone the teeth grow cold. Kuo and Yu ... save each other, they do not ... make gifts of each other. .... We request that you do not permit it."<sup>122</sup> The Duke of Yu did not listen and it resulted in the loss of Yu to Chin. The Spring and Autumn Annals makes this clear, and the way of preservation and loss can be seen (in it). When we examine the (burning of the) Altar of P'u, we know the penalty for arrogance and license.<sup>123</sup> When we examine the (transfer of the) Fields of Hsu, we know that the feudal lords should not usurp infeudation.<sup>124</sup> When we examine (Duke) Huan of Ch'i,<sup>125</sup> (Duke) Wen of Chin,<sup>126</sup> (Duke) Hsiang of Sung,<sup>127</sup> and (King) Chuang of Ch'u,<sup>128</sup> we know the merit of employing the wise and serving the King. When we examine (Duke) Yin of Lu,<sup>129</sup> Chi Chung,<sup>130</sup> Shu Wu,<sup>131</sup> K'ung Fu,<sup>132</sup> Hsun Hsi,<sup>133</sup> Ch'ou Mu,<sup>134</sup> Chi-tzu of Wu,<sup>135</sup> and Prince Mu-i,<sup>136</sup> we know the devotion of loyal ministers. When we examine Prince Pi of Ch'u<sup>137</sup> we know the Way of minister and son, the righteousness of serving even unto death. When we examine the Viscount of Lu (魯),<sup>138</sup> we see the disaster of ruining oneself when there is no support. When we examine (the case where) the Duke (of Lu) was in Ch'u (in the first month),<sup>139</sup> we know the love of minister and son. When we examine (the case where) words were disclosed,<sup>140</sup> we know of the breaking of the Way of loyalty. When we examine the performance with six rows of dancers,<sup>141</sup>



we know the differentiation between superior and inferior.

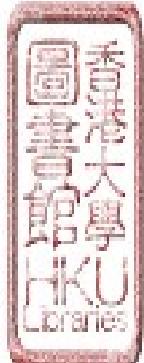
When we examine Po-chi of Sung,<sup>142</sup> we know of the good faith of a chaste wife. When we examine Fu-ch'ai, King of Wu,<sup>143</sup> we know how the strong can decline and become weak. When we examine Duke Hsien of Chin we know the error of being unprincipled and (too) loving of a beautiful (woman).<sup>144</sup> When we examine the attack on Ts'ai by King Chao of Ch'u,<sup>145</sup> we know the reaction which lack of righteousness brings. When we examine the reckless murder of innocents by (Duke) Li of Chin,<sup>146</sup> we know the retribution for violent acts. When we examine the (Marquis) T'a of Ch'en,<sup>147</sup> and (Duke) Min of Sung,<sup>148</sup> we know the harm of licence and jealousy. When we examine the Duke of Yu<sup>149</sup> and the collapse of Liang,<sup>150</sup> we know the deterioration which occurs when there is a lust for wealth or oppressive laws. When we examine (King) Ling of Ch'u,<sup>151</sup> we know the harm of embittering the people. When we examine the erection of towers by (Duke) Chuang of Lu, we know the fault of arrogance, extravagance and licence.<sup>152</sup> When we examine Marquise Chao of Wei,<sup>153</sup> we know the crime of not going when summoned. When we examine the capture of the Earl of Fan,<sup>154</sup> we know the penalty for transgressing against the king. When we examine the attack by Hsi Ch'ieh (郤犨) of Chin on Chu,<sup>155</sup> we know the criticism (due to) an official who does too much. When we examine Prince Hui (of Lu),<sup>156</sup> we know the meaning of plotting



against one's ruler. When we examine (the case where there was) hereditary office,<sup>157</sup> we know the calamity of passing on power. Therefore the intelligent king can see in the darkness, and can hear (things) in (what is to others) silence. Then in the multitude of states which are covered by Heaven and supported by Earth, there are none who dare but to be complete in their rule. Because his knowledge is complete, the receiver of the Mandate of Heaven does not show it to ministers and inferiors. If the Way were shared (equally), then there could not be a difference in status, and if feelings were the same (for everyone), then there would be no one to lead. This is (why he must) exercise moral suasion. Looking at it from this (point of view we can see that) there has never been anyone who did away with his power as a ruler who could control the situation. Neither has there been anyone who did not differentiate between honourable and mean who could make his position complete. Therefore the true gentleman is cautious about it.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Yuan ch'i (元氣). The uses of this term are various, but here it seems to indicate an underlying and all-pervading substance which had a causative role in natural events.
2. This and the following crimes and excesses were committed by King Chou of the Shang Dynasty, and are chronicled in either History 5.1, (Legge, Classics III, p.281-297), or SC3/10a-12b. Exceptions are footnoted.
3. A hill of cakes is mentioned in neither account. The SC



talks of a pool of wine and a forest hung with meat.

4. Neither account mentions the Earl of Mei. In "T'ien Wen" (天問) of the Ch'u-tzu, however, it says that he had come to this end.

5. SC has chiu (九) for kuei (鬼).

6. SC has meng (盟) while History and CCFL have meng (盟).

7. The altar at P'u burned down in BC 491 (Ai 4.8). According to Legge (Classics V, p.805), this altar was a reconstruction in Lu of the ancient state altar of the Shang Dynasty. King Wu of Chou had ordered all his vassal lords to construct one to remind them that their states too could decline and fall. Its loss at this time was taken as a warning of the imminent fall of Lu. (This the Han Confucians took to have happened in BC 481 with the capture of the unicorn (Ai 14.1)).

8. HS27/Cb-12b says that there were thirty-six eclipses during the SA period. It says also that the KYC agrees, that the KLC thought there were thirty-eight (two of which were at night), and that the TC thought there were thirty-seven.

9. BC 687 (Chuang 7.3).

10. BC 624 (Wen 3.5).

11. BC 686 (Hsi 14.8). KYC thinks it was a city, while KLC thinks it was a forest on a mountain.

12. There were many heavy falls of rain and snow recorded in the SA, ut none of them are recorded for the seasons or in the words given here.

13. BC 644 (Hsi 16.1).

14. BC 627 (Hsi 33.11,12).

15. BC 614 (Wen 13.4).

16. BC 618 (Wen 9.12), BC 557 (Hsiang 16.6), BC 523 (Chao 19.3), BC 519 (Chao 23.11), and BC 492 (Ai 3.2).

17. BC 586 (Ch'eng 5.4).



18. BC 575 (Ch'eng 16.6).

19. BC 525 (Chao 17.5).

20. BC 517 (Chao 25.3).

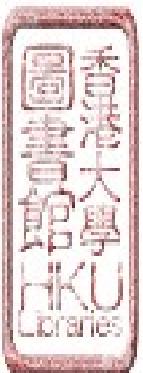
21. This occurred in BC 722 (Yin 1.4). Since the presents arrived in the seventh month they could not possibly have arrived in time for the service which would have been held five months after the death of Duke Huei. Chung-tzu was the mother of Duke Huan (who was too young to rule at that time and had been temporarily replaced by Duke Yin). The first quotation is from SA while the second is from KYC.

22. In BC 707 (Huan 5.6) Ts'ai, Wei and Ch'en followed the king in an attack on Cheng. The entry in SA mentions "men" of the above states in the same phrase as "king". KYC notes only that it was proper for them to follow the king. From a multitude of other examples, however, we know that the juxtaposition of a ruler and a man is implicitly critical of the ruler in question. Cheng was of the same surname as Chou and the KLC is openly critical of the king's actions. Ho Hsiu explains that criticism was also intended because the king was able to cause only the weaker states (and not all the feudal lords) to follow him in the attack.

23. The Crown Prince is placed last in the list of the feudal lords when he met the Duke of Lu, the Marquis of Ch'i (Duke Huan), the Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Ch'en, the Marquis of Wei, the Earl of Cheng, the Baron of Hsü (許), and the Earl of Tsao at Shou-tai (首載) in BC 655 (Hsi 5.4,5). From many other examples, this is demeaning to the Crown Prince, and therefore to his father the king. At this time the king was powerless to prevent the current 'overlord', Duke Huan of Ch'i, from being arrogant in his power (see CCFL 5, ff.19). Again the KYC is not openly critical.

24. According to the KYC interpretation of the event, the Duke of Ch'i, one of the three senior ministers of the king, arrived in Lu in BC 704 (Huan 8.6), and had Lu act as middle-man in the business of meeting the king's bride from Chi (姬). Reference to the bride by the wrong term, Ho Hsiu explains, means that the SA was being critical of the king for using Lu.

25. Chia-fu had been sent on this mission by the king in BC 69 (Huan 15.) and the KYC is openly critical of the king for seeking.



26. see CCFL 4, ff.14.

27. Tzu-t'u (子圉) of Chou made an unsuccessful attempt to save Wei from the invading forces of Ch'i, Lu, Sung, Ch'en and Ts'ai in BC 688 (Chuang 5.4, 6.1). The KYC takes the wording of the SA (which links the noble Tsu-t'u to the word 'man') to be critical of the king's inability to save Wei and to control the feudal lords.

28. An army of the king was severely defeated at Mao-jung in BC 590 (Ch'eng 1.6), but the SA does not say by whom. The KYC explains that it was Chin and that this was not recorded because the king should have been invincible.

29. In BC 636 (Hsi 24.4) the king left Chou and resided in Cheng. (see CCFL 5, ff.5).

30. The King of Chou murdered his younger brother in BC 543 (Hsiang 30.4).

31. On the burial of King Ching (懿) of Chou in BC 520 (Chao 22.6) civil war broke out in Chou between two unrightful pretenders (according to Ho Hsiu) to the throne, Princes Meng (猛) and Chao (昭). The former succeeded to the position (but not the title), but was forced to flee first to Huang (皇 - Chao 22.8) and then to the Royal City (Chao 22.9). The latter, we are told by KYC was the capital of Western Chou. When Prince Meng died (Chao 22.10), he was succeeded by the rightful heir who became King Ching (敬), but civil strife continued. Four years later (Chao 26.6) King Ching entered Ch'eng-chou (成周), (which the KYC informs us was Eastern Chou), and the rebellious faction fled to Ch'u.

32. See ff.27 above. The king had set another ruler in the place of Duke Huei of Wei, who had been forced to flee from his state in BC 696 (Huan 16.5) because he had offended the king. The invading forces mentioned above were reinstating Duke Huei.

33. see ff.22 above.

34. In BC 721 (Yin 2.3), a minister of Lu, Wu Hai, entered Chi with an army. The KYC explains that this was in fact a destruction (the first recorded in the SA) and that the SA said "entered" to avoid humiliating the Duke of Lu. There is



no mention of Duke Yin's inability to execute Wu Hai for the king.

35. Chin invaded Chou in BC 608 (Hsüan 1.13) by attacking Liu (劉); in BC 590 (Ch'eng 1.6), defeating Chou at Mao-jung (see ff.28 above); and in BC 517 (Chao 23.4), besieging Chiao (交). The first and last of these were Chou cities (according to KYC), but it is not clear to whom the barbarian state of Mao-jung belonged.

36. The Earl of Fan, who had been on a mission under the king's orders, was captured and carried off by the Jung barbarians in BC 716 (Yin 7.6) - see ff.59 below.

37. In BC 711 (Huan 1.4), Lu gave Hsü-t'ien (許田) to Cheng in exchange for Ping (甞). Hsü-t'ien was a place near Chou at which the Dukes of Lu stayed when attending the king's court, while Ping was a place near T'ai Shan at which the Earls of Cheng stayed while the king was making his sacrifices there. Exchange of territory was tantamount to usurpation of the right to infideate. The SA uses the word 'borrow' (chia - 借) to indicate the trade.

38. See CCFL 1, ff.4.

39. See ff.23 above.

40. See CCFL 1, ff.3, and CCFL 5, ff.16.

41. Eight rows of dancers was the number allotted to the king and it was incorrect for a feudal lord to use the same number. See ff.60 below. (See also Analects 3.1, Legge, Classics I, p.140).

42. The precise number of assassinations is a point of dispute. The most commonly accepted figure is thirty-six.

43. KYC, Hsi 31.2.

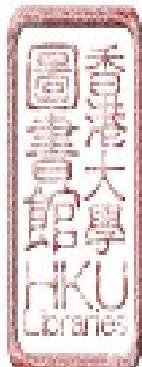
44. KYC, Hsi 1.2.

45. KYC, Yin 7.6 (by implication).

46. KYC, Yin 5.5 (by implication).

47. KYC, Chuang 31.3, and Chao 1.2.

48. KYC, Chao 31.6.



49. KYC, Wen 14.8.
50. KYC, Yin 1.1.
51. KYC, Hsi 8.4.
52. KYC, Ch'eng 15.12.

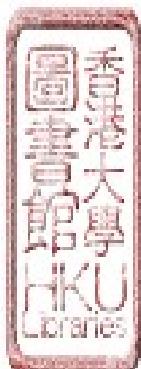
53. The KYC considers that I-fu of Chu was worthy of praise for entering into a covenant with Lu in BC 722 (Yin 1.2).

54. SA, Yin 11.1.
55. SA, Chuang 23.5. Ching is the old name for Ch'u.
56. SA, Hsi 29.1,5.
57. KYC, Yin 11.1.
58. KYC, Ting 14.4.

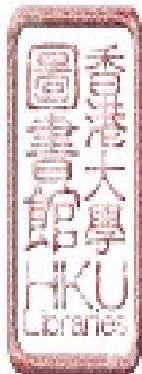
59. When the Jung barbarians 'attacked' the Earl of Fan at Ch'u-ch'iu in BC 716 (Yin 7.6), the KYC understands this to mean capture. The Earl of Fan was one of the king's nobles. (see ff.36 above.)

60. Tung differs markedly here from KYC. In BC 718 (Yin 5.5) the SA records the first performance with six rows of dancers in Lu. The KYC explains that the king is allowed eight rows, his three senior ministers six, and the feudal lords four. This, it says was an usurpation of the rights of the king's senior ministers. It added that if it had been an usurpation of the king's number (eight), it could not have been recorded. Tung understands this to indicate that it actually had been eight rows, but that propriety had prevented the correct recording of number. (see ff.41 above.)

61. see ff.37 above.
62. see CCFL 1, ff.4, and KYC, Hsi 28.17.
63. see CCFL 1, ff.3, and CCFL 5, ff.16.
64. see CCFL 2, ff.13.
65. see CCFL 2, ff.14.
66. see CCFL 2, ff.17.



67. Paraphrase of KYC, Hsi 4.4.
68. See CCFL 3, ff.28.
69. see CCFL 3, ff.27.
70. Ch'ou Mu died in defence of his ruler in BC 682 (Chuang 12.3, 4, -qv. for a discussion of this and the following two cases.
71. see CCFL 4, ff.4, and CCFL 5, ff.36.
72. see CCFL 4, ff.31.
73. see CCFL 4, ff.25.
74. After the king died in BC 697 (Huan 15.2), "men" of Chu, Mou, and Ko came to court in Lu (Huan 15.8). The KYC explains that the rulers of these states were called "men" in order to indicate the barbarity of their action.
75. Said in KYC on the murder of Prince Ya (牙) of Lu in BC 662 (Chuang 32.3), and on the murder of the heir apparent to the throne of Chin, Prince Shen-sheng (申生) by his father the duke in BC 655 (Hsi 5.1).
76. see CCFL 5, ff.27.
77. see CCFL 4, ff.5, and CCFL 5, ff.28.
78. Yu-chi, the Viscount of Wu, was assassinated by a gate-keeper in BC 544 (Hsiang 28.4). The KYC explains that the assassin was a man who had undergone a mutilating punishment, and that rulers ought not to go near such people if they value their lives.
79. Earl K'un-yuan of Cheng died in BC 566 (Hsiang 7.9), just before a meeting with the feudal lords. The KYC says that he was assassinated by one of his nobles and that the SA avoids mention of this in order to conceal the facts that the central states were neither as righteous, nor as strong as Ch'u. Armies of Chin, Sung and Wei had invaded Cheng in BC 571 (Hsiang 2.5) when Cheng was in mourning for the earl who had just died (Hsiang 2.4). At this time Ch'u was able to mount many attacks on the central states (notable Ch'en) without direct reprisal being taken against her.



80. see CCFL 4, ff.6.

81. Wu-chih was in turn killed by the people of Ch'i in BC 685 (Chuang 9.1) after he had assassinated the ruler of Ch'i in the previous year (Chuang 8.5).

82. as for ff.80.

83. KYC, Yin 5.3.

84. Duke Hsiang of Lu was in Ch'u over the New Year's period in BC 544 (Hsiang 29.1). Ho Hsiu comments that the meaning of the KYC entry indicates that the ministers of Lu and Duke Hsiang's sons were concerned for his safety among the barbarian people of Ch'u.

85. ff.27 and 32 above refer. When Duke Huei of Wei was reinstated by the forces of Ch'i, Lu, Sung, Ch'en and Ts'ai in BC 688 (Chuang 5.4, 6.1, 2), he rewarded Lu for her major part in the action (Chuang 6.5). The SA says that it was brought to Lu by the men of Ch'i, but the KYC explains that it was actually men from Wei that had brought it. It goes on to explain that the SA had used this wording to indicate that Duke Hsiang of Ch'i, had yielded it to Lu as the state which had been most influential in the restoration.

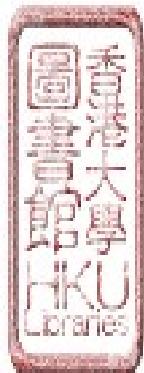
In HS27Ca/4a, Tung says that the avariciousness of the Duke of Lu in aiding this illegal restoration caused the incidence of ming insects in BC 688 (Chuang 6.4).

86. Before besieging Ch'eng (see CCFL 4, ff.40) in BC 686, Lu had exercised her armies on the day Chia-wu (Chuang 8.2). The KYC indicates no adverse opinion while the other commentaries commend it.

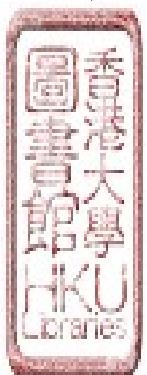
87. The South Gate of Lu was reconstructed in BC 640 (Hsi 20.1). The KYC was critical of the extravagance.

88. The rafters of Duke Huan of Lu's temple were carved in BC 679 (Chuang 24.1) while the pillars of his temple were painted red the previous year (Chuang 23.8). KYC condemns both actions as improper.

89. The South Gate and the two side-towers to the palace of the Duke of Lu were burned down and reconstructed in BC 508 (Ting 2.1, 4). The KYC was critical because it regarded them as unnecessary.



90. Lu built towers in Lang (郎), Hsüeh (嶽), and Ch'in (秦) in BC 663 (Chuang 31.1,3,5). KYC was critical of all. The first was built on the spot where the local inhabitants washed, the second was too distant from the capital, and the third was too near.
91. see CCFL 3, ff.5.
92. Paraphrase of KYC, Chuang 28.7. see also CCFL 4, ff.41.
93. The nobles never entered into a covenant at Shan-yüan. They did hold a meeting there, however, to discuss that funerary presents should be made on the death of Po-chi (see CCFL 1, ff.7) in BC 543 (Hsiang 30.9). KYC was critical because nobles ought not to mourn for the feudal lords.
94. The mutual pledge was made in BC 709 (Huan 3.2).
95. Paraphrase from KYC, Hsiang 30.3. see also CCFL 1, ff.7.
96. KYC, Hsi 4.5; said to explain why Duke Huan of Ch'i was wrong to take Yüan T'ao-t'u of Ch'en captive (see CCFL 5, ff.22).
97. Said at the meeting of all the feudal lords (see CCFL 5, ff.17) at Yang-ku in BC 657 (Hsi 3.5). Mencius quotes him as having said almost the same thing at the meeting at Ku'eich'iu in BC 651 (Hsi 9.4), which is the covenant at which the KYC reports his arrogance (see CCFL 5, ff.19). (see Mencius 6.2.7.3; Legge, Classics II, p.437.)
98. Said before the battle on the banks of the Hung (泓) River in BC 638 (Hsi 22.4) in which Sung was severely defeated. With these words the Duke of Sung refused to attack the invading Ch'u army while it was fording the river, and later when it had not yet formed up. The KYC says that Confucius thought very highly of Duke Hsiang for his propriety.
99. Said after defeating Ch'eng and before defeating a Chin army in BC 597 (Hsüan 12.3). see CCFL 3, ff.1.
100. KYC, Ch'eng 8.1. see CCFL 3, p.8,9, and ff.26.
101. KYC, Huan 2.2. see CCFL 4, ff.4, and CCFL 5, ff.36.
102. After the defeat of Duke Ch'ing of Ch'i in BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.3), it was Kuo-tso who entered into a covenant



with the feudal lords. He was able to do so by turning over lands and a prize which had been captured by Ch'i, but he was able to refuse the demands that the duke's mother be delivered as a hostage and that some Ch'i territory be surrendered. see also CCFL 3, ff.24, 26, and CCFL 5, ff.25.

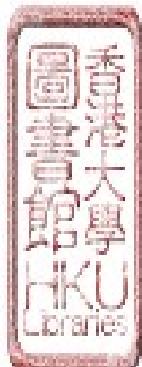
103. In BC 594 (Hsüan 15.3), an army of Chin extinguished the Lu family of the Red Ti barbarians, and carried back its ruler. The KYC explains that he had separated from the Red Ti but had not yet been able to become one of the central states. Neither the central states nor the Red Ti, then, would do anything to save him.

104. The story of the fall of King Fu-ch'ai of Wu is recorded in SC31/15b-19b. He ruled Wu BC 495-473. see ff.120 below.

105. Although Duke Ling of Chin was assassinated in BC 607 (Hsüan 2.4), story of his wish to kill Chao Tun, of the execution of the chef, and of the pelting of his nobles from his tower, is not told until Hsüan 6.1. (see also CCFL 2, ff.13,16). Immediately after his father's burial in BC 621 (Wen 6.6), Duke Ling caused the death of Yang Ch'u-fu by telling Hu She-ku that Yang had advised him not to make Hu a general. Hu then killed Yang, but the responsibility for the murder was transferred to the duke for having made the disclosure (Wen 6.7,8). It is to be noted that the assassination of Duke Ling was carried out by Chao Ch'uan and that the guilt was transferred to Chao Tun for his failure to punish him.

106. See CCFL 4, ff.31, and CCFL 5, ff.29. The Duke of Chin was captured by Ch'in in battle in BC 645 (Hsi 15.14), but he was apparently released with the peace which followed almost immediately.

107. The murder of Wu Tzu-hsü's elder brother is not referred to in KYC, but the story of the death of his father and brother is recorded in TCF for the year BC 522 (Chao 20.11) as is Wu's flight to Wu. KYC makes reference to these events, however, in its commentary on Ch'u's defeat by Wu in BC 506 (Ting 4.14). At some earlier date, Duke Chao of Ts'ai had worn some excellent furs when attending court in Ch'u. Nang Wa, the Prime Minister of Ch'u, coveted them, but Duke Chao refused to make him a present of them. Nang Wa then had him taken prisoner. After his release several years later, Duke Chao petitioned several of the central states to attack Ch'u. On hearing of this King Chao (即 - King P'ing's successor)



of Ch'u sent Nang Wa with an army to besiege Ts'ai in BC 506 (Ting 4.11). Ts'ai sent to Wu for aid, and it was at this point that Wu Tzu-hsü advocated an attack on Ch'u. (The King of Wu had earlier wished to attack Ch'u to avenge the death of Wu Tzu-hsü's father, but at that time Wu argued that it was wrong for a state to involve itself in the revenge of one of its servants).

The quotation is from the KYC (Ting 4.16) describing what occurred when the Wu army occupied the capital of Ch'u.

108. Duke Li had Hsi Ch'i (郤鍇), Hsi Chou (郤州) and Hsi Chih (郤至) killed in BC 574 (Ch'eng 17.13). He was himself killed by the people of Chin the following year. The SA terms this last an "assassination", but KYC comments on neither event.

109. Occurred BC 706 (Huan 6.4).

110. Recounted in KYC for the year BC 682 (Chuang 12.4). Nan-kung Ch'ang-wan (南宮長萬) had been captured in battle by Duke Chuang of Lu, but had been released and returned to Sung after a few months of captivity.

111. KYC, Hsüan 12.3.

112. Liang disintegrated in BC 641 (Hsi 19.7). The KYC says that it was due to internal disorder but does not elaborate.

113. In the initial period of her expansion, Chin had several times attacked Yu and Kuo (郢 or 鄭), but on each occasion, the one had come to the aid of the other, and the invasion had been repulsed. In BC 658 (Hsi 2.3), however, Chin bribed the Duke of Yu with a team of horses from Chü-ch'an, and a piece of fine white jade from Ch'ui-chi, to permit the armies of Chin to march through Yu to make a surprise attack on Kuo. Chin subsequently destroyed Hsia-yang (夏陽), a key border town in Kuo, and this in turn led to the fall of that state. The armies of Chin then turned about and destroyed Yu. The campaign against these two states was a prolonged one, however, for the final capture of the Duke of Yu was not recorded until BC 655 (Hsi 5.9).

114. From KYC, Hsüan 3.3. This quotation presents a problem. It comes from discussion of sacrifice and should be rendered: "If there is nothing to match that which comes from inside, it does not act; and if there is nothing to control that which



comes from outside, it does not stop." Since it has been placed in a context of the affairs of Liang and Yu, it has been rendered differently.

115. Ch'u destroyed Ch'en in BC 534 (Chao 8.9), and she destroyed Ts'ai in BC 531 (Chao 11.10). Both were rest in BC 529 (Chao 13.6) after the death of King Ling (see CCFL 1, ff.5).

There is no mention of a statue of a woman in connection with Kan-hsi, but in the entry recording his death the KYC says that he had been building three towers there which had required much corvee labour.

Ch'eng Jan had been put to death in BC 530 (Chao 12.6).

In actuality it was the return of Prince Pi, the elder brother of Prince Chi-chi, which caused the suicide of King Ling in BC 529 (Chao 13.2) (see CCFL 2, ff.17). The KYC records the death of none of King Ling's sons, but the TC says that they were killed by officers loyal to Prince Pi just before he entered the capital.

116. Probably a later insertion. The next sentence fits more logically after the discussion of King Ling.

117. see ff.90 above.

118. For the towers see ff.90 above.

We are informed by the KYC for the year 667 (Chuang 27.3), that the Duchess of Lu had committed adultery with Prince Ching-fu and Prince Ya, both maternal younger brothers of Duke Chuang. see CCFL 4, ff.7.

The execution of Prince Ya in BC 662 (Chuang 32.3) was brothers killing each other; while the assassination of Duke Min by Prince Ching-fu two years later (Min 2.3) was fathers killing sons. Although Duke Min was only Prince Ching-fu's nephew, it was tantamount to the same thing. see CCFL 4, ff.39.

For Ch'i's role in settling the internal disorder in Lu which followed the assassination of Duke Min, see CCFL 1, ff.10.

119. Although the SA does not mention it, the KYC assumes that this Earl of Tsao died during an attack on his state by the Jung



barbarians in BC 670 (Chuang 24.8). This admonition by Chi of Tsao is drawn from the KYC for this entry.

120. As for ff.104 above. In spite of the fact that he had long tendered excellent, albeit unheeded advice, Wu Tzu-hsü was forced to commit suicide in the twelfth year of King Fu-ch'ai's reign (BC 484), but Wu was not extinguished for another eleven years. The final siege of Wu was commenced, however, in the ninth year after Wu Tzu-hsü's death.

121. See CCFL 3, ff.2.

122. See ff.113 above.

123. See ff.7 above.

124. See ff.37 above.

125. See CCFL 4, ff.8.

126. See p.8 above.

127. See CCFL 3, ff.25, and CCFL 4, ff.25. His property is outlined above, ff.98.

128. See CCFL 3, ff.1, and ff.99 above. The CCFL has not previously mentioned him in this context, but his actions in the case above might be construed to indicate that he did serve the King of Chou well.

129. See ff.68 above.

130. See ff.69 above.

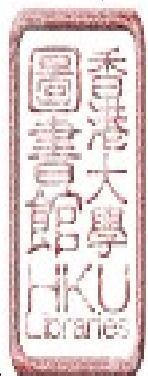
131. On the occasion of the capture of Duke Ch'eng (成) of Wei in BC 632 (Hsi 28.19), KYC tells us that he had been guilty of the murder of his younger brother Shu-wu. Their father, Duke Wen, who had died in BC 635 (Hsi 25.2) had deposed his eldest son (who became Duke Ch'eng) in favour of Shu-wu, but the latter had declined. Later, Duke Ch'eng, unjustly accusing him of usurpation, had him killed. The KYC explains that the SA contains no mention of this in order to avoid dishonouring Shu-wu, whose yielding of the throne had been considered virtuous.

132. See ff.71 above.

133. See ff.72 above.



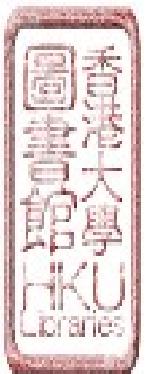
134. See ff.70 above.
135. See CCFL 4, ff.5, and CCFL 5, ff.28.
136. See ff.73 above.
137. See CCFL 2, ff.17, and ff.66 above.
138. See ff.103 above.
139. See ff.84 above.
140. See ff.105 above.
141. See ff.60 above.
142. See CCFL 1, ff.7, and ff.95 above.
143. See ff.104, and 120 above.
144. See ff.106 above.
145. See ff.107 above.
146. See ff.108 above.
147. See ff.109 above.
148. See ff.110 above.
149. See ff.113 above.
150. See ff.112 above.
151. See ff.115 above.
152. See ff.90 above.
153. This is Duke Hui (惠) of Wei. See ff.27, ff.32 and ff.85 above.
154. See ff.36 above.
155. In BC 613 (Wen 14.8), Hsi Ch'üeh of Chin (the SA does not name him saying only "a man"), led an army into Chu (楚) in an attempt to establish Chieh-tzu (子晳) as ruler (instead



of Chüeh-ch'ieh (叔苴), to replace the viscount who had died the previous year (Wen 13.3). Chieh-tzu was a son by a wife of the royal line of Chin, while Chüeh-ch'ieh was a son by a wife of the royal line of Ch'i. The people of Chu explained that while both were of equally noble blood, the latter (whom they had established as ruler) was the elder. The position of ruler, therefore, was properly his. Hsi Ch'üeh then retired with his army without pressing the matter. Hsi Ch'üeh had been acting on his own and not under orders of the Duke of Chin.

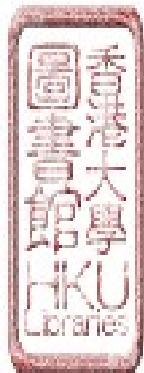
156. See CCFL 3, ff.28, and CCFL 4, ff.10. From KYC Yin 4.5, we learn that it was actually the plotting and direct orders of Prince Hui of Lu which lead to the assassination of Duke Yin. He had first advised Duke Yin to set himself up as permanent ruler, but when the latter refused, he went to Duke Huan and managed to effect the assassination.

157. In BC 720 (Yin 3.3) the death of a noble is recorded, and in BC 599 (Hsian 10.6), the flight of a noble is recorded. In both cases the KYC explains that this was done in order to indicate disapproval of the fact that their positions had become hereditary in their respective governments.



"The Extinguished States"

A (true) king is the one (to whom) the people go. A (true) ruler is one who does not neglect the masses. Therefore he who is able to cause all the people to go towards (him), and attains (the consent) of the masses of the world, is without a rival in the world. (During the Spring and Autumn period,) there were thirty-six assassinations of rulers, and fifty-two states perished. The virtue of the small states was minimal, and they neither went to court nor sent embassies. The larger states did not attend the meetings of the feudal lords. They stood alone and did not protect each other; they dwelt in solitude and did not congregate. Therefore when they encountered difficulty, there was no one to save them and they perished. It was not dukes, lords and important people alone who perished in this fashion. Everything between Heaven and Earth which has foundations which are too small are incapable of withstanding high winds and heavy rain. Quickly they break and disappear. The Marquis Shuo of Wei resolutely served (Duke) Hsiang of Ch'i, and the world hated it.<sup>1</sup> Yu and Kuo assisted each other, and (Duke) Hsien of Chin was thwarted.<sup>2</sup> Chao Tun of Chin was a single knight without an inch of land or a solitary follower, yet Duke Ling (of Chin), who held the great honour of (the position of) 'overlord', wished to kill him. He made extreme



changes and used the utmost deceit, but when his deceit was exhausted and his strength was used up, great disaster overcame him personally.<sup>3</sup> Had he trusted (Chao) Tun and been satisfied with the position of a small state, who could have caused his death? Wu Tzu-hsü was a single knight. He fled from Ch'u and had an audience with Ho Lü (the King of Wu). Subsequently he attained his aims in Wu.<sup>4</sup> If the one who is trusted is sincere, then how can (his ruler) be opposed? King K'un of Ch'u trusted his state to Tzu-yü Te-ch'en, and the world was afraid.<sup>5</sup> The Duke of Yu trusted his state to King Chih-ch'i, and (Duke) Hsien of Chin was confounded.<sup>6</sup> When (King) K'un executed Te-ch'en, the world considered it unimportant; but when the Duke of Yu did not use (the advice of) Kung Chih-ch'i, (Duke) Hsien of Chin destroyed him. (From this) we cannot but understand the principles of preservation and loss. When under military attack, the feudal lords would hide or flee. (But even when) it came to destruction and death, no one would save them. (From this) we can see their normal behaviour. (Duke) Yin (of Lu) ruled on behalf of Duke Huan. It was called nothing more than preservation (of the state). Yet he sent Wu Hai as general of an army to destroy Chi.<sup>7</sup> Internally (Chi) had no ministers who could tender good advice, and abroad there were no (righteous) feudal lords to save her. (The case of)

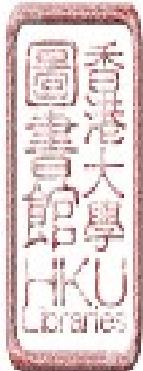


Tsai was similar to this. When Sung, Ts'ai, and Wei invaded (Tsai), Cheng, relying on their power, captured it.<sup>8</sup> This is no different from leaving an important treasure on the road with no one to guard it. (Anyone) who sees it can pick it up. (When the rulers of) Teng and Kuo lost their territory, they came to the court of (Duke) Huan of Lu. (The rulers of ) Teng and Kuo had lost their territory; surely (this) was fitting!<sup>9</sup>

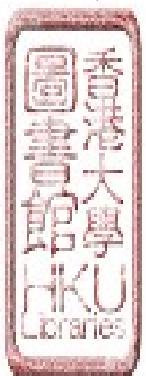


PART II  
CCFL 8:

The reason that the Marquis of Chi was destroyed was a vengeance of nine generations (standing). The words of a moment endangered one hundred generations of descendants. Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) said: "He made a grand leaving."<sup>10</sup> The men of Wei invaded Ch'eng; Cheng entered Ch'eng; and (Lu) together with an army of Ch'i besieged Ch'eng.<sup>11</sup> (Ch'eng) suffered three major attacks, and in the end was destroyed. No one saved it. Where were (the powers) that it trusted? Duke Huan of Ch'i wished to practise the way of the 'overlord'. Subsequently T'an (譚) disobeyed his orders. (Duke Huan) destroyed the state, but (its ruler) fled to Chu<sup>12</sup>. (The ruler of Tan) had not served the major (states) but had served the minor (ones). The reason that the Earl of Ts'ao battled to the death while on his throne was that none of the feudal lords helped (anyone in) distress.<sup>13</sup> With the meetings at Yu (圉), (Duke) Huan of Ch'i several times brought the feudal lords together. Ts'ao was a small (state) and did not attend. Lu was an important state, (yet) Duke Chuang did not go to the meeting at Yu.<sup>14</sup> Men of the Jung barbarians, then, spied on (Lu's) army at Chi-hsi, and could see from (this) that Lu stood alone and that no one would save her. At this time nobles were disobeying their ruler's orders and acting on their own to save those in peril.<sup>15</sup> The men of Wei



did not come to the meeting at Yu held in the twenty-seventh year of Duke Chuang of Lu (BC 667). Because of this Duke Huan became angry, and the following year he greatly defeated (Wei).<sup>17</sup> (Duke Huan) attacked the Mountain Jung, and (on his returned) unfurled his banners and displayed his captives in order to intimidate the feudal lords.<sup>18</sup> At this point Lu built three towers in one year.<sup>19</sup> (Later) there were three instances of disorderly ministers within (the state),<sup>20</sup> and barbarian troops caused the extinction (of Wei) abroad.<sup>21</sup> The cause of the extinction of Wei was her neglect of the meeting at Yu, while the origin of the disorder (in Lu) was the existence of secret plots within the (royal) clan. Hsing (邢) being a dependency of Chin as well as a weak (state), did not meet with (Duke) Huan of Ch'i. But when the Marquis of Chin was captured at Han (韓) (Hsing) turned its back (on Chin), and (took part in) the meeting at Huai (淮).<sup>22</sup> (After) the death of (Duke) Huan of Ch'i, when Shu Tiao and I Ya were causing disorder (in Ch'i),<sup>23</sup> Hsing and the Ti barbarians attacked (Wei, a state of) the same surname.<sup>24</sup> When his actions were like this, how could one act as a relative even if one were a relative? When the Marquis of Wei destroyed this ruler of Hsing, it was destruction at (the hands of a state of the) same surname.<sup>25</sup> Because Wei did not come to the meeting at Yu, (Duke) Huan of Ch'i was angry



and he attacked (Wei). (Later when Wei) was destroyed by the Ti barbarians, (Duke) Huan took pity on them and (re)established (the state). (Duke) Chuang of Lu used the covenant at K'o to steal Wen-yang, (but when) Lu was cut off, (Duke) Huan (re)established it.<sup>26</sup> Hsing and Ch'i (#2) did not come to court or send embassies, but when Duke Huan of Ch'i heard of their destruction, he led the feudal lords to (re)establish them.<sup>27</sup> Such was his attentiveness. How could he not act as 'overlord'! Because he was concerned about the world, (the Spring and Autumn Annals) approved of him.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. See CCFL 6, ff.27,32, and 85.
2. See CCFL 6, ff.113, and p.17.
3. See CCFL 6, ff.105.
4. See CCFL 6, ff.107. Note: The SPPY edition has Ch'u for Wu.
5. The Ch'u noble Tzu-yü Te-ch'en was severely defeated in battle with the combined forces of Chin, Ch'i, Sung, and Ch'in in BC 632 (Hsi 28.5). He was subsequently put to death (TC says that he was forced to commit suicide) by the King of Ch'u (Hsi 28.6). KYC was critical of Te-ch'en's actions for he had, as a noble, opposed the feudal lords.
6. as for ff.2 above.
7. See CCFL 6, ff.34.
8. In BC 713 (Yin 10.6), Sung, Ts'ai, and Wei, combined to



attack the small state of Tsai. Taking advantage of this attack, Chen invaded and took the state.

9. The Earl of Ku and the Marquis of Teng both came to court in Lu in BC 705 (Huan 7.2). It is explained that their names are given in SA in order to demean them.

10. See CCFL 3, ff.9, and CCFL 4, ff.36.

11. Wei invaded Ch'eng in BC 618 (Yin 5.3). SA says 'army' instead of 'men'. Cheng and Ch'i entered Ch'eng in BC 713 (Yin 10.7). Ch'eng was finally destroyed in BC 686 (Chuang 8.3) when it surrendered to Ch'i after having been besieged by the combined armies of Lu and Ch'i. See CCFL 4, ff.40, and CCFL 3, ff.86.

12. Ch'i extinguished T'an in BC 684 (Chuang 10.7). The KYC adds no descriptive comment, but the TC informs us that the Viscount of T'an had insulted Duke Huan of Ch'i on two earlier occasions.

13. See CCFL 6, ff.119.

14. There were two meetings at Yu during the reign of Duke Chuang of Lu, the first in BC 678 (Chuang 16.4), and the second in BC 667 (Chuang 27.2). The SA associated with the KYC has the Duke of Lu present at both and the Earl of Ts'ao present at the first. Many states attended the meeting in BC 678, but only five attended the later one. The SA associated with the TC, however, gives both Lu and Ts'ao as absent from the first meeting. See CCFL 5, ff.14, and 15.

15. In BC 676 (Chuang 28.2), Duke Chuang pursued the Jung barbarians to Chi-hsi. While the KYC and the KLC approve greatly of his actions, TC says the fact that they had invaded was concealed.

16. It is unclear as to which of the historical event(s) this refers.

17. See ff.14 above. Wei did not attend, and was subsequently defeated in battle by Ch'i (Chuang 28.1).

18. In BC 664 (Chuang 30.7), Ch'i attacked the Mountain Jung, and early in the following year (Chuang 31.4), passed through Lu with unfurled banners, displaying their captives. KYC



explains that this was done in order to frighten Lu.

19. See CCFL 6, ff.90. In actual fact, two of these towers were already under construction when the Ch'i army marched through.

20. Prince Ya was forced to commit suicide by Prince Yu in BC 662 (Chuang 32.2.), and later in the same year, Prince Ch'ing-fu murdered the heir-elect, Prince Pan (Chuang 32.5). Two years later Prince Ch'ing-fu assassinated Duke Min (Min 2.3).

21. According to KYC (Hsi 2.1), Wei had been destroyed by barbarians in BC 660 (Min 2.7), two years earlier, and was only then being restored by Duke Huan of Ch'i.

22. The first (and only) meeting of the feudal lords which was attended by the Marquis of Hsing was in fact at Huai in BC 644 (Hsi 16.5). Although there is nowhere any mention of Hsing's relationship to Chin. The Duke of Chin had been captured in battle with Ch'in at Han in the previous year (Hsi 15.14). Prior to this Hsing had been saved by Ch'i from an invasion of Ti barbarians in BC 661 (Min 1.2); and after having been extinguished by the Ti, was reinfeudated by Ch'i two years later (Hsi i.2).

23. After the death of Duke Huan of Ch'i in BC 643 (Hsi 17.5), there was a struggle for power between Shu Tiao and I Ya, and the Duke was not buried at the proper time (KYC, Hsi 18.3).

24. In BC 642 (Hsi 18.6), Hsing and the Ti barbarians made a joint attack on Wei. As descendants of the Royal House of Chou, the surname of the ruling families in both states was Chi (姬).

25. Hsing was extinguished by Wei in BC 635 (Hsi 25.1). The TC alone does not record outright condemnation of Wei for destroying a state of the same surname.

26. See CCFL 1, ff.8, and 10.

27. See CCFL 1, ff.3.



CCFL 9:"Omens in the Following of Basics"

"When Yen Yuan died Confucius said: 'Heaven has bereft me!' When Tzu-lu died Confucius said: 'Heaven has cut me off!' And when they captured the unicorn in the west, (Confucius) said: 'My Way has failed!'"<sup>1</sup> Three years (after he said:) "My way has failed!", his body complied (with his words), and he died.<sup>2</sup> From this we can see that the Sage understood the gain and loss of the Mandate of Heaven. It had been ordained that there was no way that their lives could be saved!

In the year before the death of Duke Hsien (獻) of Chin, (Duke) Huan of Ch'i twice assembled (the feudal lords) for a meeting at Kuei-ch'iu (葵邱).<sup>3</sup> The year before (Duke) Hsiao of Ch'i died, (Duke) Hsi of Lu pleaded for military (support) in Ch'u, and together with Ch'u) captured Ku (穀).<sup>4</sup> Awe of (Duke) Wen of Chin caused the Son of Heaven to come on two occasions. (But) the year before he died, (Duke) Hsi of Lu changed his mind and served Ch'i.<sup>5</sup> Duke Wen (of Lu) did not serve Chin, but the year before the Marquis P'an of Ch'i died, Duke Wen went to Chin. (While on his journey) he unexpectedly encountered the Marquis of Wei and the Earl of Cheng. As a consequence, the feudal lords met a noble of Chin at Hsin-ch'eng (新成), in the year following the Marquis of Ch'i's



death.<sup>6</sup> Because Duke Chao of Lu served Ch'u, the men of Chin did not invade. Ch'u was powerful and attained its aims. In one year (Ch'u) twice assembled the feudal lords. It attacked Wu, and on Ch'i's behalf executed a rebellious minister. Subsequently it destroyed Li (厲). (At the same time) <sup>Lu</sup> availed itself of (Ch'u's) prestige and destroyed Tseng (曾). The following year, (the Duke of Lu was able) to go to Chin without encountering trouble at the river. (Again), the year before the death of (Duke) Chao of Chin, (he went there) without trouble.<sup>7</sup> The state of Ch'u experienced internal disorder, and a minister assassinated the ruler. The feudal lords met at P'ing-ch'iu (平丘) to plan the execution of the rebellious minister in Ch'u. Duke Chao (of Lu) did not enter into the covenant, and (one of his) nobles was taken prisoner.<sup>8</sup> Wu greatly defeated six states which were allied to Ch'u at Chi-fu.<sup>9</sup> Duke (Chao) went to Chin and suffered great disgrace. The Spring and Autumn Annals conceals this on his behalf, and says (only) that he fell ill.<sup>10</sup> Looking at it from this (point of view), the one whom he followed was not (powerful) enough to depend on. One cannot but be cautious about whom one serves. This is also important to preservation or loss; to glory or disgrace. Three years before the death of King Chuang of Ch'u, Chin extinguished the Lu (魯), Chia (季), and Liu-yü (劉豫) families of the Red Ti barbarians.<sup>11</sup> Three years before the death of the Viscount



Shen of Ch'u, Cheng submitted (to the northern states) at Hsiao-yü.<sup>12</sup> The year after the death of the Marquis Chou (周) of Chin .....<sup>13</sup> Two years before the death of the Viscount Chao (趙) of Ch'u, he and (the forces of) Ch'en, and Ts'ai attacked Cheng and greatly defeated it. The following year, Ch'u Chien of Ch'u met the feudal lords and was arrogant to the Central States. The year after his death, the rulers of the Central States paid a court visit to Ch'u. The Viscount Ch'ian of Ch'u continued for four years and (then) died.<sup>14</sup> Instead of being seized by violence, his state flourished and became more powerful than the (other) central states. This did not last for much more than a year.<sup>15</sup> Why? It was permissible that the Viscount Chao of Ch'u surpassed the feudal lords. All those in the world who hated their rulers came to make complaints and served him.<sup>16</sup> (But) on the four or five occasions on which he went to war, it was always an attack on the few by the many, or on the scattered by the united. (Thus) his righteousness was complete. Four or five years before his death there was internal violence in the Central States. The armies of Ch'i, Chin, Lu and Wei were divided in defense, and the large states attacked the small.<sup>17</sup> Twice the Central States met at Ch'en-i (陳儀), but Ch'i was unwilling to go.<sup>18</sup> Wu went to the south (of Ch'u), and two rulers were murdered.<sup>19</sup> The



Central States were to the north, and in Ch'i and Wei the rulers were killed.<sup>20</sup> Ch'ing-feng (of Ch'i) threatened his ruler and disrupted the state.<sup>21</sup> The followers of Shih O congregated and became numerous. The (Marquis) K'an of Wei seized Ch'en-i (陳儀) and acted deceitfully, while (Sun) Lin-fu (of Wei) seized (Ch'i), and held it in revolt.<sup>22</sup> The Duke of Sung killed his Crown Prince.<sup>23</sup> There was a great famine in Lu.<sup>24</sup> The actions of the Central States was not the behaviour of (proper) states. For example, in the time of (Dukes) Wen and Hsüan (of Lu), five rulers of the Central States were assassinated within five years.<sup>25</sup> Because of the actions of (Duke) Ling of Chin, a noble was established at Fei-lin.<sup>26</sup> (True 'overlords' need only) nod their heads or wave their hands, and none of the feudal lords would dare but come out.<sup>27</sup> This is similar to marshes having banks.<sup>28</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Reported in the KYC on the capture of the unicorn in BC 481 (Ai 14.1). cf. Analects 11.8 (Legge, Classics I, p.239), for Confucius' comment on the death of Yen Yüan.
2. According to the SA associated with the TC, Confucius died in BC 479 (Ai 16.4).
3. Shortly after the two meetings at Kuei-ch'iu in BC 651 (Hsi 9.2,4), Duke Hsien of Chin died (Hsi 9.5). He had attended neither of the meetings. For previous comment on the second meeting (a covenant), see CCFL 5, ff.19.
4. After two attacks by Ch'i in BC 634 (Hsi 26.2,3), Prince



Sui went to Ch'u to plead for military support (Hsi 26.8). This was granted and the combined forces of Lu and Ch'u proceeded to capture the Ch'i city of Ku (Hsi 26.8). Duke Chao of Ch'i died in the summer of the following year (Hsi 27.2). For previous comment on the attack on Ch'i, see CCFL 5, p.8.

5. Duke Wen of Chin died in BC 628 (Hsi 32.2). There is no record of any change in the relationship between Lu and Ch'i during the previous year, but the following year, just before his own death (Hsi 33.10), Duke Hsi went to Ch'i. The KYC comments on neither event. For the coercion of the king by the Duke of Chin, see CCFL 1, ff.4.

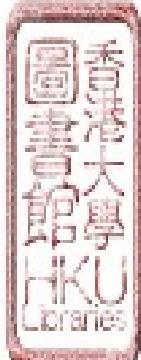
6. Marquis P'an of Ch'i died in the summer of BC 613 (Wen 14.4). In the winter of the preceding year, the Duke of Lu had gone to Chin (Wen 13.6). While on the way he met with the Marquis of Wei at T'a (楚 - location unknown) (Wen 13.7), and after having entered into a covenant with the Duke of Chin (Wen 13.9), he met with the Earl of Cheng at Fei (成 - in Cheng) (Wen 13.10) when returning home. The KYC indicates approval of the fact that he met other feudal lords both before and after the private covenant. This covenant should have been renewed on the accession of Duke Ling of Chin seven years earlier. In the month following the death of the Marquis P'an (Wen 14.5), the feudal lords and the Chin noble, Chao Tun entered into a covenant at Hsin-ch'eng (新城 - in Sung). There was no representative from Ch'i present. The KYC does not comment.

7. It was in BC 538 (Chao 4.2,3,4) that Ch'u twice assembled the feudal lords, attacked Wu, executed Ching Feng of Ch'i, and extinguished Li. (see CCFL 1, ff.2). Immediately after the last of these (KYC, Chao 4.5), Lu extinguished Tseng.

Two years earlier (Chao 2.5), Duke Chao of Lu had been going to Chin, but fearing Chin, turned back when he reached the river. The year following the destruction of Tseng (Chao 5.3), he visited Chin safely. He again visited Chin safely in BC 527 (Chao 15.6), the year before the death of Duke Chao of Chin (Chao 16.4).

8. The internal disorders in Ch'u occurred in BC 529 (Chao 13.2,3 (see CCFL 2,ff.17)). The feudal lords met immediately at P'ing Ch'iu (Chao 13.4), but the Duke of Lu did not enter into the covenant which was sworn there, and the Lu noble, Chi-sun Yin (子孫隱), was taken prisoner as a direct consequence (Chao 13.5).

9. Wu defeated the combined forces of Tun (頓), Hu (胡), Sher



(兗), Ts'ai, Ch'en, and Hsü (虢) at Chi-fu, in BC 519 (Chao 23.7). It was armies of these six states together with Ch'u and the I barbarians of the Huai which had invaded Wu in BC 538 (Chao 4.3 - see ff.7 above).

10. Later in the same year as Wu's victory (above) (Chao 23.12), the Duke of Lu "fell ill" on his way to Chin and turned back. He had turned back without carrying out his planned visit to Chin on four earlier occasions: BC 540 (Chao 2.4), BC 530 (Chao 12.4), BC 529 (Chao 13.8), and BC 521 (Chao 21.7).

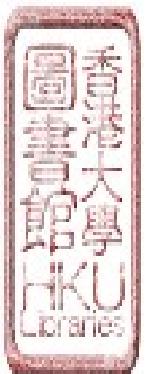
11. Chin extinguished the Lu family of the Red Ti barbarians in BC 594 (Hsüan 15.3), and in the following year (Hsüan 16.1), extinguished the Chia and the Liu-yü families of the Red Ti. King Chuang of Ch'u died in BC 591 (Hsüan 17.5).

12. After having been attacked by the combined armies of the northern states in BC 562 (Hsiang 11.4), Cheng met with them at Hsiao-yü (KYC, Hsiang 11.8). At this time the small state of Cheng was the pivot point in the struggle for predominance between Chin in the north and Ch'u in the south. Viscount Shen of Ch'u died in BC 560 (Hsiang 13.3).

13. The Marquis Chou of Chin died in BC 558 (Hsiang 15.8). The remainder of this example has been lost.

14. Ch'u, Ch'en and Ts'ai attacked Cheng in BC 547 (Hsiang 26.9), but the result is recorded only in the TC. The following year (Hsiang 27.2), Ch'u Chien of Ch'u met the nobles of Lu Chin, Ts'ai, Wei, Ch'en, Cheng, Hsü, and Ts'ao in Sung at what was the first of the disarmament conferences. At the subsequent covenant (TC, Hsiang 27.5), the Ch'u delegates demonstrated bad faith by wearing armour under their clothing. It was at the end of the next year (Hsiang 28.9) that the Marquis Chao of Ch'u died. There is no record of the rulers of the Central States going to court in Ch'u three years later, but if we follow the amendment suggested by Ling Shu (as this translation has) that this occurred in the following year, we find that the Duke of Lu was in Lu at this time (Hsiang 29.1). He had gone to Ch'u the previous year, before the death of Marquis Chao (Hsiang 28.7), and returned to Lu six months later (Hsiang 29.2). The successor to Marquis Chao, Marquis Ch'dan, died in the fourth year of his reign, BC 541 (Chao 1.10).

15. Su Yü thinks that the text relating King Ling's attack on Wu (see ff.7, above), has been omitted from this point.



16. Compare Mencius 1.1.7.18 (Legge, Classics II, p.147).
17. Most of the trouble among the northern states was caused by Ch'i. In BC 550, the Marquis of Ch'i invaded both Wei and Chin, but Lu came to the aid of Chin (Hsiang 23.8,9). The next year, Lu invaded Ch'i (Hsiang 24.2), and in BC 548 (Hsiang 25.1), Ch'i invaded Lu. The large state, Ch'i, invaded the small state, Ch'u (楚), in both BC 550 (Hsiang 23.13) and BC 549 (Hsiang 24.5). No one came to the aid of Ch'u on either occasion.
18. The meetings at Ch'en-i (which was in Wei), were held in BC 549 (Hsiang 24.8) and BC 548 (Hsiang 25.3). On both occasions, says the TC, the intention was to plan an attack on Ch'i. Ch'i, of course, attended neither.
19. Marquis Chu Fan of Wu died in an attack on Ch'u in BC 548 (Hsiang 25.10), while his successor, the Marquis Yü Chi, was assassinated in BC 544 (Hsiang 26.1).
20. Duke Chuang (莊) of Ch'i was assassinated in BC 548 (Hsiang 25.2), while Duke Shang (商) of Wei was assassinated early in the following year (Hsiang 26.1).
21. See CCFL 1, ff.2.
22. We learn from the TC (Hsiang 28.2) that Shih O was a member of the Ning (寧) family clique in Wei. It was Ning Chih (寧子) and Sun Lin-fu (孫林父) who had forced the Marquis K'an of Wei to flee to Ch'i in BC 559 (Hsiang 14.4). The KYC (Hsiang 27.4) tells us that when Ning Chih was on his death bed, he ordered his son Ning Hsi (寧喜) to effect the restoration of the Marquis K'an. Ning Hsi met the Marquis and agreed to restore him, and in BC 548 (Hsiang 25.7), the latter was able to enter the city of Ch'en-i (陳侯). The next year (Hsiang 26.1), Ning Hsi assassinated the usurping ruler of Wei and Sun Lin-fu, his father's partner in crime, fled to Ch'i (戚) and held it in revolt. The Marquis was then able to enter the capital (Hsiang 26.3), but the following year he put Ning Hsi to death (Hsiang 27.2). What Shih O's role was in the events of the day, we are not told. KYC says merely that he was evil (Hsiang 27.5).
23. BC 547 (Hsiang 26.6).
24. BC 549 (Hsiang 24.13).



CCFL 10:**"The Importance of Covenants and Meetings"**

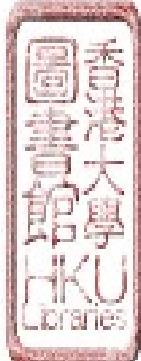
Although the scope of the idea is difficult to illustrate, the Sage honours the eradication of disasters from the world. Because he honours the eradication of disasters from the world, the Spring and Autumn Annals gives it importance, and is complete in the recording of the disasters of the world. It takes as a basis the exposure of the causes of the disasters. Why does it indicate that it wishes thereby to eradicate the disasters of the world? After the world is free from disasters, human nature can become good; and after human nature has become good, the transformation to purity will become prevalent; and after the transformation to purity has become prevalent, the Way of the king will be complete and music and ritual will flourish. (This) is its intention. The commentary says: 'The feudal lords congregated and entered into a covenant.'<sup>1</sup> With respect to the regulation of the state, the true gentleman says: 'How can this be done?'<sup>2</sup> This is how the true gentleman takes pity on the world. Yet disasters reached the point where there were thirty-six assassinations of rulers, and fifty-two states were lost. This was caused by the failure to cut off small evils. (This) statement has already been illustrated. Therefore it is said: 'Establish righteousness in order to clarify the difference between honourable and mean. Consider the trunk strong and the branches weak in order to illuminate important and unim-



portant duties. Be discriminating about doubtful actions in order to make known the righteousness of correcting the world. Collect the ideas which have been sent (down to us from the past), in order to rectify lapses in ritual. Consider no good too small to be raised, and no evil too small to be done away with in order to purify your goodness. Differentiate between wisdom and degeneracy in order to illuminate the honourable. Treat (those who are) near with kindness in order to summon (those who are) far away. Depend on your state and encompass the world. Do not neglect principles in the naming of rank and the grading of (the importance of) things.' (It should be) the intention of the Duke to reward goodness and punish evil in accordance with right and wrong, and to cause the king's benevolence to be all pervading. (This) begins in the eradication of calamities. He corrects and unifies, and all things are completed. Therefore it is said: 'Great indeed is the name (of the Spring and Autumn Annals): With the two words (praise and censure) he rules the world.' This refers to it.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. The first four words of this appear in the KYC (Hsiang 30.9).
2. This does not occur in the present resction of the Class Reading hsie (懈) for shuai (率) (Su Yü). (i.e. this is usurpi the power of the king.)

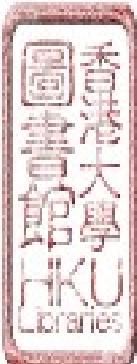


CCFL 11:**"Rectifying Connections"**

What is it that refers to the basis of the great righteousness of the Spring and Autumn Annals? It is the six categories and the six indicators. Subsequently it aided Heaven's beginning (i.e. spring), made known the classes of things, and had a thorough understanding of their principles. Thus, when there is an extraordinary occurrence, it resolves its phraseology into its elements. It records the causes of success and failure, and then differentiates between the beginnings of honour and meanness. It discusses the severity of guilt and settles the legal punishment, and then the distinction between that which is cut off and that which is continued is made. In establishing righteousness, it establishes the order of honourable and lowly, and then the duties of ruler and minister are made clear. It carries the wise methods of the world, and shows the location of humility and righteousness. Thus it demonstrates a return to correctness. That which (should) be hidden does not transgress (that which should not), yet they are close. Thus it is subtle, and afterwards, the responses to the ten thousand changes are without end. Therefore its use can be extended to mankind without disturbing its order. This is why we must make it clear that its beginning is in the fitness of this extension. Therefore when we understand its au-



then afterwards we are able to nourish its aims. When we understand its sound, then afterwards we can help its spirit. When we understand its action, then afterwards we can comply with its form. When we understand its substance, then afterwards, we can discriminate its reality. When he leads, the people are in harmony with him, and when he moves, the people follow him. This (refers to) one who knows how to guide them to that which is enjoyed by (man's) Heaven (given) nature, and how to repress that which is hateful in his feelings. When it is like this, then even though the words be few, the influence will be broadcast, and even though the affair is small, the merit will be great. His reputation will echo, and his flourishing transformation will be transferred to (all) things, and dispersing, it will enter their principles. Virtue will rest in Heaven and Earth, and the spirits will assemble. Both will act without end. It will fill (all within) the four seas with songs of praise. The Book of History says: "The eight sounds were adjusted and there were no discords. Thus were spirits and man brought into harmony."<sup>1</sup> This refers to it. With one who is clear about feelings and nature, we can discuss the action of government. If he is not (clear), then even though he labours hard, he will be without merit; (even though) he stays awake early and late, and (even though) he is anxious and careful, he will still be unable to see (good government). Therefore there are those in the world who are criticised. They are those

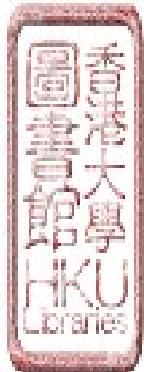


among the three manifestations<sup>2</sup> whom Confucius called wrong.

Yet, how can we understand connections?

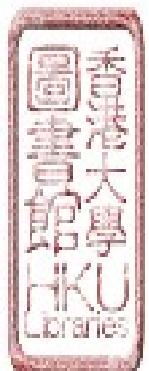
FOOTNOTES:

1. History 2.1.5.4. (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.48).
2. Critics have been puzzled about the meaning of the last two sentences in this chapter. It is possible that the concluding section has been lost. "Among the three manifestations" probably means "in the world", the three being Heaven, Earth, and Man.

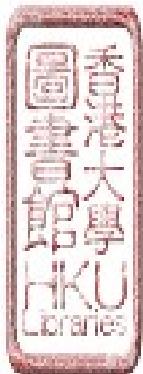


CCFL 12:**"The Ten Directives"**

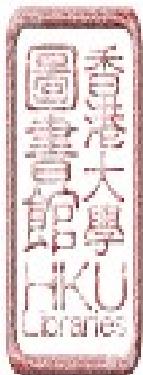
The text of the Spring and Autumn Annals (covers) two  
 hundred and forty-two years,<sup>and</sup> includes the breadth of the dis-  
 asters in the entire world. Nevertheless, (when) we summarize,  
 (we find that) there are ten directives of importance. That  
 to which the ten directives are related is the means by which  
 the moral suasion of the king becomes prevalent. In dealing  
 with disasters seeing (which) is of (the most) importance, is  
 one directive. Seeing (also) where the disaster occurred is one  
 directive. Following what caused it and repress it, is one  
 directive. Considering the trunk strong and the branches weak;  
 giving importance to basics, and none to inessentials; is one  
 directive. Being discriminating about doubt, and differentia-  
 ting between categories is one directive. Discussing the  
 righteousness of wisdom, and differentiating those of superior  
 ability, is one directive. Treating the near kindly (in order  
 to) summon the distant, and according with the wishes of the  
 people, is one directive. Continuing the culture of the Chou  
 (Dynasty) and restoring the basic substance, is one directive.  
 Taking it is a principle of Heaven that (the element) wood gives  
 birth to( the element) fire, and that fire represents summer,  
 is one directive. (Another) directive is that it is a principle  
 of Heaven that the punishment of that which is criticised  
 should be appropriate, and that that which increases disasters



should be examined. If in dealing with disasters, their seriousness is understood, then the common people are peaceful. When the action of the irregularity is perceived, then success and failure are understood. If the cause is followed, and repressed, then the basis of government is rectified. If the trunk is considered strong, and the branches, weak; and if importance is given to basics, and none to inessentials; then the division between ruler and subject is made clear. If doubt is discriminated and categories differentiated, then right and wrong are made manifest. If the righteousness of wisdom is discussed, and those of superior ability are differentiated, then the one hundred ministers are ordered. If the culture of the Chou (Dynasty) is continued, and the basic substance is restored, then the fundamentals of moral suasion are established. If the near are treated kindly (in order to) summon the distant, and the wishes of the people are accorded with, then humanity and benevolence are (all) pervading. If (the element) wood gives birth to (the element) fire, and (the element) fire represents summer, then the principles of the Yin and Yang and the four seasons are in accord and orderly. If one is decisive about that which punishes criticism and examines that which increases disasters, then that which Heaven wishes is in operation. If these are put into action simultaneously, (then) humanity and righteousness are practised, and virtue and goodness are great.

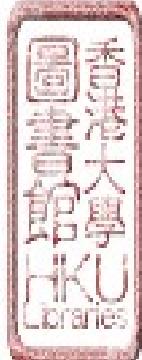


and overflowing in (all between) the four seas. The Yin and Yang are in harmony, and there is nothing that does not attain its principles. It is the rule that those who study the Spring and Autumn Annals (should) put all of them into practice.



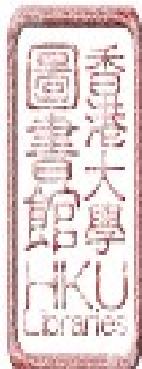
CCFL 13:**"Emphasizing Government"**

Only the sage is able to connect the ten thousand things to a unity and bind them to the origin. If you do not reach back to the source from which things come and carry them through, then you will be unable to complete achievement. This is the reason that the Spring and Autumn Annals changes (the word) 'one' calling it 'origin'. 'Origin' is similar (in meaning) to 'source'. The meaning (of this transposition) thus accords with the beginning and end of Heaven and Earth. Mankind alone (of all creatures) has a beginning and end, and his life does not necessarily correspond to the changes of the four seasons. The origin is the basis of the ten thousand things and the origin of mankind exists in it. Where does it exist? It exists before Heaven and Earth. Although mankind is born of the vitality of Heaven and receives the vitality of Heaven, he is not as original as Heaven. He takes the commands of the origin of Heaven as a basis, and does not collectively interfere with its actions.<sup>1</sup> The first month of spring carries on the action of Heaven and Earth. It continues the action of Heaven and completes it. Their Ways are mutually complimentary. Together they accomplish the management of things. How can it be permitted to say that it acts as the origin of Heaven and Earth? (Yet) how does the origin of Heaven and Earth act in this, and in what manner is it granted to mankind? If we extrapolate upon the connection we can obtain the principles of the idea.



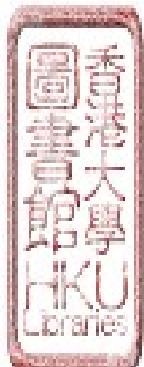
An ability to speak of the categories of birds and beasts is not what the Sage wished. What the Sage wished to talk about was humanity and righteousness and the regulation of (mankind). The Sage honoured only the knowledge to differentiate categories and (the ability) to be discriminating about that on which connections depended; (the ability) to illuminate that which completes righteousness without causing doubt. Were this not so he would have spoken unimportant words in transmitting the myriad phrases and examining the myriad things, and thereby deceived those who came later. This is what Confucius hated most. How could it be contemplated! Not worn out by contemplating it during the day, the Sage continued on into the night. Subsequently his examination of the ten thousand things (led to) humanity and righteousness. Reasoning it this way (we see that) the Sage did indeed attain it by himself. Therefore I say: 'Alas! Can the teachers of mankind be without care!' Righteousness comes from the Classics, and the Classics transmit the great basis. If you abandon the discipline of exerting great mental effort, then (no matter) how firm your resolve to reach complete understanding, your hair will turn white and your teeth will fall out, and it will still be improper for you to record your ideas.

When man was first born, he had his great fate. This is



his body. There is (also) his fate changer which exists in the space (around him). (This) is government. If government is not complete, then mankind is of an angry purpose. If he is about to act in the midst of danger, sometimes (events) accord with him and sometimes they oppose him. These are the signs by which the spirits indicate continuance or cessation (of government). There are also changes in the environment which cause (government) to be incomplete. Since it is like this, we cannot but examine it. When we have examined it we give importance to the basis of government.

(The Spring and Autumn Annals) collects things together into a unity. It advances righteousness, and punishes evil, cutting it off at its origins. (This) is its contribution. It is both the same and different to T'ang (of the Shang) and Wu (of the Chou). The method of T'ang and Wu was to govern on the basis of past (actions). The Spring and Autumn Annals demonstrates success and failure and differentiates between honourable and mean. It bases this in the fact that the reason that Heaven's King lost the world was that he forced the feudal lords into great disorder. It speaks (of these things) that we might later follow it in a return to (order). Therefore I say: 'Be expansive and intelligent; incisive and profound.'



FOOTNOTES:

1. Inserting pu (犮) before kung (共) (SuYü). The text is unclear at this point.



CCFL 14:"The Symbols for Rules Governing Apparel"

Heaven and Earth engendered the ten thousand things in order to nurture mankind. With that which was agreeable,<sup>1</sup> the body was nourished; and with that which was awe-inspiring, was made deportment and clothing. This is the means by which ritual flourished. When the double-edged blade is on the left, the symbol is the green dragon; when the single-edge blade is on the right, the symbol is the white tiger; when the knee-cover is in front, the symbol is the scarlet bird; and when the crown is on the head, the symbol is the black hat-brim (式 - wu).<sup>2</sup> The four are the flourishing ornaments of mankind. If you can connect ancient and modern, and discriminate between right and wrong, then you can conform to this. The appearance of the black hat-brim is the most strict and awe-inspiring. Its symbol is at the back, (yet) the (corresponding item of) apparel turns back and dwells on the head. (This means that)warfare is present, but is not used. In this the Sage was superior, and "although we wish to follow him, there is no way."<sup>3</sup> One who takes armour and repulses his enemies, is indeed not honoured by the Sage. The true gentleman is made obvious by his clothing, while those who induce awe and wage warfare fail in their appearance. Therefore, culture and virtue are honour while awe and warfare are inferior. This is the means by which the world is eternally completed. How does the Spring and Autu



Annals speak of this? Kung P'u put on a righteous countenance, and the traitorous official did not dare to harbour evil intentions.<sup>4</sup> (The state of) Yü had Kung Chih-ch'i and Duke Hsien (of Chin) went without sleep.<sup>5</sup> (Duke) Li of Chin did violence within his state by strewing corpses and letting blood without end.<sup>6</sup> Therefore (after) "King Wu (of the Chou dynasty) had defeated the Yin (dynasty), .... they wore full ceremonial dress, and placed their ceremonial tablets in their waist-bands. The life-guards put away their swords."<sup>7</sup> Why was it necessary for extreme dairing to use warfare and killing before there was awe? This is why what ruler wears is important. He who "appears stern from a distance"<sup>8</sup> is also admirable! How can this not but be examined?

FOOTNOTES:

1. SSPY has shih (士) for shih (迺).
2. The symbols given here also represent the east, west, south and north respectively. (cf. Li Chi, "Yüeh-ling" (月令)).
3. Analects 9.10. (Legge, Classics I, p.220). Said by Yen Yüen of the Master's teachings.
4. KYC Huan 2.2. see CCFL 5, ff.36 and CCFL 6, p.11.
5. see CCFL 6, ff.113 and p.17.
6. See CCFL 6, ff.108. In addition to these three, he also killed Hsü T'ung (胥童) just before he himself was killed in the following year. The translation here has reversed the order of chung kuo (中孚) (Lu Wen-chao).
7. Li Chi (39), "Yueh-chi" (堯記).
8. Analects 19.9. (Legge, Classics I, p.342). According to Tzu-Hsia (子夏) this was the first of three changes of the true gentleman.



CCFL 15:"The Two Starting Points"

Of great significance in the Spring and Autumn Annals is that there are two starting points (to good government). If the origins of these two starting points are not regarded as basic, then neither disasters and anomalous occurrences nor the difference between small and large; minute and manifest can be discussed. If places where there is no (obvious) beginning are scrutinized for the minute, then it (can) indeed be known that the small will become large and the minute will become manifest. Only the Sage (could prognosticate) when the omens had not yet taken form. "Though I long to pursue it, I can find no way of getting to it at all."<sup>1</sup> This refers to it.<sup>2</sup>

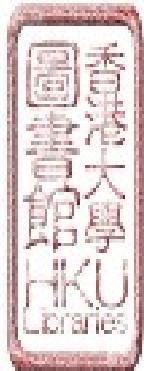
The (true) king receives the Mandate, and (in the matter of) changing the first month of the year, he should not follow the (old) numbering (system) and (simply) carry on.<sup>3</sup> The reason why he must greet the new (system) and accept the Mandate is that it (demonstrates) the principle of bestowing and receiving.

The Sage was able to concentrate on the minute and cause it to become manifest. Thus, by means of the profundity of the Primary (yuan - 元), the Spring and Autumn Annals rectifies the



starting point of Heaven; by means of the starting point of Heaven, it rectifies the government of the king; by means of the government of the king, it rectifies the accession of the feudal lords; and, by means of the accession of the feudal lords, it rectifies the internal administration (of their states). When all five are rectified, the (moral) transformation (of the people) is in general effect.

Therefore the Spring and Autumn Annals records (such things as): eclipses of the sun;<sup>4</sup> falling stars;<sup>5</sup> occurrences of toads;<sup>6</sup> mountain-slides;<sup>7</sup> earthquakes;<sup>8</sup> heavy rains in summer;<sup>9</sup> great falls of hail in winter;<sup>10</sup> the fall of frost which did not kill the grass;<sup>11</sup> (the occasion on which) it did not rain from the first month until the seventh month in the autumn;<sup>12</sup> and (the occasion on which) grackles arrived and nested in trees.<sup>13</sup> It considered (these events) to be anomalous occurrences.<sup>14</sup> From this we can see that the forewarnings of disorder are the small which have not (yet) become large, and the minute which have not (yet) become manifest. Even though they are infinitesimal, they are a beginning. Confucius exerted (himself) on this account. This is why we give great importance to the minute and to the beginnings (of things).<sup>15</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals does not give great importance to those who calculate on the phenomena of previous disasters



and anomalous occurrences in order to plan to still subsequent dangers, calamities and rebellions. Nevertheless, the reason why the Spring and Autumn Annals records them as one of the starting points is that it wishes us to understand the reprimands of Heaven, and to fear its majesty. (It wishes us) to exert the will of our minds internally, and to implement it in our feelings externally, that we may rectify and examine ourselves and manifest goodness, thus returning to the Way. Is this not giving great importance to the minute and to the beginnings; being wary of consequences; and encouraging exertion.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Said by Yen Hui of his inability to attain the doctrines of Confucius. Analects IX.10.3. Legge, Classics I, p.220; Waley, Analects p.140. The wording is Waley's.

2. Several earlier commentators have felt that all, or at least sections of the last two sentences are later forgeries.

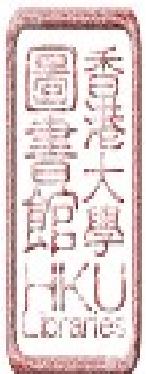
3. According to the general ideology of the times, it was mandatory for a new regime to change the first month of the year in order to demonstrate the change of the Mandate of Heaven.

4. Footnotes 4 through 13 indicate the first date on which the KYC records the intention of the Spring and Autumn Annals to indicate an anomalous occurrence. The first entry on this nature is Yin (殷) 3.1.

5. Chuang (莊) 7.3.

6. Chuang 18.3.

7. Ch'eng (成) 5.4. There is a possible earlier occurrence, in Hsi (僖) 14.3, but the KYC considered what fell to have been a city.



8. 紋 Wen (爻) 9.2.

9. There is no entry in the Spring and Autumn Annals which reads as it does here. The first heavy rain (which occurred in association with thunder and lightning) occurred Yin 9.2.

10. 紋 Hsi 10.7.

11. 紋 Hsi 33.11. The present rescentration of the KYC does not consider this to have been an anomalous occurrence. HS27Bb does, however, list it as an event on which Tung Chung-shu commented.

12. 紋 Wen 10.4. The present rescentration of the KYC does not comment on this event. Almost inviably, however, it comments only on the first occurrence of each type of anomaly, implying that all following occurrences can also be considered anomalous. In Wen 2.5, it did not rain from the twelfth month until the seventh month in the autumn. This the KYC does list as an anomalous occurrence.

13. 紋 Chao (爻) 25.3.

14. This list comprises less than half the types of events which the KYC considered to have been anomalous occurrences.

15. This translation disregards the following three characters in the text.

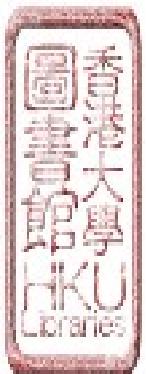


CCFL 16:"The Auspicious Omen"

The capture of the unicorn in the west was that which (human) strength could not cause to come, yet that which came of itself. This was the sign that (Confucius) had received the Mandate of Heaven. Afterwards he relied upon the Spring and Autumn Annals to correct the places which were not correct, and to illuminate the righteousness of changing the system. (In it he had tried) to unite (the world) under the Son of Heaven, and he demonstrated pity for the sorrowful of the world. He exerted himself to do away with that which the world hated. On the one hand he understood (the Way) of the Five Emperors and attained (that of) the kings of the three (dynasties, Hsia, Shang and Chou). Thus he understood the Way of the One Hundred Kings and accorded with the beginnings and endings of Heaven. He (also) studied the results of success and failure, and examined the omens of the Mandate of Heaven) as though they were the ultimate principle. Thus he completed the propriety of the feelings and nature and accorded with the appearance of Heaven. The one hundred officials look towards one point, but they take different doors.<sup>1</sup> He who unites them is the ruler. He who leads them is the prime minister.

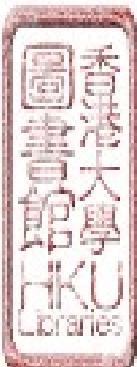
FOOTNOTES:

1. Lu Wen-chao believes that this sentence and the following two have been misplaced from another chapter.

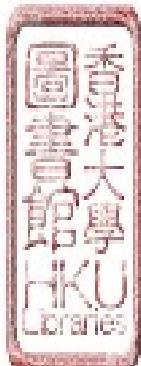


CCFL 17:"The Response to Precedence"

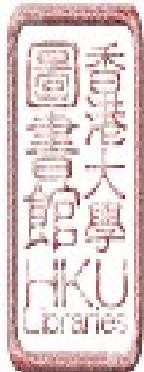
The reason why Confucius wrote the Spring and Autumn Annals was on the one hand to attempt to rectify Heaven's beginning (i.e. spring), the position of the kings and dukes, and the wishes of all the people; and on the other hand, to clarify success and failure and the promotion of the wise, in order to serve later emperors. Therefore he wrote a chronicle of history which gave order to past events and rectified right and wrong as seen in (the actions of) kings and dukes. But the affairs of each of the twelve dukes which his history chronicled were those of a decadent age, and his disciples were confused. (Therefore) Confucius said: 'I followed their actions, but added my kingly intentions to them.'<sup>1</sup> He considered that rather than show it in more words, it was better to (demonstrate it) in the conduct of affairs which were extensive and profound, decisive and brilliant. Therefore Tzu-kung (子貢), Min-tzu (冉子), and Kung-chien-tzu (公肩子)<sup>2</sup> spoke of his decisiveness and were a service to their states. They acted decisively, yet there were assassinations, losses of states, defections, and the inability to defend the state altars. The reason for each of these was that they were not clear about the Way, and that they did not examine the Spring and Autumn Annals. Therefore Tzu-hsia<sup>3</sup> of Wei said that (rulers) of States could not but study the Spring and Autumn Annals. If they did not study the Spring and Autumn Annals, t



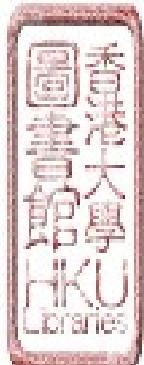
there would be no way for them to see surrounding dangers. Thus they knew neither the great control of the state nor the important responsibility of the ruler. Therefore some were suddenly oppressed and they lost their states, while (others) were attacked and murdered in (mid-)reign. Had they been able to comply with the laws of the Spring and Autumn Annals, and cause its Way to be practised, how could they not have done away with (this kind of) disaster? Such was the virtue of Yao and Shun. Therefore Shih-tzu (士子) said: 'Their merit reached their sons and grandsons, and gave splendour to one hundred generations. In the virtue of the Sage, nothing was considered to be better than forgiveness.'<sup>4</sup> Therefore, in the Spring and Autumn Annals, Confucius<sup>5</sup> gives precedence to a careful consideration of his own (state) while giving the (states of) others a general treatment. (Thus) he followed his (own) state, and encompassed the world. (Those who) attained the Way of the Spring and Autumn Annals to a large extent, became king, while (those who) attained it to a smaller extent, became 'overlord'. Therefore Tseng-tzu (曾子) and Tzu-shih (子石) caused goodness to flourish.<sup>6</sup> The Marquis of Ch'i (i.e. Duke Huan) pacified the feudal lords and honoured the Son of Heaven. The Ways of king and 'overlord' are both based in humanity. It is Heaven's intention that there be humanity. Therefore (the Spring and Autumn Annals) gives second level importance to Heaven's intention. There is nothing of greater importance in the loving of others than worrying about calamity and planning to ward it off.



Therefore Ts'ai gained its aims in Wu<sup>7</sup>, and Lu gained its aims in Ch'i,<sup>8</sup> and the Spring and Autumn Annals accused neither. (The Spring and Autumn Annals) gives third level importance to saying that one should not go near men who hold a grudge; that one should not be friendly with enemy states; and that one should not for long remain on good terms with the states of thieves and robbers. All these are done to prevent disaster and, on behalf of the people, do away with calamity. At the stage where people are not loved, death and loss (of state) are caused. Therefore it tells us how King Ling of Ch'u,<sup>9</sup> and Duke Li of Chin,<sup>10</sup> were assassinated in (mid-)reign. This was what was caused by lack of humanity. (On the other hand) it thought highly of Duke Hsiang of Sung for not endangering men.<sup>11</sup> Rather than ignore the Way and win, it is better to follow the Way and lose. The Spring and Autumn Annals considered it honourable that he was about to transform customs and complete the moral suasion of the king. Therefore Tzu-hsia said that the Spring and Autumn Annals gave importance to mankind. All criticisms (in it) take this as a basis. Some (rulers) were wasteful and extravagant and caused their people to become filled with resentment, while other (rulers) oppressed and harmed their people. In the end, disaster reached all of them personally. Therefore Tzu-chih (子思) <sup>12</sup> spoke of the building of the three towers, the painting the pillars red, and the carving of the rafters, which were done by (Duke) Chuang of Lu,<sup>13</sup>



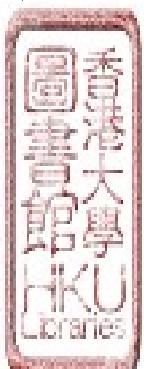
and the punishments and hardships imposed by (Duke) Li of Chin.<sup>14</sup> His meaning was that neither deserved to die of old age. Both rulers, in being extravagant and wasteful, and imposing punishment and harshship, failed to extend forgiveness within (their states), and they demanded too much of (their) people. The Spring and Autumn Annals gives fourth level importance to the following of the feelings of mankind and the forgiving of small errors. This is transmitted and made clear by the saying: "Confucius excused it."<sup>15</sup> Confucius illuminated success and failure, and demonstrated triumph and defeat. He was appalled that the age was without humanity and that the substance of the Kingly Way had been lost. Therefore he followed the feelings of mankind and forgave small errors. This was transmitted and made clear (in the Kung-yang Commentary where it) says: "Confucius excused it." Confucius (also) said: 'I followed their actions, but added my kingly intentions to them.' He borrowed the position and title (of king) in order to rectify human relations. He followed the triumphs and defeats (of the feudal lords) in order to clarify accord and discord. That which he thought highly of were what (Dukes) Huan (of Ch'i) and Wen (of Chin) practised and followed; while that which he hated were the actions of disorderly states. (The latter all) ended with defeat. Therefore he begins by speaking of great evil, the assassination of rulers and the loss of states, and ends b



speaking of the forgiveness of small errors. Thus begins with the coarse and ends with the fine. When moral suasion is prevalent, virtue and benevolence greatly permeate the people of the world. (At that time), (all) mankind behaves as a knight or a gentleman and errs infrequently. This is also the meaning of the criticism of the (having of) two names.<sup>16</sup>

FOOTNOTES:

1. Amending hu (乎) to wu (吾) to make it read as it does below (Lu Wen-chao). These words attributed to Confucius occur in none of the Classics still extant.
2. Tzu-kung was Tuan-mu Tz'u (端木賛). He was a disciple of Confucius from Wei. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.115, #8). Min-tzu was Min Sun (閔叔). He was a disciple of Confucius from Wei. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.113, #2). Kung-chien-tzu was Kung-chien Ting (公肩定). He was a disciple of Confucius, probably from Lu. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.124, #51).
3. Tzu-hsia was Pu Shang (卜商). He was a disciple of Confucius from Wei. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.117, #10).
4. Shih-tzu was Shih Shih (石蒭). HS30/28a says that he was the author of a book (now lost) of twenty-one p'ien, that he was one of Confucius' seventy disciples, and that he came from Ch'en. Lun-heng 3/16b, however, says that he was from Chou. He believed that man's nature was both good and bad.
5. Amending yü (于) to tzu (子) (Yü Yüeh) (俞樾)
6. Tseng-tzu was Tseng Ts'an (曾參). He was one of Confucius' most honoured disciples, and from Lu. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.117, #12). Shih-tzu was Kung-sun Lung (公孫龍). He was one of Confucius' disciples from Lu. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.122, #35). He is not to be confused with the later logician of the same name.
7. See CCFL 9, ff.7. Ts'ai was one of the invading states. KYC (Chao 4.3) disapproved.

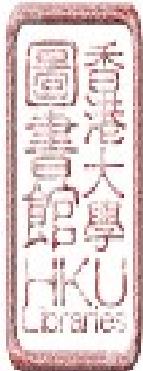


8. See CCFL 5, ff.33. The text, p.8, indicates disapproval of Lu, and the KYC (Hsi 26.5) holds that the wording of SA indicates disapproval.
9. See CCFL 6, ff.115.
10. See CCFL 14, ff.6.
11. See CCFL 6, ff.98.
12. It is not know who Tzu-ch'ih was.
13. See CCFL 6, ff.88 and 89.
14. As for ff.8 above.
15. KYC Hsian 12.1.
16. Twice in the late Spring and Autumn period (Ting 6.7, and Ai 13.7), the SA associated with the KYC omits the first of the two given names of a noble. The KYC says that this was done to indicate criticism of the impropriety of having given names (名) consisting of two characters.



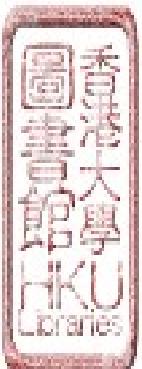
CCFL 18:**"The Roots of Agreement and Disagreement"**

Heaven elevates its position and sends down its gifts; hides its form but shows its brilliance. Elevating its position is the means by which it is honoured; sending down its gifts is the means by which it acts humanely, hiding its form is the means by which it is spiritual; and, showing its brilliance is the means by which it illuminates. Therefore the actions of Heaven are to cause its position to be honoured, to make a gift of humanity, to hide its spirituality, and to show its brilliance. He who acts as the ruler of men (should) pattern (his behaviour) on the actions of Heaven. This is the reason that deep concealment within is the means by which he becomes spiritual, and broad examination without is the means by which he becomes illuminated. Employing a host of wise officials is the means by which he becomes complete, and refraining from personally exerting himself in affairs is the means by which he becomes honoured. He is filled with love for all living things, and does not reward or punish on account of (personal) joy or anger. (This) is the means by which he becomes humane. Therefore, he who acts as the ruler of men takes non-action as his Way, and selflessness as his treasure. Seated on the throne of non-action, he avails himself of the perfection of his officials. His feet do not move of themselves, but are led



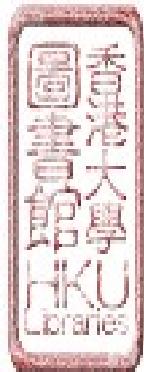
forward by his senior officials. His mouth does not speak of itself, yet his more junior officials sing his praise. His mind does not make its own plans, yet the host of officials effect what is proper. Therefore, no one sees him act, yet merit is achieved. This is how the ruler of men patterns (his behaviour) on the actions of Heaven.

He who acts as an official for mankind patters (his behaviour) on the Way of Earth. He shows his form and exposes his feelings in order to demonstrate to mankind the height (of his position), whether he is orderly or disorderly, strong or weak, hard or soft, fat or thin, or good or bad. (Thus) he can be judged accordingly. Therefore the fitness of his type can be known and judged. He who acts as an official for mankind is like the Earth in honouring good faith and showing his feelings in their entirety to the ruler. (Thus his worth) is also known to and judged by the ruler. Therefore the Kingly Way becomes awe-inspiring and is not lost. (He who) acts as an official for mankind constantly exhausts his feelings and does his utmost while showing his strengths and weaknesses. (This) allows the ruler and superiors to know (his suitability) and to measure it and employ him accordingly. (This) is similar to (the Way that) Earth exhausts its feelings. Therefore the suitability of its form can be known and judged.



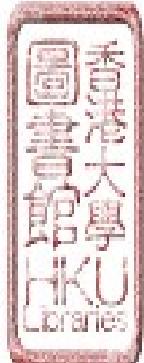
CCFL 19:**"Establishing the Original Spirituality"**

The ruler of men is the origin of the state. His words and actions are the guiding power for the ten thousand things. In the action of (this) guiding power (lies) the beginnings of glory and disgrace. If there is the slightest mistake, a team of four horses cannot overtake it. Therefore, he who is the ruler of men is cautious about basics, vigilant about beginnings, respectful of the small and careful about the minute. His will is like dead ashes,<sup>1</sup> and his appearance is as though he has let fall his robes.<sup>2</sup> He calms his spirit, conserves his energies, is still and quiet, and does nothing. He is (so) retiring that no shadow (of him) is seen, and (so) reticent, that no echo (of his voice) is heard.<sup>3</sup> He is humble towards inferiors. By examining the past he views the future. He seeks advice from the host of wise men and from examination of the masses. He gains their minds and sees their feelings in their entirety. He examines their likes and dislikes in order to know whether they will be loyal or deceitful, and he examines their past actions and tests them in the present. He examines (the knowledge which they have) accumulated, receiving it from former wise men. He disperses that which they hate by watching for that over which they contend. He is discriminating about that which cliques and clans rely on as law. In occupying the throne and ruling mankind, he uses (only) what is proper<sup>4</sup> in

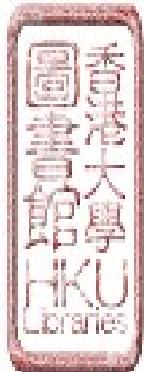


terminology. Over a period of time what merit cannot be established? (Thus) from internals he can understand externals, and from the small he can predict the large; it is inevitable that their reality be known. This is called opening and closing.

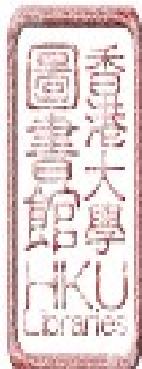
The ruler of men is the basis of the state. In the conduct of moral suasion on behalf of the state, nothing is more important than reverence for (that) basis. If there is reverence for the basis, then the moral suasion of the ruler (is carried out) as though he were a spirit. If the basis is not revered, then the ruler is without the means by which he can unite mankind. If he is without the means to unite mankind, then even if he exacts harsh punishments and severe penalties, the people will not follow him. This is what is called the driving away and abandoning of the state. What disaster is worse than this! What is it that is called the basis? It is said that Heaven, Earth, and Man are the basis of the ten thousand things. Heaven gives them birth, Earth nourishes them, and Man completes them. Heaven endows them with filial and brotherly love; Earth nourishes them with food and clothing; while Man completes them with ritual and music. Together the three act as the arms and legs, connecting to complete the body. One part cannot be missing. If there is no filial or brotherly love, then they are without that with which they were endowed. If there is no



food or clothing, they are without that with which they are nourished. And if they are without ritual and music, they are without that with which they are completed. If they are without all three, then the people are as wild beasts. Everyone would follow his own desires, and (every) household would have its own customs. Fathers would be unable to control their sons, and rulers would be unable to control their ministers. Even though there be walls and fortifications, it would be called an empty city. When it is like this, the ruler takes a lump of earth as his pillow and lies down. No one endangers him, but he endangers himself; no one destroys him, he destroys himself. This is called natural punishment. When natural punishment arrives, even though he surrounds himself with stone walls to ward off his difficulties, still he cannot escape. The brilliant and wise ruler makes a necessity of good faith. This is the reason that he is respectful and careful about the three basics. In the conduct of sacrifices he is of the utmost in reverence, and respectfully he serves his forefathers. In glorifying filial and brotherly love, he demonstrates the difference in the practice of filial love.<sup>5</sup> These are the means by which he serves the basis of Heaven. Taking the plow in hand, he personally plows the fields. He gathers the mulberry leaves and attends to the silk worms. He clears away the weeds, sows the grain and opens up (new territ



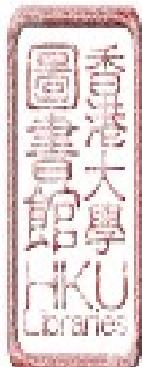
so there be a sufficiency of food and clothing. These are the means by which he serves the basis of Earth. He establishes a central university and rural schools where deference, and filial and brotherly love are taught. He illuminates them by means of moral suasion, and moves them with ritual and music. These are the means by which he serves the basis of Man. When all three are served, the people are like sons and younger brothers, not daring to act on their own; and the ruler<sup>6</sup> is like their parents. They love without being treated with (special) kindness, and serve without the necessity of coercion. Although they live in the wilderness and camp in the open, they will consider themselves richer than if they lived in palaces. When it is like this, the ruler peacefully pillows his head and lies down. No one helps him, yet he becomes strong on his own; no one pacifies (his state), it becomes peaceful on its own. This is called natural reward. When natural reward comes, even though he yields up his state and retires, the common people will take up their children on their backs and follow him, treating him as ruler (still). (Such) a ruler could not separate (himself) from them. Therefore, he who treats his state with virtue is sweeter than sugar or honey and more steadfast than laquer or glue. Thus the sage and wise exert themselves in revering basics and do not dare to lose them. The ruler of men is the fulfillment of the state. He should not direct (them) first, but (rather) react after feeling (outside)



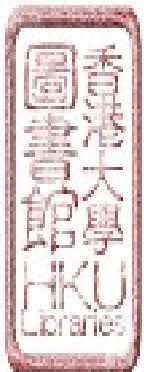
influences). Therefore he occupies the position of leader, but does not use the power of the ruler; he does not take the responsibility of harmonizing, but makes harmony his virtue. By constantly causing his inferiors to do their best, he is able to be their superior.

The Way of administration of the state is to be honoured and spiritual. By being honoured he conducts his government; and by being spiritual he completes his moral suasion. Therefore if he is not honoured, there is no awe, and if he is not spiritual, there is no moral suasion. If you wish to be honoured, (this) rests in the employment of the wise; and if you wish to be spiritual, (this) rests in unifying minds. If the wise fulfill the duties of his ministers, then the ruler's honour is great and the state is peaceful. If minds are unified in agreement, then (the people) are transformed as though he were a spirit. No one sees what he does, yet his merit and virtue are completed. This is called being honoured and spiritual.

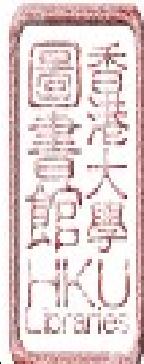
Heaven stores up the myriad essences in order to make itself firm. The sage (king) accumulates a host of wise men in order to make himself strong. Heaven gives order to the sun, moon and stars in order to make itself brilliant. The sage (king) gives order to noble ranks and official stipends in order to illuminate himself. It is not the strength of



(but) a single essence that is the means by which Heaven is firm, nor is it the virtue of (but) a single wise man that is the means by which the sage (king) is strong. Therefore Heaven exerts itself in multiplying its essences and the sage (king) exerts himself in increasing the number of his wise men. (Heaven) multiplies its essences and unifies the Yang, while (the sage king) increases the number of his wise men and unifies their minds. After it has unified the Yang, (Heaven) can effect its spirituality; and after he has unified their minds, (the sage king) can become meritorious. Therefore the art of establishing (good) rule, is in the honouring of the acquisition of wise men and in the unifying of their minds. It is important for the one who acts as the ruler of men to honour spirituality. Spirituality can neither be seen nor heard. This is the reason that though you may look, you do not see its form, and that though you may listen, you do not hear its sound. Since its sound cannot be heard, there is no echo, and since its form cannot be seen, there is no shadow. Since there is no shadow, it is neither crooked nor straight, and since there is no echo, it is neither harmonious nor discordant. Since it is neither crooked nor straight, its merit cannot be ruined, and since it is neither harmonious nor discordant, its name cannot be measured. When we say that its form is not seen, it is not that the form which retreats and



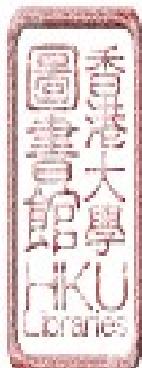
advances is not seen. It is to say that the means by which it advances and retreats cannot be seen. When we say that its sound is not heard, it is not that the sound of its commands are not heard. It is to say that the means by which it commands cannot be heard. Its not being seen and not being heard is called to obscure and to confuse. If (the ruler) is able to obscure, then he is brilliant, and if he is able to confuse, then he is clear. (He who) is able to obscure and confuse is called a spiritual man. A ruler honours living in obscurity while making his throne brilliant. He lives in the Yin and faces the Yang. He hates mankind to know his feelings yet wishes to know the minds of men. This is the reason that he who acts as the ruler of men retains worries which have no source and conducts affairs which have no beginning. By non-seeking, he receives, and by non-questioning he questions. If I receive by non-seeking, then I gain, and if others give by non-giving, they lose. If I question by non-questioning, then I am spiritual, but if others answer by non-answering, then they (expose their) feelings. Therefore I can question them every day and they will not know how they reply, and I can receive from them every day, and they will not know how they give. Thus I am brilliant, and they do not know how they are dull.<sup>7</sup> Therefore the officials of mankind occupy the Yang (i.e. the open) and act as the Yin, while the ruler of men occupies the Yin (i.e.



the secret) and acts as the Yang. The Way of the Yin is to show its form and expose its feelings. The Way of the Yang is without beginnings, honoured and spiritual.

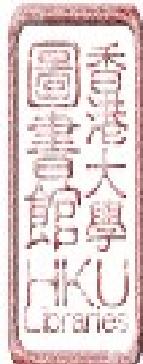
FOOTNOTES:

1. cf. Chuang Tzu 3/2/2. (Watson, tr., Chuang Tzu, p.31.)
2. Both images refer to "non-action".
3. The words 'shadow' and 'echo' form a compound meaning to influence.
4. Reading tang (堂) for ho (何). (Su Yu).
5. Love for parents, hsiao (孝), was valued above love for older brothers, t'i (悌). (cf. HS4/14b where the former received the higher reward.)
6. Reading chün (兄弟) for pang (邦). (Su Yu).
7. Reading mang (芒) for wang (亡). (Su Yu).

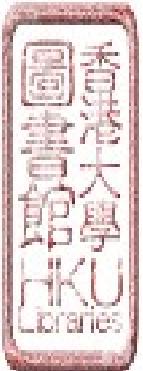


CCFL 20:**"The Power Which Preserves the Throne"**

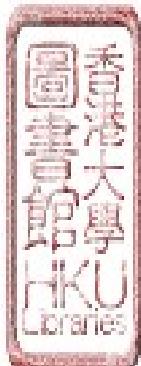
If there is nothing which the people like, then the ruler has no means of encouraging<sup>1</sup> them, and if there is nothing which the people hate, then the ruler has no way of creating awe. When there is no means of encouragement and no way to create awe, then the ruler has no way of controlling them. When there are no means of control, then there is no uniformity in rank and circumstance, and there is no way to create honour. Therefore, in ruling the state, the sage accords with the nature and feelings of Heaven and Earth, and with that which is beneficial to the (five) senses. In order to establish the system of honourable and lowly, and the difference between noble and mean, he sets up an official secretariate, noble ranks and official stipends. He causes the five flavours to be heightened, the five colours to flourish, and the five tones to be harmonious in order to please the ears and eyes. He personally causes harmonious and inharmonious to be clearly distinguished, and glory and shame to be explicitly<sup>2</sup> mutually exclusive. Thus he moves (men's) minds. His devotion extends to the people causing them to have that which they like. After there is that which they like, then (the ruler) can encourage them. Therefore he establishes rewards in order to encourage them. Since there is that which (the people) like, there must be that which they hate. When there is that which



they hate, then (the ruler) can create awe. Therefore he establishes punishments in order to awe them. After (the ruler) has the means to (both) encourage and awe them, he can control them. In controlling them, he limits what they like. Thus he encourages them by rewards, but does not (give) too much. He (also) controls what they hate. Thus he awes them with punishments, but they are not excessive. If there is too much of what they like, then he is being too lenient, and if what they hate is excessive,<sup>3</sup> he is being too severe. If he is too severe, then the ruler loses his power, and (everyone in) the world hates each other. If he is too lenient, then the ruler loses his virtue, and (everyone in) the world injures each other. Therefore, in ruling the people, the sage causes them not to exceed moderation in their desires, and not to be without desires in their restraint. When there is a balance between restraint and desire the Way of the ruler has been attained. The means by which the state is the state is virtue, and the means by which the ruler is ruler is majesty. Therefore virtue cannot be shared, and majesty cannot be divided. If virtue is shared, then there is a loss in benevolence, and when majesty is divided, there is a loss of power. When there is a loss of power, the ruler is demeaned, and when there is a loss in benevolence, the people are scattered. If the people are scattered, then the state is disordered, and if the ruler is demeaned, then the officials rebel. This is the reason that

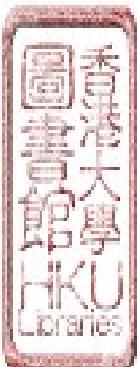


he who acts as the ruler of men guards his virtue resolutely in order to support the people; and he holds firmly to his power, in order to rectify his officials. Since there is accord and discord in sound, there must be harmonious and unharmonious, and since there is bad and good in form, there must be straight and crooked. Therefore when the sage hears a sound he separates harmony from discord, and when he sees a form he distinguishes straight from crooked. But in discord he cannot but sense harmony, and in harmony he cannot but sense discord. (Likewise) he cannot but see straightness in the crooked, and he cannot but see the crooked in the straight. There is not the smallest (harmony) in a sound but that he does not take it, and there is not the tiniest (straightness) in a form but that he does not raise it up. He does not obscure the minute with the manifest, nor does he conceal the solitary with the many. Each responds to its action, and gains its (proper) reaction. When black and white are separated, the people know what to do away with. When the people know what to do away with, then (good) government has been achieved. This is a law. He who acts as the ruler of men occupies the throne of none-action, and carries out a non-spoken moral suasion. He is still and silent, peaceful and formless. He holds the eternal unity and makes it the originaof the state. The state acts as his body and his officials act as his mind. The speec



of his officials is his sound, and the service of his officials is his form. Where there is a sound there must be an echo, and where there is a form there must be a shadow. Sound comes out from within, while echo responds from outside; form stands above, while shadow repeats it below. There is harmony and discord in the echo, and crooked and straight in the shadow. It is not (just) a single sound to which the echo responds, nor is it (merely) a single form which a shadow repeats. Therefore in the practice of the laws of reward and punishment, the ruler practises humility and lives quietly, while listening acutely to their echoes, and keenly watching their shadows. In the practice of rewards and punishments, if the echo is harmonious, then he glorifies the one who caused the echo; but if the echo is discordant, he shames the one who caused the discord.

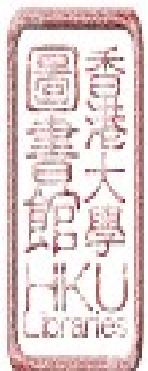
(Likewise), if the shadow is straight, then the one who caused the straightness is promoted, but if the shadow is crooked, then the one who caused the crookedness is dismissed. He takes names and examines their basic substance in order to understand their reality. (Thus) rewards are not illogical and punishments are not unwarranted. This is the reason that the host of officials divide up their duties and rule. All are respectful in their service. They strive to advance (the ruler's) merit and broadcast his fame, and the ruler is carried in their midst. This is



the art of causing power to arrive naturally, and the sage follows it. Therefore, merit comes from the officials, but the fame returns to the ruler.

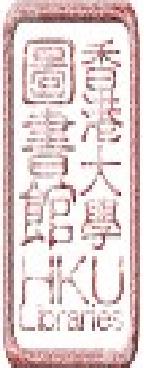
FOOTNOTES:

1. In both cases reading ch'tian (勤) for ch'üan (權). (Su Yü).
2. Reading cho (孝) for ch'o (孝). (Su Yü).
3. SPPY has kuo (過) for to (過).



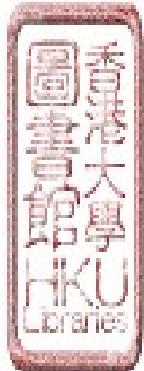
CCFL 21:**"Examining Merit and Fame"**

The method of examining achievement is by examining what has been accumulated. The Heavenly Way accumulates the myriad essences and from them makes light. The Sage accumulates the myriad goodnesses and from them creates merit. Thus the brilliance of the sun and moon is not (simply) the light of a single essence; and the great peace brought by the sage is not (simply) the merit of a single goodness. That which produces the brilliance cannot be (considered to be) the source; and that from which the goodness comes cannot be (considered to be) the origin. The sage measures strength and establishes authority, accords with circumstance and regulates righteousness. Therefore, his promotion of benefit for the world is similar to (the way that) the spring vapours giving birth to plants. The size (of the plant or affair) governs the amount (of vapour or benefit received). (The sage,) in doing away with the harms of the world, is similar to the rivers and swamps draining into the sea. Each (waterway) accords with the slope of the terrain in determining its direction. Therefore, (although) their courses differ they return to the same (place). (Similarly) the different actions (of the sage) are of identical virtue. (The sage's) interest in promoting benefit and doing away with harm is equal. Of importance in the promotion of benefit is not the amount, but in the causing it to come. Of importance in the doing away of harm is



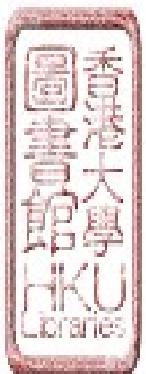
not the location, but the arresting of it. (After) examination of achievement, (officials) are promoted or down-graded; and (after) review of (their handling of) affairs, they are appointed or dismissed. Those who have been of benefit are termed honest, while those who have not been of benefit are termed troublesome. If the examination of reputation depends on reality, there will be no empty words. Reward those who have merit and punish those who are guilty. Give high reward to those who have great merit, and punish heavily those who have serious guilt. Although they are famous for their wisdom, do not reward those who have been unable to create merit; and although they are known for their stupidity, do not punish those who have not been remiss in their official duties. Reward and punishment accord with reality, not with fame. Wisdom and stupidity exist in basics, not in ornament. Therefore, right and wrong cannot be confused, happiness and anger cannot be twisted, and lawful and unlawful cannot be distorted. When all things attain their acme, then the civil service will be active in its duties, striving to advance its merit.

The rule for examinations and tests is that (those given by those of) greater (importance) are slow, while (those given by those of) less (importance) are fast; that (those given by those of greater) nobility are prolonged, while (those given by



those) lower in status are hurried. The feudal lords test monthly (within) their states, while the regional overlords test (within) their areas quarterly and four (of their) tests (comprise) one examination. The Son of Heaven tests the world yearly, and (after) four tests there is one examination. When there have been three (of his) examinations altogether, the promotion and demotion (which occurs at that time) is denoted as a review.

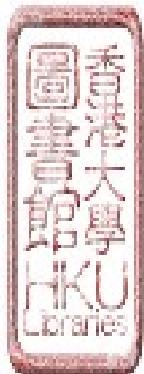
The rule for examinations and tests is to unify precedence, calculate seniority, and expose the truth (of their actions) in accordance with their rank and emolument. In reviewing merit and measuring guilt, let the greater (merit or guilt) do away with the lesser. Let their fame determine the truth (of their actions). First grade them within (individually, but) prior to this, divide (gradings) into three:<sup>1</sup> superior, average, and inferior. Promote and demote (them) according to (the results of) the exam. After (this is done), collate (the results) without (as a group.) The general term for this (process) is called the grading of the amount of increase or decrease in promotion or demotion. Nine (grades) are divided into three groups, and (each of these) has a superior, average, and inferior. One is the highest, five is the average, and nine is the lowest. (Those) with fractions are returned to the average (of their group). Those (graded) average and above have succeeded, while



those (graded) average and below have failed.<sup>2</sup>

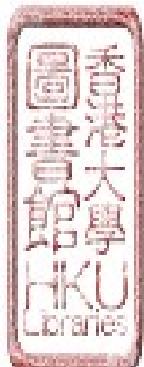
FOOTNOTES:

1. The words, pi erh (ㄆㄧㄝ), have been deleted from this sentence (Yu Ydeh).
2. The few remaining phrases in this paragraph and the entire final paragraph of this chapter are obscure and have been omitted from the translation.

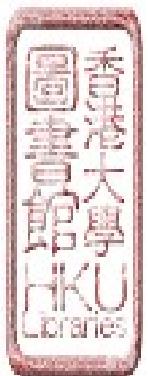


CCFL 22:"On Understanding the State and the Human Body"

The clear among the auras are essences, while the clear among men are the wise. (Thus) he who cultivates himself makes the accumulation of essence his treasure, and he who governs the state makes accumulation of the wise his Way. The heart is the basis of the body, while the ruler is the master of the state. If the essences are accumulated in the basis, then the physical forces receive each other, and if the wise are accumulated at the master's (side), then superior and inferior are controlled. If the physical forces receive each other, then the form is without hardship, and if superior and inferior are controlled, then the one hundred officials attain their (proper) position. After the form is without hardship, the body is pacified, and after the one hundred officials each attain their (proper) place, the state can be protected. He who wishes to summon essences must make his appearance humble and quiet, while he who wishes to summon the wise must make his person modest. He of quiet appearance and humble attitude is the one to whom the essences go, while he who is modest and self-demeaning is the one whom the humane and wise serve. Therefore he who takes care of his health devotes his attention to grasping humbleness and quietude in order to summon the essences, and he who governs the state devotes his attention to being completely modest in order to summon the wise. (He who) is able to summon the essences

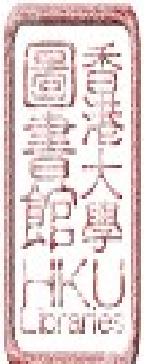


will have both brilliance and long life, while (he who) is able to summon the wise will spread his virtue and benevolence and greatly pacify his state.

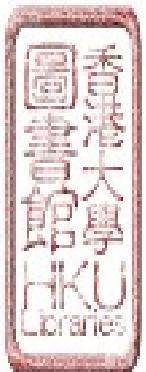


CCFL 23:**"Substance and Ornament:****The Changing of the System in the Three Ages"<sup>1</sup>**

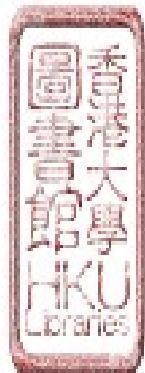
The Spring and Autumn Annals says: "It was the king's first month."<sup>2</sup> The (Kung-yang) Commentary says: "To whom does 'king' refer? It refers to King Wen (of Chou). Why does it first say 'king' and then say 'first month'? It is the King's first month."<sup>3</sup> Why is it that it says that it is the king's first month? I would say that the king must receive the Mandate of Heaven, and (only) afterwards act as king. The king must change the first month of the year, and alter the colour of (official) clothing, ritual and music. Thus he shows that he has unified the government to the world. By having a different surname, and not being (a mere) successor,<sup>4</sup> he makes it known that he personally received (the Mandate) from Heaven. The king, in receiving the Mandate and ruling, determines the month in order to respond to the change, and<sup>5</sup> he (re)makes categories in order to serve Heaven and Earth. Therefore it is called the king's first month. Why is it that the king changes the system and (re)makes categories? I would say that there are twelve colours, and that each of (the months of the) calendar follows its proper colour.<sup>6</sup> (The months) number backwards thrice and then repeat themselves.<sup>7</sup> (The period) before the three (dynasties) is known as the five emperors.<sup>8</sup> The emperors change their primary colour, and number consecutively to five, then



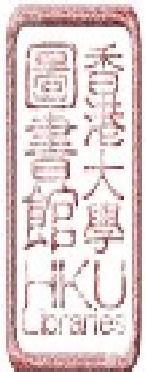
they repeat themselves. Both ritual and music resemble what is fitting according to their pattern. They number consecutively to four, then they repeat themselves. (A new king) unifies the name of the state, moves the capital, changes the names of the officials, determines ritual, and composes music. Therefore, when T'ang<sup>9</sup> received the Mandate and became king, he responded to Heaven by changing the name (of the state from) Hsia to Yin (i.e. Shang); he made the white sequence the orthodox for the epoch; he regarded the Hsia as close, (the Emperor) Yü as ancient, and he did away with T'ang (湯), calling him the Emperor Yao.<sup>10</sup> He made Shen Nung (神農) the Red Emperor; moved his capital to the southern slopes of Hsia-lo (夏離), (re)named (the rank of) prime minister yin (尹), composed the hu (籥) music, and made basics the ritual. (He did all this) in order to serve Heaven. When King Wen received the Mandate and became king, he responded to Heaven by changing the name (of the state from) Yin to Chou; he made the red sequence the orthodox for the epoch; he regarded Yin as close, the Hsia as ancient, and he did away with (the Emperor) Yü calling him the Emperor Shun. He made Hsian Yüan (軒轅) the Yellow Emperor, Shen Nung the Ninth Sovereign, built his capital at Feng (豐), (re)named (the rank of) prime minister Tsai (宰), composed the wu (舞) music, and made ornament the ritual. (He did all this) in order to serve Heaven. When King Wu (of Chou) received the Mandate, he built his capital at Hao ( Hao ), estab-



lished five ranks of nobility, composed the hsianq (象) music, a  
and continued ornament (as the ritual), in order to serve Heaven.  
When the Duke of Chou assisted King Ch'eng (of Chou) in his  
receiving of the Mandate, they built their capital at Lo-yang  
(洛陽), completed the system of (Kings) Wen and Wu, and com-  
posed the shuo (禡)<sup>11</sup> music, in order to serve Heaven. The  
descendants of King T'ang of Yin were designated (rulers of a)  
city,<sup>12</sup> to show that Heaven had changed the Mandate. Therefore,  
the Mandate of Heaven<sup>13</sup> is not a constant; the Mandate is a  
reward for virtue. Therefore, the Spring and Autumn Annals,  
in responding to Heaven and conducting the affairs of the new  
king, makes the black sequence the orthodox for the epoch. In  
ruling it favoured (the colour) black, did away with Hsia, con-  
sidered Chou close, and (the state of) Sung ancient. For music  
it considered the use of the hu (籥) dance suitable,<sup>14</sup> there-  
fore it takes Yu (虞) as close.<sup>15</sup> In the establishment of  
rank,<sup>16</sup> it considered the Shang to be fitting, and made the  
ranks Earl (po -伯), Viscount (tzu -子), and Baron (nan -男)  
equal. What then, are the principles (of all this)? I (would  
reply) saying that the three orthodoxies begin with the black  
sequence. (Why is black sequence the orthodox? I would say  
that the reason why the black sequence is the orthodox,)<sup>17</sup> is  
that on the first day of the first month (of the calendar)<sup>17</sup>  
the moon is in (the constellation) Ying-shih (星宿)<sup>18</sup> and the



Great Dipper indicates (the month having the branch) yin (寅). (It is at this time that) Heaven's universal vapours begin to penetrate into and transform things. When things send forth buds, their colour is black. Therefore, the formal court dress is black and the ornaments on the head-dress are black. The body of the formal chariot of the king is black and the horses are black. The cords on the great seals are black and the caps honour black. The banners are black, and the great precious jades are black. The animals for the suburban sacrifice are black and the sacrificial animals have egg-shaped horns. The capping (ceremony) takes place on the eastern steps, while in the marriage ceremony, the meeting takes place in the courtyard. In the funeral ceremony, (the corpse) is encoffined above the eastern steps. The sacrificial beast is a black bulle, and liver is honoured as the meat sacrifice. Musical instruments are black and plain. In law, those who are pregnant, and those who have been recently delivered (of children) are not punished. There is no killing on the last day of the month.<sup>19</sup> (During the ceremony) observing the first of the month, punishments are abolished, and virtue is sent forth. The descendants of the kings of both (the previous dynasties) are preserved. The red sequence is taken as close, therefore, the day is divided at day-break, and the new year's ceremonies are held at day-break. Why is it that the (next) orthodoxy is the white sequence? I would say that the reason why the white sequence is the ortho-



dox is that on the first day of the first month of the calendar, the moon is in (the constellation) Hsiu (戌)<sup>20</sup>, and the Great Dipper indicates (the month having the 'branch') ch'ou (丑). (It is at this time that) Heaven's universal vapours begin to cause things to shed their skins and transform. When things first sprout, their colour is white. Therefore, the formal court dress is white, and the ornaments on the head-dress are white. The body of the formal chariot of the king is white, and the horses are white. The cords on the great seals are white and the caps honour white. The banners are white and the great precious jades are white. The animals for the suburban sacrifice are white and the sacrificial animals have horns shaped like cocoons. The capping (ceremony) takes place in the hall, and in the marriage ceremony, the meeting takes place in the hall. In the burial ceremony,<sup>21</sup> (the corpse) is encoffined between the pillars. The sacrificial beast is a white bull, and lung is honoured as the meat sacrifice. Musical instruments are white and plain. In law, those who are pregnant are not punished. There is no killing on the last day of the month.<sup>22</sup> (During the ceremony) observing the first day of the month, punishments are abolished and virtue is sent forth. The descendants of the kings of both (the previous dynasties) are preserved. The black sequence is taken as close, therefore, the day is divided at cock crow, and the new year's ceremonies are held at cock-crow. Why



is it that the (next) orthodoxy is the red sequence? I would say that the reason why the red sequence is the orthodox is that on the first day of the first month of the calendar, the moon is in (the constellation) Ch'ien-niu (牽牛) <sup>23</sup>, and the Great Dipper indicates (the month having the 'branch') tzu (子). (It is at this time that) Heaven's vapours first act on and transform things. When things begin to move their colour is red. Therefore, the formal court dress is red, and the ornaments on the head-dress are red. The body of the formal chariot of the king is red, and the horses are red. The cords on the great seals are red and the caps honour red. The banners are red, and the great precious jades are red. The animals for the suburban sacrifice are bay, and the sacrificial animals have horns shaped like chestnuts. The capping (ceremony) takes place in the chamber, while in the marriage ceremony, the meeting takes place at the door. In the burial ceremony, (the corpse) is encoffined above the western steps. The sacrificial beast is a bay bull, and heart is honoured as the meat sacrifice. Musical instruments are red and plain. In law, those who are pregnant are not punished. They are hidden away in order to nurture the tiny. There is no killing on the last day of the month.<sup>24</sup> (During the ceremony) observing the first of the month, punishments are abolished, and virtue is sent forth. The descendant of the kings of both (the previous dynasties) are preserved. The white sequence is taken as close, therefore the day is divided at mid-night, and the new year's ceremonies are held at



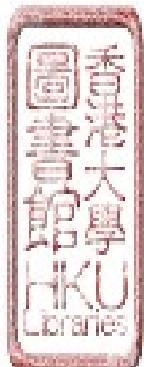
midnight. The meaning of changing the first month of the year is to serve origins and beginnings. Kings of ancient times, in receiving the Mandate and ruling, changed the system, the name (of the dynasty), the first month of the year, and the colour of the clothing. After these were settled, they performed the suburban sacrifice to announce it to Heaven and Earth and the myriad spirits. They trace back their ancestors for a long way, and afterwards make it known to the world. The feudal lords receive (all this) in (the king's) ancestral temple, and thereby announce it to their state altars, their ancestral temples, and to the hills and streams. After this movement and response are unified. As for the control of changes of the three sequences, the near barbarians and the (peoples of) far places do not have this production and destruction. China alone (has it). Thus the three dynasties must govern the world with (the number) three in the changing of the first month of the year. I say that the three sequences and the five beginnings are the basis of the transformation of the four directions. Heaven is the first to take away and the first to give; Earth must wait in the middle. This is the reason that the three reigns must be in China, following Heaven, serving basics, and grasping the fundamentals of beginnings, they rule the world and (thus) bring the feudal lords to court. This is why, at the new year's ceremonies, the formal clothes of the Son of Heaven



are of a single colour.<sup>25</sup> The formal clothing of the feudal lords (is differentiated by its) bindings, hems, and fastenings, while the nobles' (differs) in the hat. He gives audiences to the near barbarians in order to pacify the (people of) far places. Both wear their (native) dress when coming to court. The righteousness of the sequence is thus shown to Heaven. The reason why the sequences are called the three beginnings is that beginning means correctness.<sup>26</sup> When the vapours of the sequence arrive, all things respond and are corrected. When the sequence is correct, all else is correct. The first month is of utmost importance to the entire year. The way to follow rectitude is to correct basics, thus causing incidentals to respond; to correct internals, thus causing externals to respond. Whether or not there is action there is nothing which does not change and correspond. This can be termed following rectitude. Therefore a gentleman would say that King Wu of Chou resembled the first month of the year.<sup>27</sup> The Spring and Autumn Annals says: "The Earl of Ch'i came to court."<sup>28</sup> (The Kung-yang Commentary says:) "The descendants of a king are called Duke."<sup>29</sup> Why is it that (the ruler of) Chi is called an Earl? On the one hand, the Spring and Autumn Annals does away with the Hsia (dynasty), and on the other it preserves the Chou. Thus the Spring and Autumn Annals acts as a new king. How does the Spring and Autumn Annals act as a new king? I would say that it is the law of the king that



designations must be corrected. He does away with the king (of the third previous dynasty) calling him emperor, and enfeoffing his descendants with a small state that they might serve him with sacrifices to the dead. On the other hand, he preserves the descendants of the kings of the two (most recent dynasties) in large states, that they may wear the clothing, practise the ritual and music (of their respective reigns), and be called 'guest' when they come to court.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, at the same time, there are five who are called emperor, and three who are called king. This is the means by which the five beginnings are shown, and the three sequences are understood. This is the reason that the king of the men of Chou made Shen Nung the Ninth Sovereign and changed the name of Hsian Yuan to the Yellow Emperor. Thus he preserved the imperial designations of the Emperor Chuan-hsü, Emperor K'u, and Emperor Yao. He did away with Yu (禹) and designated him Shun, calling him Emperor Shun. The (descendants of the) five emperors were ranked as small states. He demoted the descendants of Yu (of Hsia) and T'ang (of Shang) and preserved them in Ch'i and Sung (respectively). Their territory was one hundred li square, and they were ranked as dukes. Both were allowed to wear the clothing and practise the ritual and clothing (of their respective reigns) and they were called a 'guest' who was a (descendant of a) former king when they came to court. But when the Spring and Autumn Annals conducted the affairs of the new king, it changed the



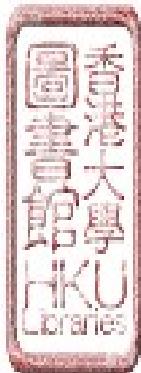
system of the Chou and took as orthodox the black sequence. Thus the (Houses of) Yin and Chou became the descendants of the kings of the two (most recent dynasties). It did away with the Hsia, changing the name of (its founder King) Yü, calling him Emperor Yü (禹),<sup>32</sup> and ranking his descendants as a small state. Therefore I said that he (i.e. Confucius) did away with the Hsia, preserved the Chou, and by means of the Spring and Autumn Annals acted as the new king. It did not make Ch'i a lord because (its ruling house) was not the descendant of the two (previous dynasties). Why is it that (the ruler of Ch'i) is sometimes called a viscount and sometimes called an earl? (This is done) to define (Ch'i) as a small state. Why is it that the posthumous name of the Yellow Emperor precedes (the word 'emperor') while the posthumous name of the (other four) emperors follows it? I would say that five imperial designations must be retained and that yellow is the first of Heaven's colours.<sup>33</sup> When the designations reach five, they revert. In honouring Hsiian Yüan it was proper that the men of Chou put Heaven's designation first.<sup>34</sup> Therefore he is called the Yellow Emperor. The designation 'emperor' is honourable, but the posthumous name is not. Therefore the posthumous name of the (other) four emperors comes after it. Why is it that even though the imperial designation is honoured, they are (only) ranked as small (states)? I would say that for those in the distant past the designation is honourable but the territory is small, and



for those in the recent past the designation is not as honoured but the territory is large. This is the meaning of near and distant. Therefore the king has things which go unchanged, things which alternate, things with a cycle of three, things which have a cycle of four, things which have a cycle of five, and things which have a cycle of nine.<sup>35</sup> An understanding of this gives an understanding of Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang, the four seasons, the sun, moon, stars and planets, mountains and streams, and human relationships. He whose virtue ranks with Heaven and Earth is called imperial sovereign, and Heaven aids him and treats him as a son. His name is called Son of Heaven. Therefore when a Sage King is born, he is called the Son of Heaven. When he dies and (his dynasty) passes on he is preserved as one of the three kings, and when he is done away with he becomes (one of the) five emperors. When (his descendants) are demoted to (the rank of) a dependant state, he is set back (among) the nine sovereigns. The ultimate in demotion is when (his descendants) become common people. This is also the same as saying former dynasty.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, although they are cut off from territory, their ancestral temples, and their thrones; their prayers and sacrifices are included in the designation of the suburban sacrifice; and they are honoured (in the Feng and Shou Sacrifices) at Tai-tsung (i.e. Mount T'ai).<sup>37</sup> Therefore it is said that their fame and their souls act in the



void where they are immortal. Why have I said that (there are) things which alternate, and things which are in cycles of four? In the Spring and Autumn Annals, "why is (Prince) Hu (子) of Cheng" named? The Spring and Autumn Annals unifies (the ranks) Earl, Viscount and Baron. There is nothing of disapproval in the phraseology.<sup>38</sup> Why does it unify them? I would say that the Chou (established) five ranks of nobility, while the Spring and Autumn Annals (established) three ranks. Why did the Spring and Autumn Annals (establish) three ranks? I would say that (according to) the system of the king,<sup>39</sup> (there are) one Shang, one Hsia, one substance and one ornament. The Shang and the substance take Heaven as important; the Hsia and the ornament take Earth as important; and the Spring and Autumn Annals takes mankind as important. Therefore there are three ranks. The way of the one who takes Heaven as important and Shang as a pattern has an excess of Yang. He treats the closely related with affection and there is much humanity and sincerity. Therefore he establishes his son as heir and gives responsibility to his maternal younger brothers. Concubines gain honour because of their sons. At the capping ceremony, the son is given his 'style' (tzu - 子) by his father; and at the wedding ceremony, the husband and wife, separate and obscured (from each other) sit on opposite (sides of the table) when they eat. At the funeral ceremony they are buried separately. At the ancestral sacrifice, precedence is given to pork fat. The spirit tablets of



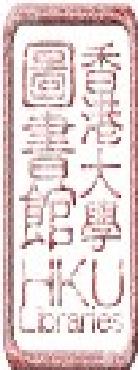
husband and wife occupy different places. Three ranks of nobility and two grades of officer are established. A temple is established outside the city, the Ming-t'ang (of which) is round. Its roof is high, majestic, broad and round. The <sup>40</sup> sacrificial instruments are round. The jade is nine fen thick and has five white silk tassels. Clothing is cut to be larger above, and the head-dress is majestic and round. The chariot bells are honoured. Covering, like the manifest portents of Heaven, four bells are suspended. For music, the drums are carried. The 'Gift Dance' is used and in the dance, the rows of dancers are circular.<sup>41</sup> (At the sacrifice) the blood and feathers come first, and the music comes afterwards. In rectifying punishments, there is much use of concealment, and the names of relatives are usually avoided. The Feng and Shan sacrifices are held in the upper position. The way of the one who takes Earth as important and Hsia as a pattern brings in the Yin. The (most) honourable are honoured and there is much righteousness and restraint. Therefore the grandson is established as heir and responsibility is given to the son. A concubine does not gain an honourable name because of her son. At the capping ceremony, the son is given his 'style' by his mother; and at the wedding ceremony, the husband and wife, separate and obscured (from one another) sit on the same (side of the table) when they eat. At the funeral ceremony they are buried together.



At the ancestral sacrifice, precedence is given to the boiled rice. The wife follows the husband in the placing of spirit tablets. Five ranks of nobility and three grades of officer are established. A temple is established outside the city, the Ming-t'ang (of which) is square. Its roof is low, humble, and square. The sacrificial instruments are square. The jade is eight fen thick and has four white silk tassels. The clothing is cut to be larger below, and the head-dress is low and retiring. The chariot bells are not honoured. Supporting, like the hidden portents of Earth, two bells are suspended. For music, the drums are set up. The 'Fiber Pennant' dance is used,<sup>42</sup> and the lines of dancers are square. (At the sacrifice) the boiled rice comes first, and the music comes afterwards. In rectifying punishments, Heaven is followed. The Feng and Shan<sup>43</sup> Sacrifices are held in the lower position. The way of the one who takes Heaven as important and substance as a pattern has an excess of Yang. He treats the closely related with affection and there is much substance and love. Therefore he establishes his son as heir and gives responsibility to his maternal younger brothers. Concubines gain honour because of their sons. At the capping ceremony, the son is given his 'style' by his father; and at the wedding ceremony, the husband and wife separate and obscured (from one another), sit on opposite (sides of the table) when they eat. At the funeral ceremony, they are buried separately. At the ancestral sacrifice, precedence is

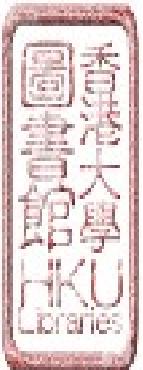


given to uncooked rice. The spirit tablets of husband and wife occupy different places. Three ranks of nobility and two ranks of officer are established. A temple is established outside the city, the Ming-t'ang of which is round on the inside and oval on the outside. Its roof is continuous and oval. The sacrificial instruments are oval. The jade is seven fen thick and has three white silk tassels. The clothing is long and fastens in front, while the head-dress is round. The chariot bells are honoured. Covering, like the manifest portents of Heaven, four bells are suspended.<sup>44</sup> In music, the drums are supported. The 'Feather and Flute' Dance is used,<sup>45</sup> and the rows of dancers are oval. (In the sacrifice) the sound from the (musical) jade comes first, and the cooked rice comes afterwards. In rectifying punishments, there is much use of concealment, and there is much pardoning of relatives.<sup>46</sup> The Feng and Shan Sacrifices are held in the left-hand position. The way of the one who takes Earth as important and ornament as a pattern brings in the Yin. The (most) honourable are honoured, and there is much ritual and ornament. Therefore he establishes his grandson as heir and gives responsibility to his son. A concubine does not gain an honourable name because of her son. At the capping ceremony, the son is given his 'style' by his mother; and at the wedding ceremony, the husband and the wife, separate and obscured (from one another), sit on the same (side of the table) when they eat

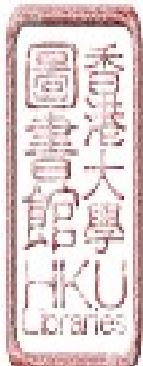


At the funeral ceremony, they are buried together. At the ancestral sacrifice, precedence is given to the black millet wine. The wife follows the husband in the placing of spirit tablets. Five ranks of nobility and three ranks of officer are established. A temple is established outside the city, the Ming-t'ang (of which) is square on the inside and rectangular on the outside. Its roof is storied and rectangular. The sacrificial instruments are rectangular, and at the same time act as a hsian-chi (旅機).<sup>47</sup> The jade is six fen thick and has three white silk tassels. The clothing is long and fastens behind, while the head-dress is layered and fringed with pearls. The chariot bells are not honoured. Supporting, like the hidden portents of Earth, two bells are suspended.<sup>48</sup> For music, the drums are hung up. The Wan (禹) dance is used,<sup>49</sup> and the rows of dancers are rectangular. (At the sacrifice), the boiled rice comes first, and the music is used afterwards. In rectifying punishments, Heaven is followed. The Feng and Shan<sup>50</sup> Sacrifices are held in the right-hand position.<sup>51</sup>

According to the four patterns, (a king) is regulated by what has gone before, and he treats the former emperors as his ancestors. Therefore the four patterns are like the four seasons. Thus when they end they begin again, and when they run out, they revert to the origin. If the four patterns (are used), then<sup>52</sup> Heaven sends good omens and bestows a sage (on the world).



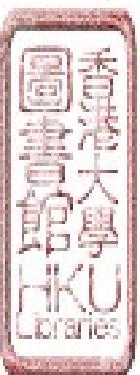
If he follows the pattern of the king, his nature and fate, which were formed by his ancestors, becomes manifest to the ruler. Therefore, when Heaven was about to bestow Shun (on the world) to rule while taking Heaven as important and Shang as his pattern, his ancestors were given the surname Yao (堯). When the family came to Shun, his body was big and tall, his head was round, and he clearly had two pupils (in each eye). By nature he was good at astronomy, and he was pure in filial piety and parental love. When Heaven was about to bestow Yu (on the world) to rule while taking Earth as important and Hsia as his pattern, his ancestors were given the surname Ssu (叔). When the family came to Yu, he was born from (his mother's) back, his body was long. He had large feet and revered swiftness. (When he walked) he moved his left (foot) first following it with his right, thus causing his left (foot) to labour and his right foot to be favoured. By nature he was good at travelling, the study of geography and he had an understanding of hydraulics. When Heaven was about to bestow T'ang (on the world) to rule while taking Heaven as important and substance as his pattern, his ancestors were given the surname Tzu (子). In the family it was said that Hsieh's<sup>53</sup> mother swallowed the egg of a black-bird and (later) gave birth to Hsieh. Hsieh was born from (his mother's) chest,<sup>54</sup> and by nature he had a good understanding of human relationships. When (the family) came to T'ang, his body was long, round and thin. His left foot was flat, but his right foot was normal. This causes his right



(foot) to be laboured, and his left to be favoured. By nature he had a good understanding of Heaven and substance.<sup>55</sup> He was good-natured, sincere, and humane. When Heaven was about to bestow Wen (on the world) to rule while taking Earth as important and ornament as his pattern, his ancestors were given the surname Chi (姬). In the family it was said that Hou-chi's (后稷) <sup>56</sup> mother, Chiang Yüan (姜原), followed in the footsteps of Heaven and (later) gave birth to Hou-chi. Hou-chi grew up on the land of T'ai (邰), sowing the fields with the five grains. When (the family) came to King Wen, his body was large and long; he had four nipples and large feet. By nature he was good at geography, literature and strategy. Therefore, the emperors sent Yu (禹) to announce the discussion of surnames. We know that the virtue of Yin was the Yang virtue. Therefore Tzu (子) <sup>57</sup> became its surname. We know that the virtue of Chou is the Yin virtue. Therefore Chi (姬) <sup>58</sup> became its surname. Thus the Yin kings changed the text and, with the masculine, wrote Tzu; while the Chou kings, with the feminine, wrote Chi.<sup>59</sup> Therefore the Way of Heaven moves each according to its kind. Apart from a sage, who could understand its (workings)?

FOOTNOTES:

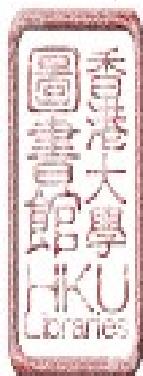
1. i.e. Hsia, Shang, and Chou.
2. SA, Yin 1.1.



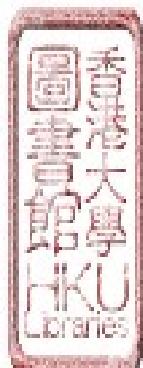
3. KYC, Yin 1.1.
4. Substituting jen (人) for jen (仁). (Su Yü).
5. Deleting ku (叔). (Su Yü).
6. Substituting ch'i (其) for erh (而). (Su Yü).
7. Inserting hsiang (相) before fu (復). (Ch'ien T'ang - 錢塘). The first month of the Chou was the last month of the Shang, while Shang's first month was Hsia's last.
8. The five emperors were Huang-ti (皇帝) (ruled BC 2674-2575), Chuan-hsü (蟬歛) (ruled BC 2490-2413), K'u (虞) (ruled BC 2412-2343), Yao (堯) (ruled BC 2333-2234), and Shun (舜) (ruled BC 2233-2184).
9. The founder of the Shang (or Yin) dynasty (ruled BC 1751-1734).
10. This and the following passages follow the reconstruction of Lu Wen-chao.
11. Substituting shuo (禡) for shuo (禿). (Su Yü).
12. The Chou state of Sung was ruled by the descendants of the Shang (Yin) dynasty.
13. Substituting chih (之) for tzu (子). (Su Yü).
14. Substituting yung hu wu (用護舞) for ch'in chao wu (親招武). (Su Yü).
15. This is unclear. Su Yü suspects the text is corrupt at this point.
16. Deleting yüeh (樂) and adding chüeh (龠) after chih (之). (Lu Wen-chao).
17. Inserting the reconstruction of Yu Yüeh in parenthesis.
18. Thirteenth of the twenty-eight constellations.
19. Substituting t'i (提) for shih (星). (Lu Wen-chao).
20. Eleventh of the twenty-eight constellations.
21. Substituting li (釐) for shih (星). (Lu Wen-chao).



22. As for ff.19 above.
23. Ninth of the twenty-eight constellations.
24. As for ff.19 above.
25. Changing the order of words to read t'ung i ch'un se (統衣紺色). (Su Yü).
26. Cheng (正) is used here for both 'beginning' and 'correct'.
27. In the original, this reads as though Confucius were being quoted, but it does not occur in the present rescentration of the Classics.
28. SA, Chuang 27.6, Wen 12.2, Cheng 4.3, 18.9.
29. KYC, Yin 5.5.
30. See Songs 4.1. (ii). III, and IX. Legge, Classics IV, p.585 and 592,2.
31. Substituting ti (地) for i (以). (Su Yü).
32. Adding yü (禹) after ti (帝). (Lu Wen-chao).
33. Substituting huang che (黃者) for ti tai (帝代). (Su Yü).
34. Substituting i (宜) for chih (至), and chih (之) for huang (黃). (Su Yü).
35. i.e. respectively: the Way; substance and ornament; the three sequences; Shang, Hsia, substance, and ornament (see text below); the five emperors; and the nine sovereigns.
36. Substituting hsien (显) for san (三). (Su Yü).
37. Substituting tai (岱) for tai (代). (Su Yü).
38. Deleting yüeh (曰). (Su Yü). The quotation is from KYC, Huan 11.6. CCFL 3, ff.27 refers. The Chinese word for 'viscount' and 'son' are the same. In giving the name of the son of the recently deceased (Huan 11.2), and buried (Huan 11.3) Earl (伯) of Cheng, the KYC understands the SA to be unifying the two ranks.
39. Substituting chih (之) for i (以). (Su Yü).
40. Deleting wei (岱). (Lu Wen-chao).



41. Ling Shu identifies this as the 'Shield' Dance (Kan-wu - 干舞), which is the last of the five dances listed in the Chou-li, "Ch'un-kuan Yüeh-shih" (春官樂師). This is incorrect however, since, KYC identifies the Wan (蕪) dance as the 'Shield' Dance. (See below).
42. Yü Yüeh identifies this as the 'Oxen's tail' Dance (Mao-wu - 旄舞). cf. Chou-li, ibid.
43. Substituting shan (斬) for t'an (壇). (Lu Wen-chao).
44. Substituting fa (犮) for pei (倍). (Su Yü).
45. Probably the 'Feather' Dance mentioned in Chou-li, op.cit.
46. As for ff.43 above.
47. Substituting hsüan (旋) for chih (ㄔ). (Lu Wen-chao). A Hsüan-chi was an ancient astronomical instrument.
48. As for ff.44 above.
49. See ff.41 above.
50. As for ff.43 above.
51. Substituting yu (鬻) for tso (逐). (Su Yü).
52. Substituting tsé (擗) for chih (ㄔ). (Su Yü).
53. In the time of Shun, Hsieh aided Yü in his water control projects and was enfeuded with Shang (商), thus becoming the founder of the line which ruled the dynasty of that name.
54. Substituting sheng (生) for hsien (先). (Su Yü).
55. Deleting kuanq (光). (Su Yü).
56. Shun's Minister of Agriculture, who was enfeuded at T'ai, and who was the founder of the Chou line.
57. Tzu means 'son' and is therefore masculine.
58. Chi means 'royal concubine' and is therefore feminine.
59. Following Su Yü's decision to use the old text.



CCFL 24:

"The Resemblance of the Administration System  
to Heaven"

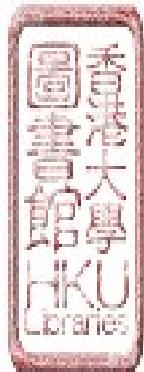
In setting up his administration, the king (establishes) the three dukes, the nine ministers, twenty-seven nobles, and eighty-one gentlemen, totalling one hundred and twenty men (in all). (With this) the ranking of officials is complete. I have heard that what the sage kings took was patterned on the great constants of Heaven.<sup>1</sup> (After) three arisings (a season) is completed; and (after) four revolutions, (the year) is ended. Is this not a pattern for the similar arrangement of the administration? That three men make one selection, is patterned on (the fact that) three months make a season. Halting at four selections is patterned on (the fact that) four seasons complete (a year). The three dukes are the means by which the king is personally supported. Heaven completes (itself) with three,<sup>2</sup> and the king supports himself with three. When this complete number is established, it can be considered to be dependable, but it is repeated four times so that there can be no error. The significance of completing Heaven's number in the conduct of affairs is that the rule is attentive to the Way. It is these one hundred and twenty officials with whom the former kings practised the true Way. This is the reason the Son of Heaven took personal council from the three dukes; the



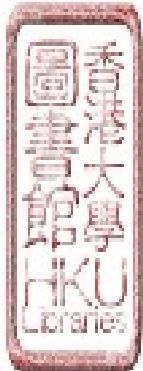
three dukes took personal council from the nine ministers; the nine ministers (each) took personal council from three (of the) nobles; and (each of those) three nobles took personal council from three (of the) gentlemen. The reason why there are three men to a selection is that the four repetitions of three in the Way, in order to govern the world, is like Heaven's four repetitions of three in time, in order to begin and end the year. Does not the one Yang (governing) the three spring months come from the three of time? Heaven repeats this four times, the number (of months) being the same (in each case). Heaven has four seasons, and (each) season (has) three months. The king has four selections, and (in each) selection (there are) three officials.<sup>3</sup> This is the reason that it is a fact that there is a first, second and third month to a season, and that it is a fact that there is a higher, a lower, and a middle in a selection. Three officials comprise a selection, and a halt is made at four selections and (the king) has done his utmost for the human situation. It is indeed the case that there are four selections for the talents of man, just as it is indeed the case that there are four changes in the seasons of Heaven. The sage is one selection; the true gentleman is one selection; the good man is one selection; and the just man is one selection. Those who come below this are unsuitable for selection. In each of the four selections there is (correct) procedure. This is the reason that Heaven selects the four seasons, but in ending with twelve



months, the changes of Heaven are completed.<sup>4</sup> It is the sage alone who can complete the changes of mankind and join it to Heaven. Thus is established the business of the king. What is it that is called the great constants of Heaven? Three 'arisings' complete a day; three days make a 'division'; three decades make a month; three months make a season; and three seasons complete the (year's) achievement.<sup>5</sup> Cold and heat together with harmony make three and complete 'things'. The sun and the moon together with the stars make three and complete illumination. Heaven and Earth together with mankind make three and complete 'virtue'. Looking at it from this (point of view), three (coming together) and forming one completes the great constants of Heaven. It is from this that Heaven's system is made. This is the reason that in propriety, three renunciations complete the restraint; and in administration, that three men complete one selection. The three dukes are one selection; three (of the) ministers complete one selection; three (of the) nobles complete one selection; and three (of the) gentlemen complete one selection. Altogether (there are) four selections of three officials (each). (This) corresponds to Heaven's system (in that) altogether there are four seasons of three months (each). Therefore, the selection of three (each time) is taken from Heaven's constants; the using of four (selections) as the system, is taken from Heaven.'



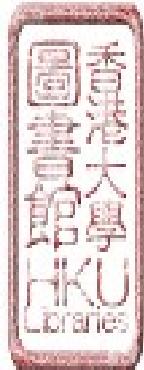
seasons; the consideration of twelve officials as one chain (of command) is taken from the limit of (months to) a year; and the stopping at ten chains (of command) is taken from Heaven's beginnings.<sup>6</sup> What is it that is called Heaven's beginnings? I would say that Heaven has ten beginnings and that (after) the ten beginnings it stops. Heaven is a beginning; Earth is a beginning; Yin is a beginning; Yang is a beginning; fire is a beginning; metal is a beginning; wood is a beginning; water is a beginning; earth is a beginning; and Man is a beginning. Altogether (there are) ten beginnings, and it ends. It is Heaven's number. Heaven's number is completed with ten, and the king receives the ten beginnings from Heaven. (With each he makes) one section of a chain (of command). In each case, it sets twelve officials<sup>7</sup> to each beginning just as Heaven completes each year with twelve months. Ten is Heaven's number, while twelve is the year's limit (of months). The year's limit is used to regulate Heaven's number. (Thus with) twelve, Heaven's number is completed. Therefore, to complete ten years, one hundred and twenty months are used. In regulating the ten beginnings, one hundred and twenty officials are also used. Thus the calculation includes (this too), and all are joined to Heaven. It is calculated that three officials complete one council. Therefore the eighty-one scholars make twenty-seven councils in order to support the twenty-seven nobles; the twenty-seven nobles make nine councils in order to support the nine ministers; the nine ministers make three councils in order to support the three du-



and the three dukes make one council in order to support the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven amasses these forty councils and makes of them his four selections, and a selection of one council is three officials. All (these) are Heaven's numbers. This is why it is calculated from four selections. Thus (in each) selection (there are) thirty men. Three (times) four (is) twelve (and this, multiplied by ten makes the sum of) one hundred and twenty men, which is also Heaven's number. (When we) calculate it from the ten beginnings,<sup>8</sup> the ten beginnings accumulate forty councils, and (each) council (consists of) three officials. Three (times) four (is) twelve (and this, multiplied by ten makes the sum of) one hundred and twenty men, which is also Heaven's number. (When we) calculate it from the offices<sup>9</sup> of the three dukes, (each) duke's (command contains) forty men. Three (times) four (is) twelve (and this, multiplied by ten makes the sum of) one hundred and twenty, which is also Heaven's number. Therefore, when they are differentiated and named, there are one hundred and twenty officials. (Among these), selected and honoured are the twelve senior (officials).<sup>10</sup> Although the means by which they are named are many, one cannot do better than to call them the four selections and the twelve senior (officials). Thus when they are differentiated and calculated, they all have what is suitable, and there is none that does not attain Heaven's number. In seeking the subtlety of Heaven's numbers, it is best to do so in mankind. Man's body



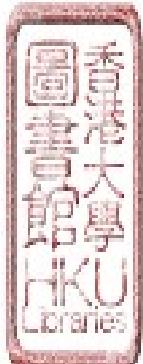
has four limbs, and each limb as three joints. Three (times) four (is) twelve. The twelve joints support each other and the bodily form is established. Heaven has four seasons and each season has three months. Three (times) four (is) twelve. The twelve months succeed each other and the year's number is complete. In the administration, there are four selections, and in each selection there are three men. Three (times) four (is) twelve. The twelve officials consult together and business and government are carried out. Looking at Heaven's numbers, mankind's form, and the system of the administration from this (point of view), we see that they blend together and adapt to each other. There are many of this (kind of) analogy with Heaven and mankind, but all are subtle. It cannot but be examined. It is the principle of Heaven and Earth to separate the changes of one year into four seasons. The four seasons are also the four selections of Heaven. Therefore, spring is the selection of the lesser Yang; summer is the selection of the greater Yang; autumn is the selection of the lesser Yin; and winter is the selection of the greater Yin. In each of the four selections there is the first, second and third months. This is the selection within the selection. Therefore in one year there are four seasons, and in one season there are three lengths (of time). These are Heaven's joints. Man was created by Heaven and he embodies Heaven's joints. Therefore he also has the differences of importance or insignificance, generosity



or meanness. (These make up) the disposition of mankind. The former kings followed man's disposition and divided the differences by making the four selections. Therefore, selected for the position of the three dukes, were the sages; selected for the position of the three ministers, were the gentlemen; selected for the position of the three nobles, were the good men; and selected for the position of the three scholars, were the just men. Dividing the differences of man into four selections, and in (each) selection establishing three officials, is like Heaven's dividing the year's changes into four seasons, and the seasons into three sections. By selection of the four seasons, Heaven creates the twelve sections (of the year) which harmonize with each other and complete the year. By selection of the four positions, the king creates the twelve officials who polish each other and exert their utmost (in government). The Way must be extended to the utmost, and afterwards the goodness of Heaven and Earth can be obtained.

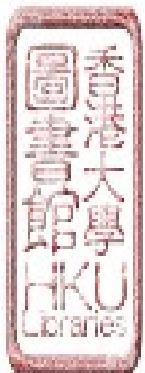
FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting yd (亦) for chin (今). (Lu Wen-chao).
2. Su Yü suggests 'Heaven', 'Earth', and 'Man'.
3. Here (and frequently throughout), the word 'selection' seems to refer to the levels of each of the four ranks: duke, minister, noble, and gentleman. The three officials in each refers to the basic grouping at all levels. (i.e. three officials of any given level advise one official at the next level up.) Subsequent references to three officials in a



level or twelve officials in a chain of command assume this unusual logic. Bodde finds this system 'somewhat arbitrarily arrived at' (Chinese Philosophy, II, p.51, ff.l.), but it should be remarked that Tung Chung-shu's view is repetitively centripetal rather than centrifugal.

4. Substituting shih chung (師終) for t'i (堤), and t'ien (天) for jen (人). (Su Yü).
5. Winter, of course, does not produce anything.
6. Substituting chu (初) for chih (之), and adding chih (之) after t'ien (天). (Ch'ien T'ang).
7. Substituting ch'en (臣) for shih (師). (Su Yü).
8. Substituting lei chih (率久) for ssu hsüan (四選). (Yü Yüeh).
9. Accepting Yü Yüeh's suggestion that lao (勞) should be read liao, and have the same meaning as liao (僚).
10. i.e. the three dukes and the nine ministers.



CCFL 25: "(Emperors) Yao and Shun Did not Arrogate (the Right) to Transfer (the Mandate); (Kings) T'ang and Wu Did not Usurp (the Right) to Kill"<sup>1</sup>

On what grounds (do say that the Emperors) Yao and Shun arrogated (the right to) transfer (the mandate of Heaven)? The words of the Hsiao Ching say: "(The intelligent king) serves his father with filial piety, thus serving Heaven with understanding."<sup>2</sup> With the same ritual, he serves (both) his father and Heaven. Now, when a father passes on important (responsibility), the son does not arrogate (the right) to give it to others. The hearts of men are all like this. A king is also Heaven's son. Heaven gave the world to Yao and Shun. Yao and Shun received the mandate from Heaven, and ruled the world like sons (carrying on the family). How could they dare to give to others this important (task) which they had received from Heaven? In the act of giving it to Yao and Shun, Heaven did not cut off<sup>3</sup> or take away (their rule). Therefore....<sup>4</sup>

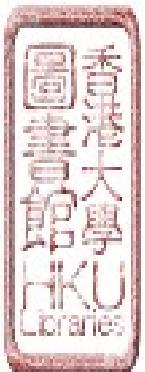
To (those who) understand the Way of the son, there can be no doubt that Yao and Shun did not illegally give the world (to someone else), and (did not) arrogate (the right to) transfer their position. Scholars consider (Kings) T'ang and Wu to have been great sages of great wisdom; consider them to be complete in the Way, learned in righteousness and perfect in goodness. Therefore they are ranked with (Emperors) Yao and Shun as sage



kings who should be taken as a model. Now you, sir, take (Kings) T'ang and Wu to have been without righteousness. But it is the kings of what age, sir, that you would take as righteous? You say that you do not know. Does 'not knowing' mean that you take the kings of the world to have been without righteousness? (Could it be that) there were those who were righteous, and that you, sir, did not realize it? You replied to me with (the case of) Shen Nung. I will respond by asking if Shen Nung's acting as the Son of Heaven<sup>5</sup> had the same beginning as Heaven and Earth, and if there was (not) one whom he replaced?<sup>6</sup> If it is permissible for Shen Nung to replace someone, why is it not permissible for (Kings) T'ang and Wu to replace someone? Moreover, Heaven did not create mankind for the king; Heaven established the king for mankind. Therefore It gave to him whose virtue was sufficient to pacify the people and make them happy; and It took away from him whose evil was sufficient to rob the people. The Book of Songs says:

"They served the Chou,  
For Heaven's Mandate is not constant.  
The knights of Yin, with great diligence,  
Pour out libations and assist in (our) capital."<sup>7</sup>

(This) says that Heaven has no inevitable givings nor any constant taking aways. Therefore (the rulers of the new dynasty) perform the Feng sacrifice on Mt. T'ai, and the Shan sacrifice



below Liang-fu, and reign under a different surname. Those whose virtue was like that of (Emperors) Yao and Shun numbered seventy-two men. The king is the one to whom Heaven gives (the world); and the one whom he replaces is the one from whom Heaven takes away (the world). Now you consider (Kings) T'ang and Wu to have been without righteousness when they replaced (Kings) Chieh and Chou. But there were seventy-two kings who also replaced (someone). If we extend your reasoning, sir, all of the seventy-two kings would be without righteousness. Therefore, when the Hsia (dynasty) lost the Way, the Yin (dynasty) replaced it; when the Yin (dynasty) lost the Way, the Chou (dynasty) replaced it; when the Chou (dynasty) lost the Way, the Ch'in (dynasty) replaced it; and when the Ch'in (dynasty) lost the Way, the Han (dynasty) replaced it. It is a principle of Heaven which is of long standing that the righteous replace the unrighteous. How can it not be so (only) when we come to (the cases of Kings) T'ang and Wu?<sup>8</sup> Those who take the supercession by (Kings) T'ang and Wu as wrong, (must) also take as wrong the supercession of the Chou (dynasty) by the Ch'in (dynasty), and the supercession of the Ch'in (dynasty) by the Han (dynasty). Not only do you not know the principles of Heaven, but also do you not understand human propriety. It is proper for a son to conceal evil on his father's behalf. Now if the superceder believes (his predecessor) to have been unrighteous, then he ought to avoid mention of it on behalf of the



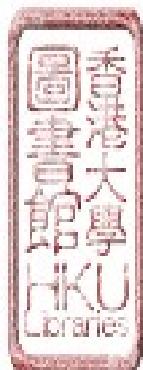
state. How could it be fitting to add defamation (to defeat).

This would be what is referred to as two mistakes in one word.

The ruler is the one who superintends orders. (What) he orders is carried out and (what) he prohibits stops. Now the orders of (Kings) Chieh and Chou to the world, were not carried out, and (what) they prohibited did not stop. How could they control the world? Since they were unable to control the world, how can it be said that (Kings) T'ang and Wu committed assassination?

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Su Yü thinks that Tung Chung-shu did not write this chapter. He says that it is probably a transcript of the debate between the Taoist Huang Sheng (黃生) and the Confucian specialist in the Songs, Yuan Ku Sheng which was held during the reign of the Emperor Ching. (cf. Watson, Records II, p.403-5).
2. Hsiao Ching, "Kan-ying" (感應).
3. Substituting chan (斬) for chien (斬). (Su Yü).
4. Su Yü feels that the continuation of the argument has been lost from this point. The Confucian refutation of this Taoist position follows.
5. Shen Nung was the second of the Five Emperors.
6. In this, and in every subsequent occurrence in this chapter, substituting tai (代) for fa (伐). (Lu Wen-chao).
7. Songs III.i.1.5. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.430). In the text here, the order of the lines is 3,4,1,2. They have been rearranged in the translation to the original order. It is always possible that the sequence given in the text here reflects the new text order.
8. Deleting neng (能). (Lu Wen-chao).



CCFL 26:**"Clothing Regulations"<sup>1</sup>**

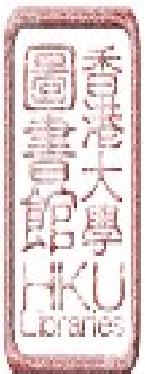
If the one hundred and sixty thousand countries were divided into three, then each grades noble ranks, regulates clothing, and limits emoluments and the use of wealth. There are limits in foodstuffs; there are regulations for clothing; there are gradiations for dwellings; there are quotas for livestock and retainers; and there are restrictions for boats, chariots, armour, and utensils. Thus the living have the divisions in chariots, caps, clothing, nobility, emoluments, fields, and dwellings;<sup>2</sup> and the dead have the gradiations in coffins, coffin-covers, funerary bindings, shrouds, vaults, and burial mounds.<sup>3</sup> (Therefore), even though he has the ability of the wise and a fine statute, if (a man) lacks the noble rank, he will not presume to wear the clothing (of that rank); and even though his home is wealthy and propertied, if he lacks the emolument, he will not presume to use his resources. The clothing of the Son of Heaven is beautiful and ornamented. The queen is not allowed (such clothing) at banquets or in the temple; and generals and nobles are not allowed (such clothing) at banquets or in the temple. At the court ceremonies, officials and appointed scholars are forbidden (more than) a belt and hems (to their garments).<sup>4</sup> The various (other) people do not presume to wear clothing of assorted hues, and craftsmen and merchants do not presume to wear (the skins of) fox and badger. People who have been



castrated or (suffered other) mutilations do not presume to wear silk of dark vermillion or to ride upon a horse. (These are what) is called the clothing regulations.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Ch'ien T'ang believes this chapter to be a fragment of the whole and that the first two words of the text belong to the last sentence in the section missing from the beginning of the chapter. They have been accordingly ignored in this translation.
2. Deleting the first chih (之). (Su Yü).
3. Substituting lung (脣) for hsı (脣). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. Accepting Su Yü's emendation of the old text as follows: deleting kung (公), the second occurrence of the chiang-chün ta-fu (將軍 大夫), and the last two occurrences of i (以); as well as substituting ch'ao (朝) for ming (明).



CCFL 27:**"Limits and Regulations"**

Confucius said: "(A ruler) does not worry about poverty, he worries about just distribution (of wealth)."<sup>1</sup> Therefore if there are places (in society) where there is an accumulation, then there are places where there is a dearth. If they are too rich they are arrogant, and if they are too poor, then they are distraught. When they are distraught, they become thieves; and when they are arrogant, they become violent. This is the temper of the masses of mankind. The sage, then, sees the sources of disorder in the temper of the masses of mankind. Therefore his way of regulating mankind is to differentiate superior from inferior. He causes the wealthy to have enough to demonstrate their nobility, but not to the point where they become arrogant; and he causes the poor to have enough to support life, but not (so little as to) cause distraction. He makes this his limit and he harmonizes them. Thus there is no deficiency in wealth, and superior and inferior are at peace. Therefore it is easy to govern. But now these limits and regulations have been abandoned, and everyone follows his own desires. Desires are endless and common usage becomes self-indulgent. Such a situation (deteriorates) without limit. Men of importance become deficient, and useless above, while the little people become emaciated below. Thus the rich become increasingly greedy for profit and are unwilling to act righteously; while the poor daily break the law, and this cannot be stopped. This is why it is difficult



nowadays.

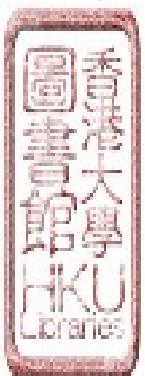
Confucius said: "The gentleman does not exert himself for profit, thus leaving it to the (common) people. The Book of Songs says:

'There, there are handfuls of rice left behind;  
Here, there are ungathered stalks of rice;  
For the benefit of the widow.'<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, when the gentleman is in office, he does not farm; when he is a hunter, he does not fish. In eating (the foods) of the (four) seasons, he does not strive for rare delicacies. The noble does not, without reason, kill the sheep, and the scholar does not, without reason, kill the dog.<sup>3</sup> The Book of Songs says:

'When gathering feng and picking the fei  
We do not (reject them) if the roots (are bad).  
I do not disregard my good name.  
Together with you I would die.'<sup>4</sup>

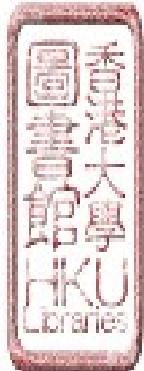
If the people are protected<sup>5</sup> like this, the people can still forget righteousness, and in competition for profit, lose themselves."<sup>6</sup> Heaven does not give twice. Those with horns do not have upper teeth. Therefore, it is the way of Heaven that those who already have the large, do not get the small. Since Heaven cannot supply those who already have the large, with the small, how much more so in the case of mankind! Therefore, the sage patterns the making of limits and regulations on what Heaven does. He sees to it that none of those who are already in receipt of a large



emolument gain, at the same time, a small benefit, and thereby contend with the (common) people for benefit. It is the principle of Heaven.

The source of all disorder is in suspicion and pettiness. Gradually they increase in size until they are immense. We should not feel that prevention is too early when the sage throws light on the suspicious, discriminates the hidden, and cuts off the petty. The sage leads the masses as though he were preventing (evil). The (means) are called limits and regulations; rituals and restraints. Therefore noble and mean have grades, clothing has regulation, the court has rankings, and the district communities<sup>7</sup> have order. Thus the people have the means for compromise and they do not date to contend (over profit). This is the means by which they are unified. The Book of History says: "In accordance with their merit, (they will be rewarded with) chariots and clothing. Who will dare not to cede, or dare not to respond with respect?"<sup>8</sup>

The creation of all clothing was to cover the form and keep the body warm. But dyeing with the five colours and ornamentation of beauty and elegance, is not done for the benefit of the feelings of the form and the constitution. It is done in order to make the noble noble, to honour the wise, and to illuminate the distinctions in class between superior and inferior. It



causes education to be quickly put into practice; and it causes (moral) suasion to be easily completed. It is done on behalf of (good) government. If we do away with limits and regulations, it causes peoples' wishes to become indulgent, and their purpose to become hedonistic. Thus they pursue (these ends) limitlessly. (All) this greatly disorders human relationships and squanders wealth and resources. (Thus) the reason for the creation of beauty, elegance and bright colour is lost. It is impossible to govern (well) in a situation where there is no distinction in the relationships between superior and inferior. Therefore there is bitter disorder. If there is an unlimited lust for things, then the supply will be insufficient. Therefore there is bitter poverty. Now if you wish to bring order <sup>and</sup> out of disorder, wealth out of poverty, a return to limits and regulations is imperative. In ancient times, the Son of Heaven's garments were elegant, and the feudal lords could not use (such clothing) at banquets. The garments of the nobles were bordered, and scholars could not use (such clothing) at banquets. The garments of the common people were of plain silk. This is a summary (of limits and regulations).

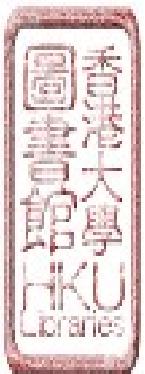
#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Analects 16.1.10 has an (宀) for chün (宍). This translation, however, leaves the misquote undisturbed. (cf. Legge,



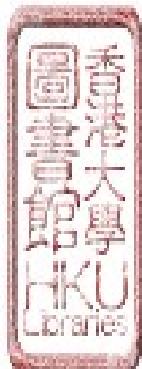
Classics I, p.308).

2. This quotation conforms with the Li-chi, but not with Songs II.vi.8.3. The second line given here is the same as the line in Songs which precedes the first line here. The translation, again, leaves the misquote undisturbed. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.381.)
3. Accepting the interpretation of tso (坐) made by Cheng Hsian (程玄), the great Eastern Han commentator on the Li-chi.
4. Songs I.iii.10.1. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.55.) The first two lines were quoted earlier in the book. cf. CCFL 3, p.6.
5. Li-chi has fang (坊) instead of fanq (坊記).
6. Li-chi, "Fang-chi" (坊記).
7. Hsiang-tang (鄉黨). A hsiang was supposed to have been a district containing 12,500 families, while a tang was a subdivision of it containing 500 families.
8. History II.iv.1, has ch'e(車) for yu(與), i(以) for yu(有), and pu(父) for fu(父). (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.83,84.)

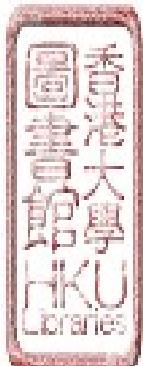


CCFL 28:"Noble Rank and Territory"

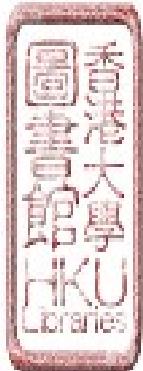
The Spring and Autumn Annals says: "... met the Steward, the Duke of Chou."<sup>1</sup> It also says that the Duke (of Lu) met the Marquis of Ch'i, the Duke of Sung, the Earl of Cheng, the Baron of Hsu (子侯), and the Viscount of T'eng (侯叔).<sup>2</sup> It also says: "For the first time, there was a performance with six rows of dancers."<sup>3</sup> (At this point the Kung-yang) Commentary says: "The three dukes of the Son of Heaven are called 'duke', and the descendants of the kings (of former dynasties) are called 'duke'. For the remainder, (the rulers of) large states are called 'marquis', while (the rulers of) small states are called 'earl', 'viscount' and 'baron'."<sup>4</sup> Altogether (there are) five ranks. Thus the Chou (established) five noble ranks and three grades of territory. There was more ornament and less substance (in this). In the Spring and Autumn Annals there are three ranks; that of 'earl', 'viscount', and 'baron' which are unified into one (rank). It established (only) two grades of territory. There was less ornament and more substance (in this). When the Spring and Autumn Annals mentions Ching<sup>5</sup> (卿) the (Kung-yang) Commentary says: "(Mentioning) the family is not as good as (mentioning) the individual; (mentioning) the individual is not as good as (giving) his name; and (giving) his name is not as good as (giving) his 'style'."<sup>6</sup> Altogether (there are) four ranks which are designated as dependent states



The Three Dynasties all had them. But what was the arrangement of their territories? I (would answer) saying that the royal domains of the Son of Heaven were one thousand li (square); that (the states of) dukes and marquises was one hundred li (square); that (the states of) earls was seventy li (square); that (the states) of viscounts and barons was fifty li (square); that for dependent states (the holdings) of those (given) 'styles' were thirty li square; that (the holdings) of those (given) names was twenty li square; and that (the holdings) of individuals and of families was fifteen li<sup>7</sup> square. When the Spring and Autumn Annals mentions the Steward, the Duke of Chou, the (Kung-yang) Commentary says that (he was one of) the three dukes of the Son of Heaven.<sup>8</sup> When the Earl of Ts'ai came (to Lu), the (Kung-yang) Commentary says: "(He was) a noble of the Son of Heaven."<sup>9</sup> Of the Steward, Ch'i Po-chiu (渠伯糾), the (Kung-yang) Commentary says: "(He was) a lower noble (of the king)."<sup>10</sup> Of Shih Hsiang (石尚), the (Kung-yang) Commentary says: "(He was) a gentleman of the Son of Heaven."<sup>11</sup> Of the King's man, the (Kung-yang) Commentary says: ")He was) unimportant."<sup>12</sup> That is to say that he was a lower gentleman. Altogether there were five ranks. When the Spring and Autumn Annals says: "We formed three armies,"<sup>13</sup> the (Kung-yang) Commentary says: "Why is it recorded? In criticism. Why is it critical? In ancient times, (there were) upper ministers, lower ministers, upper gentlemen and lower gentlemen."<sup>14</sup> Altogether (there were)



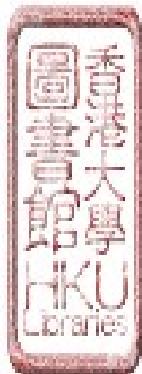
four ranks. The nobles of a small state are the same as the lower ministers of a secondary state; the nobles of a secondary state are the same as the lower ministers of a large state; and the lower nobles of a large state are the same as the lower gentlemen of the Son of Heaven. (There are) twenty-four ranks (in all), and eight divisions in salary. Those who have much merit and virtue receive high rank and much territory. Those with less merit and virtue receive less rank and territory.<sup>15</sup> Thos with much talent receive<sup>16</sup> high administrative position; while those with less talent receive lower administrative position. (Thus they) are proclaimed in accordance with their abilities. This is the acme of (good) government. Those (whose ability surpasses) ten thousand men are called outstanding; those (whose ability surpasses) one thousand men are called eminent; those (whose ability surpasses) one hundred men are called refined; and those (whose ability surpasses) ten men are called talented. When the outstanding, the eminent, the refined and the talented do not contend with one another, government of the world is (as easy) as though looking at it on the palm of the hand. (After) what is the number (of officials) patterned? I would (answer) saying that the attendants of the Son of Heaven are in five ranks and (number) three hundred and sixty-three. (This) is patterned after the number of (days in) a year, and resembles the appearance of the five seasons.<sup>17</sup> For inside officials,<sup>18</sup> (there are) seven upper



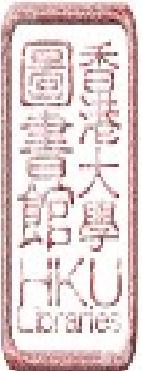
ministers which together with the lower ministers (and the upper and lower gentlemen number) two hundred and eighty men.<sup>19</sup> They resemble the T'ien-t'ing (constellation).<sup>20</sup> There were twice as many (officials) as the feudal lords had. The external officials of the feudal lords were in four ranks and (numbered) one hundred and twenty men. (This is) patterned after the four seasons and the six divisions (of the day). There are five inside officers (and their) upper and lower gentlemen (number) sixty men.<sup>21</sup> (This is) patterned on the measurement of time. Why must (the hierarchy of) officials (expand) as a function of three? I would (answer) saying that a season is completed by three months, and that with three, the Ta-ch'en becomes a complete phenomenum.<sup>22</sup> Why is it then that the noble ranks of the feudal lords (number) five? (They do so in order) to pattern the number of Heaven and Earth. It is also thus for the five official (ranks). Thus there is control for establishing (government). How is the density of population divided? I would (answer) saying that it is an ancient system that the feudal lords of large states had four armies. Of these one army serves the family of the ruler. Why is it that altogether, the per capita armies (number) three? I would (answer) saying that a large state establishes three per capita armies from one hundred and sixty thousand men. Why do I say this? I will (answer) saying that it is calculated from the well-field. A square li makes one well-(field), and one well-



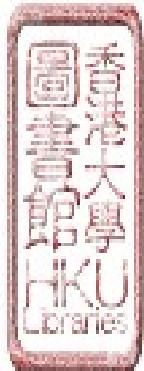
(field) contains nine hundred mou. In settling the population, there are eight families to a square li. One family has one hundred mou with which to feed five mouths. A superior farmer can cultivate one hundred mou (so as) to feed nine mouths; (a farmer of the) next (highest skill can feed) eight people, of the next (skill can feed) seven people, of the next (skill can feed) six people, and of the next (skill can feed five) people. The many and the few supplement each other. We calculate that there are three (male) mouths per one hundred mou. Thus in a square li (there are) twenty-four (male) mouths, and in ten square li, two hundred and forty (male) mouths. Ten li squared is one hundred square li which obtains two thousand four hundred (male) mouths; and one hundred li squared is ten thousand square li, which obtains two hundred and forty thousand (male) mouths. When we divide this into three parts and exclude one of them along with cities, moats, suburbs, towns, houses, lanes, roads, markets, administrative offices, parks, paths,<sup>23</sup> forests and marshes,<sup>24</sup> the good land that obtains is six thousand six hundred and sixty-six square li.<sup>25</sup> (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li) we obtain one hundred and sixty thousand (male) mouths. Dividing this by three, each (section) comprises fifty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three mouths. This makes three per capita armies for the large (state). This is for dukes and marquises. The territory of the Son of Heaven is one thousand li square. This is one hundred (times) one hundred li squared. This too is divided into three, and one



(of the sections) is excluded. (Thus) we obtain six hundred and sixty-six thousand, six hundred square li of land. (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li) we obtain sixteen million (male) mouths. Dividing this by nine, each (section) comprises one million, seven hundred and seventy-seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-seven (male) mouths. This makes nine per capita armies for the capital. Three of the per capita armies serve the royal household. The Son of Heaven establishes one empress, one senior wife, a middle, left and right wife, four ladies, and three concubines. He establishes one crown prince, three dukes, nine ministers, twenty-seven nobles, eighty-one senior gentlemen, and two hundred and forty-three lower gentlemen. (For inside officials) there are seven upper ministers, twenty-one lower ministers, sixty-three upper gentlemen, and one hundred and eighty-nine<sup>26</sup> lower gentlemen. For the empress of the king is established one grand tutor and one governess, three earls and three assistants. For each of, the senior wife,<sup>27</sup> the wives of the center, left and right, the four ladies, and the three concubines, there is a tutor. For the crown prince, (there is) a grand tutor, and assistant tutor, three (senior) military aides, and three junior military aides.<sup>28</sup> Of the gentlemen who guard the Son of Heaven,<sup>29</sup> three rank with upper ministers, six rank with lower ministers, while those that rank with upper and lower gentlemen, accord with the (proper) number for upper and lower.<sup>30</sup> For guarding the empress of the king, (there are) five

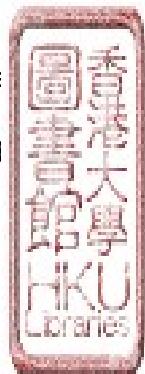


of each upper and lower attendants. The senior wife,<sup>31</sup> the middle, left, and right wives, and the four ladies each (have) five upper and five lower attendants. The three concubines each (have) five attendants. The wives and concubines<sup>32</sup> and guards of the crown prince are the same as for the system of the dukes and marquises. The tutor to the king's empress (has) five of each upper and lower secretaries. The three earls have each of five upper and five lower secretaries; while the under-earls have five secretaries each. The grand tutor to the crown prince has five of each upper and lower secretaries; while the assistant also has five secretaries. The three (senior) military aides and the three junior military aides each have five (secretaries) also. The three dukes have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The (nine) ministers have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The nobles have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The senior gentlemen have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The lower gentlemen have five of each upper and lower secretaries.<sup>33</sup> (As for the inside officials), the upper and lower ministers, and the upper and lower gentlemen also have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The ministers, the nobles and the senior gentlemen each have three assistants. Dukes and marquises (have territory which is) one hundred li square. When we divide this into three and exclude one (of the sections) the land which obtains is six thousand six hundred and sixty-six (square) li. (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per

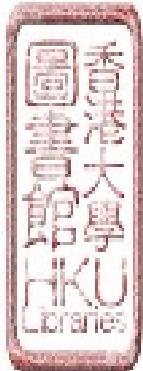


square li) we obtain one hundred and sixty thousand mouths.

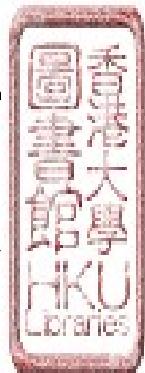
When this is divided by three it makes three per capita armies for the large states. In a large state, there is established, one wife, one senior consort, a left and a right consort, three ladies, and two concubines. There is established a crown prince, three ministers, nine nobles, twenty-seven upper gentlemen, and eighty-one lower gentlemen. There are also five inside nobles, and it is established (that there are) fifteen upper gentlemen and forty-five lower gentlemen.<sup>34</sup> The status of the upper ministers is the same as that of a senior gentleman of the Son of Heaven and (he earns) eight hundred bushels. The lower ministers (earn) six hundred bushels; the upper gentlemen (earn) four hundred bushels; and the lower gentlemen (earn) three hundred bushels. For the wife, there is a tutor, a governess, three earls, and three assistants. For the senior consort, the consorts of the left and right, the three ladies, and the two concubines, there is a tutor each. The crown prince (has) a senior tutor and an assistant. Of the gentlemen who guard the ruler at night, three rank with upper ministers, six rank with lower ministers, while those that rank with upper and lower gentlemen, accord with the (proper) number for upper and lower.<sup>35</sup> For guarding the wife (of the ruler there are) five of each upper and lower attendants. The senior consort and the consorts of the left and right (have) five of each upper and lower attendants. The two concubines<sup>36</sup> each (have) five attendants. The



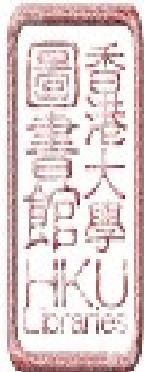
senior tutor of the crown prince has five of each upper and lower secretaries, while the assistant has five secretaries. The three ministers, the nine nobles, and the upper gentlemen each have five secretaries. The lower gentlemen each have five secretaries. The inside nobles and gentlemen have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The ministers have two assistants. This is the system of dukes and marquises. The wise among the dukes and marquises become regional overlords. They are presented with battle-axes, and (allowed to) establish a bodyguard of one hundred men. (The territory of) an earl is seventy li (square). Seven times seven is forty-nine. When we divide this into three and exclude one (of the sections) the land which obtains is three thousand two hundred and sixty-six square li.<sup>37</sup> (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li) we obtain seventy-eight thousand, three hundred and eighty-four.<sup>38</sup> (When this is divided by three) it makes three per capita armies for the secondary states. In a secondary state, there is established one wife, a senior consort, consorts of the left and right, three concubines, and two hand-maidens. There is established a crown prince, three ministers, nine nobles, twenty-seven upper gentlemen and eighty-one lower gentlemen. There are five inside nobles with five upper gentlemen and fifteen lower gentlemen. The status of an upper minister is the same as that of a lower minister of a large state,



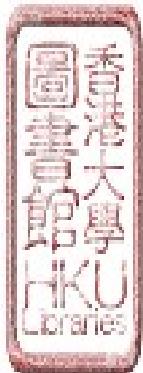
and (he earns) six hundred bushels. A lower minister (earns) four hundred bushels; an upper gentleman (earns) three hundred bushels; and a lower gentleman (earns) two hundred bushels. The wife (of the ruler) has one tutor, a governess, three earls, and three assistants. The senior consort, the consorts of the left and right, the three concubines and the two hand-maidens,<sup>39</sup> each have a tutor. The crown prince has a senior tutor and an assistant.<sup>40</sup> Of the gentlemen who guard the ruler at night, three rank with upper ministers, six rank with lower ministers, while those who rank with upper and lower gentlemen, accord with the (proper) number for upper and lower. For guarding the wife (of the ruler there are) five of each upper and lower attendants. The senior consort, and the consorts of the left and right have five of each upper and lower attendants. The two hand-maidens<sup>41</sup> each have five attendants. The senior tutor to the crown prince has five of each upper and lower secretaries, while his assistant has five secretaries. The three ministers, and the nine nobles have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The lower gentlemen each have five secretaries. The inside nobles have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The ministers have two assistants. (The territory of) viscounts and barons if fifty li square. Five times five is twenty-five. (When we divide this into three and exclude one of the sections, the land which obtains) is one thousand six hundred<sup>42</sup> square li (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li) we obtain



forty thousand mouths. (When this is divided into three) it makes three per capita armies for the small states. In a small state is established, a wife, a senior consort, consorts of the left and right, three concubines, and two hand-maidens. There is established a crown prince, three ministers, nine nobles, twenty-seven upper gentlemen and eighty-one lower gentlemen. There are five inside nobles with five upper gentlemen and fifteen lower gentlemen. The status of the upper minister is the same as that of a lower minister of a secondary state, and he (earns) four hundred bushels). A lower minister (earns) three hundred bushels; and upper gentleman (earns) two hundred bushels; and a lower gentleman (earns) one hundred bushels. The wife (of the ruler) has one tutor, a governess, three earls, and three assistants. The senior consort, the consorts of the left and right, the three concubines, and the two hand-maidens,<sup>43</sup> each have a tutor. The crown prince has a senior tutor.<sup>44</sup> Of the gentlemen who guard the ruler, three rank with upper ministers and six rank with lower ministers. For guarding the wife (of the ruler there are) five of each upper and lower attendants. The senior consort, and the consorts of the left and right have five of each upper and lower attendants. The two hand-maidens<sup>45</sup> each have five attendants. The senior tutor to the crown prince has five of each upper and lower secretaries. The three ministers and the nine nobles have five of each upper and lower secretaries.



The gentlemen each have five secretaries. The inside nobles also have five of each upper and lower secretaries. The ministers have two assistants. This was the Chou system. The Spring and Autumn Annals unified the ranks of earl, viscount and baron. As for the dependent states, (the territory of) those given 'styles' is thirty li square. Three times three is nine. When we divide this into three and exclude one (of the sections), the territory which obtains is six hundred square li. (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li), we obtain fourteen thousand four hundred mouths. (Divided into three) this makes three per capita armies. Established is an honoured wife, two concubines, one crown prince, one steward,<sup>46</sup> one assistant, one gentleman, and five secondary gentlemen. The steward is the same as the lower ministers of viscounts and barons, and he (earns) three hundred bushels. The honoured wife has a tutor and three attendants. The concubines have two attendants. The crown prince has one tutor.<sup>47</sup> The tutor to the crown prince has five of each upper and lower secretaries.<sup>48</sup> (The territory of) those called by their names is twenty li square.<sup>49</sup> Two times two is four. When we divide this into three and exclude one (of the sections), the territory which obtains is (approximately) three hundred square li. (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li), we obtain seven thousand two hundred mouths. There is a crown prince and a steward (whose salary) is two hundred bushels. Individuals



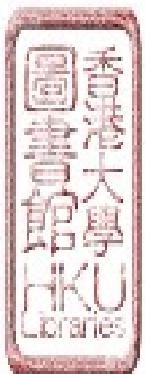
and families (hold territory which is) half the size of that of the rulers (who were given) 'styles'. When we divide this into three and exclude one (of the sections), the territory which obtains is one hundred and fifty square li. (When we apply) the ratio (of mouths per square li), we obtain three thousand six hundred mouths. There is one crown prince, and a steward (whose salary is) one hundred bushels. He has five secretaries.<sup>50</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

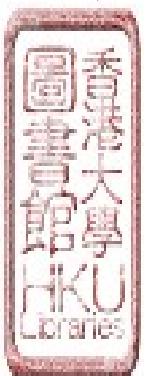
1. Occurred BC 651 (Hsi 9.2). KYC explains that the duke of Chou was the "conductor of government for the Son of Heaven". Also present at the meeting were the Marquis of Ch'i, the eldest son of the recently deceased Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Wei, the Earl of Cheng, the Baron of Hsü (許), and the Earl of Ts'ao.
2. The Duke of Lu never actually met this precise combination of rulers. In BC 678 (Chuang 10.4) however, they all met and formed a covenant with the following additional rulers: the Marquis of Ch'en, the Marquis of Wei, the Earl of Ts'ao, and the Earl of Hua (華). Rather than quoting the Spring and Autumn Annals, Tung Chung-shu is demonstrating the five ranks.
3. SA, Yin 5.5.
4. KYC, ibid.
5. SA, Chuang 10.6. Although TC takes this as the old name for the state of Ch'u, KYC understands it as the region only part of which was comprised of Ch'u.
6. KYC, ibid. CCFL includes only part of the progression. The full version reads: "(Mentioning) the region is not as good as (mentioning) the state; (mentioning) the state is not as good as (mentioning) the family; (mentioning) the



22. The Ta Ch'en are the constellations Hsin (心) (approx. GHA 16 1/3), Ts'an (戌) (approx. GHA 5 1/3), together with Polaris, thus making three.
23. Reading it as wei hsiang (危象). (Lu Wen-chao),
24. Taking ch'uan ts'ai (綰采) to represent forests and marshes. (Lu Wen-chao).
25. The actual wording is: "sixty-six ten li squared and sixty-six li squared." The following parallel passages are all worded in this way.
26. Substituting pa (八) for erh (二). (Yü Yüeh).
27. Substituting shih (世) for erh shih (二世). (Ling Shu).
28. Deleting jen (人); substituting shao (少) for the first san (三); and substituting hsia shuai (下率) for shao (少). (Su Yü).
29. Deleting shih (世). (Su Yü).
30. Following Yü Yüeh in changing the text to read as it does in the two following parallel passages.
31. As for ff.27 above.
32. SPPY has chi (只) for fei (飞).
33. Adding this sentence to complete the parallelism. (Su Yü).
34. Following Chang Hui's (張惠) reconstruction.
35. Deleting pi kung che (匹公者). (Su Yü).
36. This translation suggests the substitution of liang-jen (良人) for ch'ing (卿) in order to confirm with the inner logic of this passage.
37. Correcting the "twenty-eight" of the text to read "thirty-two". (Su Yü).
38. Correcting the "109,212" of the text to read "78,384". (Su Yü).
39. This translation suggests the substitution of ru-tzu (孺子) for yü-jen (御人).

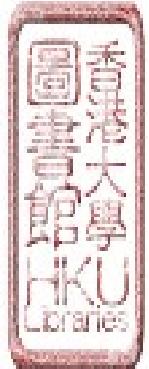


40. Deleting hsia (下) and adding ch'eng (成) after fu (付). (Su Yü).
41. This translation again suggests the substitution of ju-tzu for yü.
42. Deleting the first liu (六). (Su Yü).
43. Substituting erh (二) for i (-). (Su Yü). This translation again suggests the substitution of ju-tzu for yü-jen.
44. Deleting hsia (下). (Su Yü).
45. This translation again suggests the substitution of ju-tzu for yü-jen.
46. Substituting i (-) for ch'eng (成). (Lu Wen-chao).
47. This translation agrees with Su Yü that the following eighteen words do not conform to the inner logic of the passage. They are consequently left untranslated.
48. Deleting the following three words. (Lu Wen-chao).
49. Deleting shan (善). (Yü Yüeh). The text from here to the end of the chapter is considerably corrupt. In translation only partial reconstruction from the fragments, from the suggestions of the annotators, and from the parallelism with previous passages is attempted.
50. The last five words are omitted as corrupt. The final passages of this chapter have been lost.



CCFL 29:"Humanity and Righteousness"

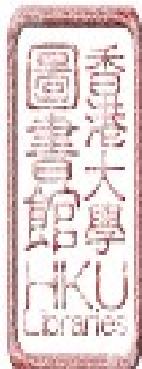
(The problem of) others and self is one on which the Spring and Autumn Annals concentrates. That which governs others is humanity while that which governs self is righteousness. Humanity gives security to others while righteousness rectifies the self. Therefore humanity refers to others while righteousness refers to the self. The terminology denotes the difference. The relationships between humanity and others and righteousness and self cannot but be examined. The great majority of people do not examine them. Consequently they mix them up and favour themselves with humanity and extend righteousness to others. When they are thus dislocated and their principles confused, it is seldom that there is no disorder. This is the reason that although no one wishes for disorder, constant disorder is commonplace. It is all because the separation of other and self, and the separate locations of humanity and righteousness are not understood. This is the reason that the Spring and Autumn Annals (outlines) the principles of humanity and righteousness. The principle of humanity is in loving others; not in loving self. The principle of righteousness is in rectifying self; not in rectifying others. If the self does not rectify itself, then even though it is able to rectify others it cannot be granted (the name of) righteousness. If others do not receive love, then even though self love is great, it cannot be



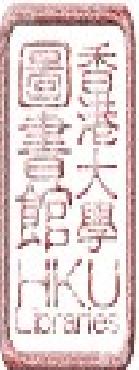
granted (the name of) humanity.

In ancient times Duke Lin of Chin murdered his chef in order to improve the food, and slung pellets at his nobles in order to amuse himself.<sup>1</sup> It was not that he did not love himself greatly. The reason why he was not considered to be a good man was because he did not love others. (From) people on down to birds, beasts and insects there are none which one does not love. How can a lack of love be termed humanity! Humanity is the name given to loving others.

In the (Kung-yang) Commentary, (the affair of) Sui<sup>2</sup> is without the phrase denoting praise. (On a previous occasion when the Duke) personally took part in the chase his far-reaching kindness (to the people) was approved of. (But) if the soldiers have already invaded when he goes to rescue (his subjects) then it is not considered good. (Only) when he wards them off before they arrive is it considered good. It approves of saving them from harm before (it happens). If he saves them early before (it happens), then harm cannot arise and the world is without abuses. The examination of events and the early perception of (evil) stirrings and, as a result, the cutting off of disorder and the prevention of future abuses which have not yet taken shape, is the purpose of the Spring and Autumn Annals.<sup>3</sup> This is (its) great wisdom. Were he without the



wisdom of Yao and Shan, who knew the essence of ritual, how could he have been able to do this? Therefore saving them from harm by knowing about it before (it happened) was brilliant. The Duke's kindness was widespread and the Spring and Autumn Annals approved of it. (Its purpose in this) was to show clearly its principle of praising far-reaching kindness, so that (everyone) within Heaven and Earth would feel happy about his humanity. Without the virtue of the Three Kings and the ability to attract the talents of the wise, who could be like this? Knowledge discovers (harm) before (it occurs). Humanity benefits distant (places). The further love is extended, the worthier (is the rule); while the closer (it is restricted) the less worthy (is the rule). Therefore the love of a (true) king extends to the barbarian tribes of the four (quarters); the love of an overlord extends to the feudal lords; the love of the secure extends to within (his own) fief; the love of the insecure extends to his immediate retinue; and the love of the lost extends to (their own) solitary selves. Were (such) a solitary person to be established in the position of kin or in that of a feudal lord, he would be nothing more than a single person without ministers or populace to serve him. No one does away with such people; they do away with themselves. The Spring and Autumn Annals does not mention an invasion of Liang<sup>4</sup> but says (only) that Liang perished.<sup>4</sup> This was because the love (of the ruler) reached only his own person. Therefore we say



that the principle of humanity is in loving others, and not in loving self.

To speak of righteousness is not to refer to the rectifying of others, (but rather) is to refer to the rectification of the self. Even in disordered times when the ruler is evil, there is no one who does not wish to rectify others. (But) how can this be called righteousness! In ancient times, King Ling of Ch'u punished the rebels of Ch'en<sup>5</sup> and Ts'ai<sup>6</sup> and Duke Huan of Ch'i took Yuan T'ao-t'u<sup>7</sup> for his crimes. It was not that they were unable to rectify others. Yet the Spring and Autumn Annals does not praise them. They could not be termed righteous because they did not rectify themselves. Ho Lu<sup>8</sup> was able to rectify the troubles (between) Ch'u and Ts'ai, yet the Spring and Autumn Annals does not have the phrase (calling him) righteous because he did not rectify himself. Lu Tzu was without the ability to rectify the feudal lords, yet the Spring and Autumn Annals calls him righteous, for he (himself) was rectified.<sup>9</sup> Therefore I say that the principle of righteousness is in rectifying the self and not in rectifying others.

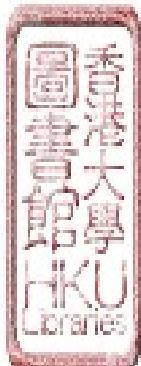
That which people cannot tolerate is the seeking from others that which the self lacks and the forbidding to others of that which the self has. This is the opposite to (what is right). How (then), could it be termed righteousness? Righteousness refers to correctness in the self. (Only) after ther



is correctness in the self can it be termed righteousness. Therefore, to say righteousness, is to say self and correctness combined in one word. Taking it this way, righteousness refers to the self. Therefore we say that one who attains righteousness in his actions is (one who) attains himself, and one who loses righteousness in his actions is (one who) loses himself. We (also) say that he who likes (to put) righteousness (into action) is a man who is good to himself; but that he who dislikes (putting) righteousness (into action) is a man who is not good to himself. Looking at it this way, it is clear that righteousness is (connected to) self.

Thus righteousness and humanity are widely separated. Humanity is extroverted, while righteousness is introverted. Humanity emphasizes the distant while righteousness emphasizes the immediate. When love (is directed) to others, it is called humanity, and when correctness<sup>10</sup> (is directed) to the self it is called righteousness. Humanity governs others, while righteousness governs the self. Therefore the sayings: "Humanity is others." and "Righteousness is self."<sup>11</sup> refer to this.

The gentleman seeks to differentiate between humanity and righteousness in order to create a separation between self and other. (Only) after (doing this) can he discriminate between inner and outer and put direct and inverse in their (proper)



places. Therefore he concentrates internally on a return to principle in order to rectify himself, and an accordance with propriety, in order to encourage good fortune; and (he concentrates) externally on extending his benevolence, in order to enlarge his generosity, and on broadening his scope in order to encompass the masses. Confucius spoke to Jan Tzu saying: "In governing the people, first enrich them, and afterwards give them instruction."<sup>12</sup> He (also) spoke to Fan Chih (saying): "In governing the self, at first there is difficulty, but later comes success."<sup>13</sup> According to this, governing others and governing self differ in what comes first and last. The Book of Songs says:

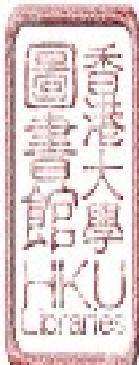
"Give me drink, give me food,  
Inform me, teach me."<sup>14</sup>

First (comes) food and drink, and (only) later (comes education). This refers to the governing of others. The Book of Songs (also) says:

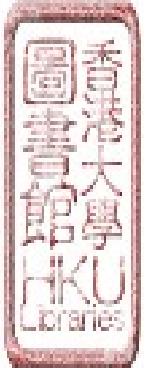
"K'an-k'an go the blows on the wood for his spokes,  
O that superior man!  
He would not eat the bread of idleness!"<sup>15</sup>

First he worked and (only) afterwards did he eat. This refers to the governing of self.

The Spring and Autumn Annals criticises the errors of the superior and sympathizes with the hardships of the inferiors. If there was a small error in a foreign (state) it does not mention it, but if it (occurred) in our state (i.e. Lu) it records



it and was critical of it. The reasons why it was always thus was because it governed others with humanity and governed the self with righteousness. "Requiring much from self and little from others"<sup>16</sup> refers to this. Moreover, in arguing that we should look into ourselves and not examine others, Confucius said: The gentleman "attacks his (own) faults and does not attack the faults of others."<sup>17</sup> Not attacking the faults of others, - is that no the generosity of humanity? Attacking one's own faults, - is that not the epitome of righteousness? This is to say that humanity is directed towards others while righteousness is directed towards the self. How do these differ. If the self names its own faults it is called sensitivity. But if it names the faults of others it is called injurious. To seek from the self is called generous, but to seek from others is called stingy. To require perfection of self is called intelligent but to require it of others is stupid. To govern others by the regulations used to govern the self is "high station filled without indulgent generosity."<sup>18</sup> To govern the self with the measures used to govern others is "ceremonies performed without reverence."<sup>19</sup> If (it is a case of) "ceremonies performed without reverence", then (his) performance (of government) is harmed, and the people are not respectful. If (it is a case of )"high station filled without indulgent generosity", then the magnanimity (of the rule) is harmed, and the people are not close (to the ruler). If they are not clo-

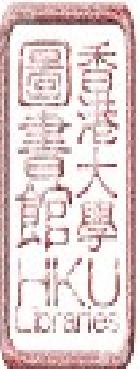


then they are not trusting; and if they are not respectful, then they do not treat the ruler in a reverential manner. (Thus) the two principles of government are perverted above and (the ruler's) crude pattern of behaviour is complained about below.

Can the jurisdictions of humanity and righteousness go undiscussed? If you do not look your eyes do not see; and if you do not discuss, your mind does not acquire (knowledge). Even though you have the most delicious (food) in the world, unless you chew it, you cannot taste it. Although you have the Great Way of the Sage, unless you discuss it, you cannot know its meaning.

FOOTNOTES:

1. KYC, Hsian (宣) 6.1
2. This event, narrated in the KYC under Hsi (僖) 26.2, concerns an invasion of Lu by an army of Ch'i. It was pursued back into Ch'i to a place called Sui (蕩) where the Duke, unable to come up to the fleeing army, abandoned the chase. The KYC considered the event to have been 'wasteful'. On an earlier occasion, narrated in the KYC under Chuang (莊) 18.2, the Duke pursued the Jung barbarians to a place outside the state. The KYC approved of this, for the Jung had not yet invaded before the Duke repulsed them. This is the event, obviously, to which reference is made throughout the remainder of this passage.
3. The following four words are deleted in accordance with the commentary of Su Yu.



4. This event, together with the KYC explanation, are to be found under Hsi 19.7.

5. KYC, Chao 11.3.

6. SA, Chao 8.9

7. KYC, Hsi 4.5.

8. KYC, Hsüan 15.3.

9. As for 3. above. KYC, Ting 4.14.

10. Substituting i (宜) for i (義). (Su Yü).

11. The first of the two phrases is from the Doctrine of the Mean but the second does not occur in the present rescentration of the Confucian Classics. A similar phrase, in which i (宜) occurs for the CCFL wo (勿), is to be found in the same section of the Doctrine of the Mean.

12. A passage identical in meaning but different in wording is to be found in the Analects 13.9.3,4.

13. A passage almost identical in wording occurs in the Analects 6.20. There is, however, an important difference. The CCFL gives chih shen (智聖) which is connected in its arguments with the concept righteousness (i - 義). Instead of chih shen the Analects gives ren (仁 - humanity) which the CCFL connects in its argument with the "governing of others" (chih min - 治民).

14. Songs II.8.6.1,2,3; Legge, Classics IV, p.418-420. The wording is Legge's.

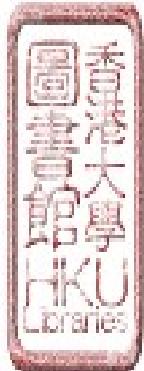
15. Songs I.9.6.2; Legge, Classics IV, p.170. The wording is Legge's. They constitute the first and last two lines of the stanza. The present rescentration of the Songs has shih (詩) for the CCFL ts'an (贊).

16. Analects 15.14; Legge, Classics I, p.299.

17. Analects 12.21.3; Legge, Classics I, p.260.

18. Analects 3.26; Legge, Classics I, p.164.

19. As for 18. above.



TUNG CHUNG-SHU

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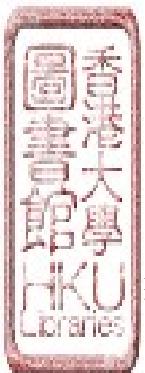
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted to this or any other institution in application for admission to a degree, diploma or other qualification.



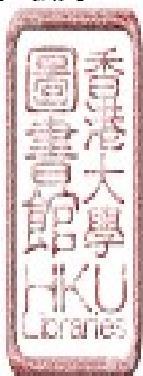
R.K. NORRIS

Date: 19 September, 1973.

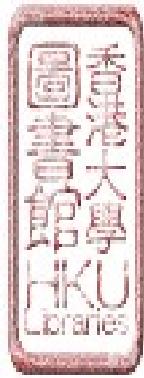


## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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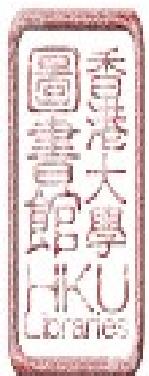


least, I must thank my parents whose support and encouragement never failed. Except where otherwise noted, however, this thesis represents no other research than my own, and for it and the errors in it which remain <sup>even</sup> after much excellent guidance, I accept the sole responsibility.



TUNG CHUNG-SHU

VOLUME II



CCFL 30:

"It is Imperative to be both Humane and Wise"

Nothing is more pressing than humanity, and nothing is more urgent than wisdom. If he is not humane, then even if he has great strength and superior ability, he will be (like) a mad (man) wielding a sharp weapon. If he is not wise, then even if he is eloquent and quick of wit, it will be (like) riding a good horse while bemused. If he is neither humane nor wise but still has superior ability, then his superior ability will support his depraved mind,<sup>1</sup> and assist his decadent behaviour. This is sufficient to increase their mistakes and magnify their evil; their strength is sufficient to cover over their wrongs; their excuses are sufficient to deceive; their cleverness sufficient to delude the stupid; their eloquence sufficient to gloss over their mistakes; their determination sufficient to break the law; and their dignity sufficient to reject (wise) council. This is not a lack of superior ability. It is that they employed it where they should not; that they used it towards the unrighteous. The ability of a person with an evil heart cannot be taken as suitable. Sharp implements should not be given to one whose substance is stupid. We think that those referred to in sayings as people who do not understand mankind, do not know how to distinguish these categories. To be humane without wisdom is to love indiscriminately; and to be wise



without humanity is to know (what is correct) but not do it. Therefore, the humane are those who love mankind; while the wise are those who do away with (things that) harm (the people).

What is humanity? Humanity grieves for and loves mankind. It is careful and harmonious, is not contentious. Its likes and dislikes are sincere and principled. It has no mind for wounding or hate; not intention to conceal or evade; no air of jealousy; no desire to cause sorrow; no activities which are treacherous; and no conduct which is decadent. Therefore its mind is at ease; its intentions are peaceful; its air is harmonious; its desires are regulated; its activites are open; and its conduct (accords with) the Way. Therefore it is able to be peaceful, open, harmonious, principled and without contention. A person who is like this is called humane.

What is wisdom? It speaks first and then is demonstrated. In all actions which mankind chooses or rejects, he first measures it against his knowledge, and then acts. For those who measured correctly, their actions attained their purpose. They rectified their conduct, completed their fame and glorified their persons. Therefore there was benefit, there were no calamities, the good fortune reached their sons and grandsons, and their virtue is given to the people at large. Such were (Kings) T'a and Wu. For those who measured incorrectly, their actions did



not attain their purpose, they did not rectify their conduct, did not complete their names, shame and harm reached their persons; and they were cut off from posterity with no descendants.<sup>2</sup> Their kind is destroyed, their clan is wiped out, and their state is no more. Such were (Kings) Chieh and Chou.<sup>3</sup> Therefore I said that nothing is more urgent than wisdom. Wisdom sees calamity or good fortune at a distance. Early it knows of benefit and harm. Things move and it knows (what) transformation (will occur). Events arise and it knows the result. It sees beginnings and knows endings. Speak of it and no one will dare to shout you down. Establish it and no one can do away with it. Accept it and no one can reject it. Thus early and late do not contradict, and endings and beginnings have categories. Think of it and there will be (exact) repetition (of ritual). Reach to it, and it cannot be repelled. Its words are few but sufficient, concise but instructive, simple yet penetrating, and sparing but complete. When few they cannot be added to, and when many they cannot be subtracted from. Its actions accord with principle, and its words serve correctly. A person who is like this is called wise.

To generalize, abnormalities in the changes of the thing in the universe are called anomalous occurrences. Small ones are called disasters. Disasters always come first and, (when requisite), anomalous occurrences follow them. Disasters are Heaven's reprimands, while anomalous occurrences are Heaven's



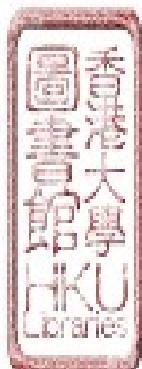
warnings. If he is warned and he still does not know, (a king) is awed by a warning. The Book of Songs says: "Fear Heaven's warning!"<sup>4</sup> This refers to it. The origin of all disasters and anomalous occurrences lies in the mistakes (in government) of a state. When the mistakes (in government) of a state first put forth shoots, Heaven sends the harm of a disaster in order to announce the reprimand. If the reprimand is announced and (the ruler) does not know how to change, then a strange anomalous occurrence appears in order to terrify (the ruler). If it (tries to) terrify him, and still he knows no fear grave misfortune will arrive. From this (we can) see the humanity of Heaven's intentions in that it does not wish to imperil mankind. When we carefully examine disasters and anomalous occurrences in order to discover Heaven's intention, (we see that) Heaven's intention has likes and dislikes. Internally, mankind examines himself for things (Heaven) likes and things it does not. It is fitting (that by this means) he makes corrections to his mind. Externally, he watches what he does (in the same way). It is fitting (that by this means Heaven's will) is manifested in the state. Therefore, those who see Heaven's intention in disasters and anomalous occurrences fear it but do not hate it. They consider that Heaven wishes to ameliorate their mistakes, and save them from their errors. Therefore it has used this means to tell them. It is a rule in the Spring and Autumn Annals that when "the ruler transforms the ancient and changes the constant, the



response to this is a disaster from Heaven".<sup>5</sup> (Such a state) is called a state which is favoured. Confucius said: "He whom Heaven favours is (a ruler who) has done wrong, and by repeating it, has made absolute his guilt."<sup>6</sup> When Heaven did not send disasters, and when Earth did not send freaks, King Chuang of Ch'u prayed to the mountains and streams saying: 'Heaven is about to do away with me! By not speaking of my errors, it makes absolute my guilt.' Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) disasters from Heaven come as a response to errors, and that the appearance of an anomalous occurrence is to be feared. This is how Heaven wishes to save (us); and (this) alone the Spring and Autumn Annals considers a favour. (This) is what King Chuang (of Ch'u) prayed and pleaded about. Thus the sagely ruler and the wise gentleman honours and takes pleasure in receiving the admonitions of loyal ministers and<sup>7</sup> in receiving the reprimands of Heaven.

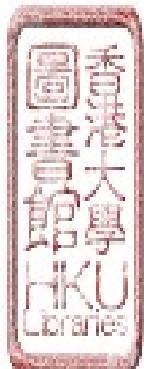
#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Deleting the second i (以) and substituting wang (王) for k'uang (狂). (Lu Wen-chao).
2. Substituting hou (後) for fu (復). (Yü Yüeh).
3. Inserting the names of the kings (Yü Yüeh).
4. Songs, IV.1.(i).7. (cf. Legge, Classics, IV, p.576).
5. KYC, Hstian 15.9.



6. Adding ch'i tsui (# 翳) at the end. (Su Yu). This quotation does not occur in the present recension of the classics.

7. SPPY lacks the k'uang (况).

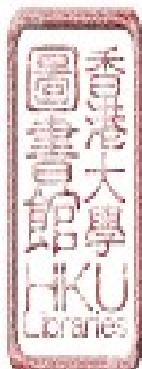


CCFL 31:

"In the Nourishment of the Body, Nothing is  
More Important than Righteousness"<sup>1</sup>

In creating mankind, Heaven caused man to produce benefit and righteousness. Benefit nurtures the body while righteousness nurtures the mind. If the mind does not attain righteousness, then it cannot be happy, and if the body does not attain benefit, it cannot be at peace. Righteousness is that which nurtures the mind, and benefit is that which nurtures the body. Nothing in the body is more honoured than the mind, therefore, in nourishment, nothing is more important than righteousness.

In the life of mankind, the nourishment of righteousness is greater than (that of) benefit. How do we know this? If a man has a great deal of righteousness but a great lack of benefit, then even though he is poverty-stricken and lowly, his actions are glorious. He makes himself good and (his) life is happy. Such were Yian Hsien (嚴憲), Ts'eng (Ts'an) (曾參), and Min (Sun) (孫).<sup>2</sup> (But) if a man has a great deal of benefit and a great lack of righteousness, then even if he is extremely rich and of high birth,<sup>3</sup> he will be greatly disgraced, deeply resented<sup>4</sup> and he will suffer grave misfortune. Those that do not die immediately for their crimes, suffer quickly from grave misfortune. They cannot make their lives happy and they die. Such are the people who are massacred or die young. Even though he be poor, if a man has righteousness, he can mak

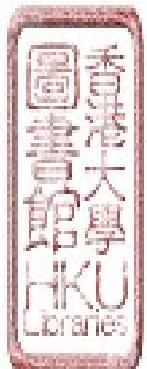


himself happy; but even though he be rich, if he has a great lack of righteousness, he will be unable to preserve himself. Thus have I proved that in the nourishment of man, righteousness is more important than benefit and more substantial than riches. (But) the people are unable to understand and constantly do the opposite. They all forget righteousness and are greedy for benefit. They do away with principles and follow evil ways, thus demeaning<sup>5</sup> themselves and ruining their families. It is not that they are not conscientious in making plans for themselves, it is that their knowledge is muddled. If we were to take a date and some gold inlay and show them to a child, then it is certain that the child<sup>6</sup> would take the date and not take the gold. If we were to take a catty of gold and a priceless pearl and show them to a barbarian, then it is certain that the barbarian would take the gold and not take the pearl. Therefore, to mankind, small things are difficult to see. Now benefit is a small (thing) to mankind while righteousness is large. It is no wonder that the people pursue benefit and do not pursue righteousness. This is where they are unclear. It is the business of the sage to illuminate righteousness in order to throw light on this obscurity. Thus the people are not entrapped.

The Book of Songs says: "Show me how to display virtuous conduct."<sup>7</sup> This refers to it. The former kings displayed their virtuous conduct, showing it to the people, and the people took pleasure (in this). The songs they composed about it became odes. They enjoyed it and were transformed by it, maki-



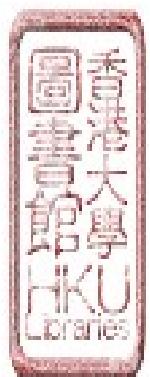
it their custom. Therefore, although they did not give orders (good government) was carried out of itself, and although they did not make prohibitions, (incorrect behaviour) stopped of itself. They followed the ruler's intention, without waiting to be forced, as though it was spontaneous. Therefore I say that the sage is the mover of Heaven and Earth and the transformer of the four seasons. There is no other way but to know the greatness of righteousness. Therefore he is able to move (everything). Because he moves them, he is able to transform them. Because he transforms them, he is able to make (moral suasion) general practice. Because moral suasion is in general practice, the laws are not broken. Because the laws are not borken, punishments are not used. When punishments are not used, then the merit and virtue of (Emperors) Yao and Shun (has been achieved). This is the Way of great (good) government. The former sages transmitted (their teaching) again and again. Therefore Confucius said: "If not by the door, who could leave? How can no one (not) follow this Way!"<sup>8</sup> Now, if a display of virtuous conduct is not shown, the people find righteousness obscure. They are unable to be intelligent in their decisions, and they are unable to understand the Way. Consequently, (the ruler) desires great awe in order to cause rectification to be certain. (But) this is nothing more than injuring Heaven' people and demeaning the ruler's virtue. Such conditions wil



not do. Confucius said: 'In a state which has the Way, there will be no punishments even if punishments are increased; but in a state which has not the Way, (wrong-doing) cannot be overcome even if there are executions.'<sup>9</sup> What is called (here) having or not having the Way, is shown, or not shown, in the display of virtuous conduct.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Inserting mo (莫) before chung (衷). (Huang Chen - 黃震).
2. Respectively the fourteenth, the twelfth, and the second disciples of Confucius. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.118, 117 and 113).
3. Inserting ch'ieh kuei (執規) after fu (夫). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. Substituting yuan (原) for wu (無). (Huang Chen).
5. Substututing chien (顓) for tsei (泰). (Huang Chen).
6. Adding another ying-erh (盈兒) to the text. (Huang Chen).
7. Songs IV.l.(iii).3. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.599.)
8. Analects VI.15. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.190)
9. Does not occur in the present rescentration of the classics.

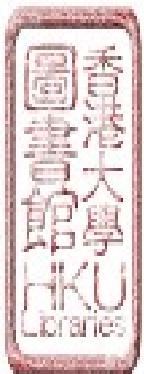


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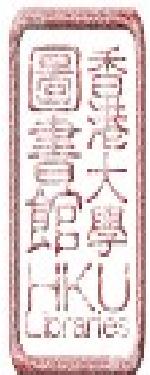
"The Yüeh Nobles were not Humane: A Reply  
to the King of Hsi-Chiao"<sup>1</sup>

The edict to the prime minister said: "With the five nobles (Fan) Li (范驥), (Wen) Chung (文種), (She) Yung (舌唐), Kao (Ju) (皋如), and K'u<sup>2</sup> Ch'eng (苦成), the King of Yüeh plotted to attack Wu. Subsequently he extinguished it<sup>3</sup> and avenged the shame of Kuei-chi (僕稽).<sup>4</sup> In the end he became the overlord (of the feudatory). Fan Li left (the state) and (Wen) Chung died.<sup>5</sup> I consider both of these two nobles to have been wise. Confucius said: 'The Yin (Dynasty) had three humane (men).'<sup>6</sup> Now I consider that with the wisdom of the King of Yüeh and the ability of (Fan) Li and (Wen) Chung, Yüeh also had three humane men. What do you (think) of this? Duke Huan (of Ch'i) settled his doubts with Kuan Chung. I solve my doubts with you."

(Tung) Chung-shu fell to the ground and bowed twice. (Then) he replied saying: "(Tung) Chung-shu's wisdom<sup>7</sup> is limited and his scholarship is shallow. They are insufficient (to the task of) solving this. Nevertheless, your majesty has questioned me, and in order to conform with ritual, I do not dare but to be comprehensive. I, (Tung) Chung-shu have heard that of old, the ruler of Lu questioned Hui of Liu-hsia<sup>8</sup> saying: 'What about my intention to attack Ch'i?' Hui of Liu-hsia replied saying: 'You



should not.' He (then) retired with a mournful expression and said: 'I have heard that questions about plans to attack states are not asked of humane men. How has this come to me?' He was merely questioned and he was ashamed. How much more so should it be (for those who) schemed to attack Wu! It is not fitting to (use them as) illustrations. Looking at it from this (point of view), Yüeh basically did not, have (even) one humane (man). How can there be three humane (men)? The humane man rectifies his Way, and does not scheme for benefit; he corrects his principles, and does not (seek) urgently for merit; and he causes the advent of non-action (in government) and greatly transforms customs and usages. (This) can be called the sageliness of the humane. Such were the Three Kings. It is the meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals to honour trust and to despise deceit. A true gentleman will not use deceit to become victorious even if there is merit (in it). This is why there was a lad among the disciples of Confucius who was ashamed to mention the five overlords in speech because they had used deceit in order to gain merit. Because they had used nothing but (deceit), they were not fit to be mentioned by the gate of the Great Gentleman (*i.e.* Confucius). The five overlords were wise when compared to the other feudal lords, but when compared to the wisdom of the humane, who could they be wise? It is like comparing false jade with fine jade. I, (Tung) Chung-shu, prostrate myself, and bowing twice, listen (for your opinion).



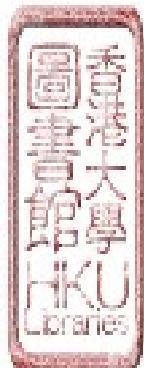
FOOTNOTES:

1. The substance and much of the wording of this chapter are the same as the slightly truncated version in HS57. There, however, it is listed as a reply to the questioning of King I of Chiang-tu. Because King I's character was actively martial while the King of Chiao-hsi is reported to have been a politically irresponsible homosexual, it is most likely that the HS is correct. It will be argued here that the difference was initially caused by the traditional Chinese historiographer's custom of giving a personage his most recently held rank (which in Tung Chung-shu's case was that of Prime Minister of Chiao-hsi) and it is from this that the copyist's error in the title of this chapter arose. We should understand the text of this chapter, therefore, as a question by and reply to King I of Chiang-tu.
2. Substituting k'u (苦) for ch'e (痴). (Lu Wen-chao).
3. Occurred BC 473.
4. Yüeh had been defeated in battle and then besieged in its capital, Kuei-chi, by Wu in BC 494.
5. cf. SC 41/6b,7a. Fan Li left Yüeh after he had helped its ruler to become the overlord of the feudatory. From Ch'i he wrote to Wen Chung warning him against further service to the state. When the latter complied by pleading illness and not coming to court, the King of Yüeh forced him to commit suicide.
6. Analects 18.1. (cf. Legge. Classics I, p.331)
7. SPPY has chih (智) for chih (智).
8. cf. ff.55 to the translation to HS 56.

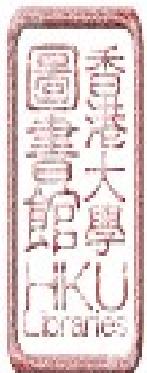


CCFL 33:"Looking at Virtue"

Heaven and Earth are the basis of the ten thousand things, and are that from which our first ancestors came. Vast and limitless, their virtue is manifest. Year after year their bounty is eternal and without end. Heaven puts forth great brightness so that none of the subtleties of the myriad distinctions are not illuminated. Earth puts forth great darkness, (but) the stars and the sun make light, not daring to (allow) obscurity. The Way of ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife is derived from this. To be complete in the great ritual (of burial), ministers and sons do not dare to conduct business for three years.<sup>1</sup> Although they do conduct business, (the minister) must do so in the name of the former ruler and (the sons) must do so in the name of the father. (This is because) they do not dare to be greedy for the honour (of his position). The nobility of the one hundred rituals is secondary to the month; the month is secondary to the season; the season is secondary to the ruler; and the ruler is secondary to Heaven. The Son of Heaven does not aid that which Heaven has abandoned. Such were (Kings) Chieh and Chou. Ministers and sons do not establish that which the Son of Heaven has put an end to. Such were the Crown Prince of Ts'ai,<sup>2</sup> and Feng Ch'ou-fu.<sup>3</sup> Sons and grandsons do not continue that which fathers and grandfathers have cut off. Such was Duke Chuang



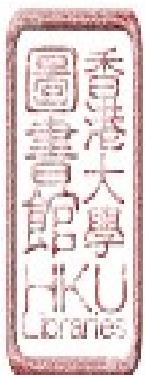
Lu when he should not have thought of his mother,<sup>4</sup> and such  
 was Ch'e of Wei when he disregarded the orders of his father.<sup>5</sup>  
 Therefore, (the king) receives the Mandate, and (all) within  
 the seas obeys him. (This) is similar to (the way that) the  
 myriad stars bow to the north star, and (the way that) the  
 flowing waters attend the court of the ocean. Moreover, if  
 between Heaven and Earth, he patterns his demeanour on the  
 founding ancestor and (other) men of former (times), then his  
 great virtue will bring portents, and his general fame will  
 become honourable and noble. This is how the sage becomes  
 noble. The great virtue of T'ai Po<sup>6</sup> equalled Heaven and Earth,  
 (yet) Shang-ti considered it fitting that he be dismissed. He  
 changed his surname and became the viscount (of Wu). (All)  
 within the seas cherished and turned towards his great virtue.<sup>7</sup>  
 T'ai Po had three times yielded, not daring to take the throne  
 (of Chou). Po I K'ao<sup>8</sup> knew that the mind of the masses was on  
 another and he (too)yielded and withdrew,<sup>9</sup> (thus) according with  
 the gods. Thus great virtue receives the mandate, and (all)  
 talented, outstanding, lofty and intelligent men assemble and  
 turn to it. The superior become dukes and marquises, while the  
 lower become ministers and nobles. How fine this appears!  
 This is the reason that all are graded according to their virtue.  
 Wu and Lu were of the same surname, (but) at the meeting of  
 Chung-li (鍾離) they were not named in order. The ruler (of  
 Wu) was separated from Lu's (in recording of) the meeting.<sup>10</sup>  
 (This) was because of Wu's barbaric behaviour. At the battle



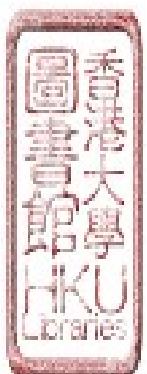
of Chi-fu (維父), Wu was not as cultured as the central states.<sup>11</sup> (But when we) come to (the circumstances) at Po-chü (伯叔) and Huang-ch'ih (皇邑)<sup>12</sup> (Wu's) behaviour had changed and reverted to the Way, so that she was accorded her rank and not separated. The ruler of Lu was at the meeting of Chao-ling (召陵), but he was not (mentioned) as the host, in order to escape (mention of Duke) Huan of Ch'i.<sup>13</sup> When (Duke) Huan of Lu had ascended the throne thirteen years, Ch'i, Sung, Wei and Yen raised armies and (attacked) from the east. Chi, Cheng and Lu joined forces and repulsed them.<sup>14</sup> The date is (mentioned) later (in the entry than usual) because Lu had not made it a set (battle).<sup>15</sup> Thus is escaped (mention) of the Marquis of Chi and Duke Li (厲) of Cheng. It is a constant in the phraseology of the Spring and Autumn Annals that barbarians are not as cultured as the central states. (When we) come to the battle of Pi (祁)<sup>16</sup>, (however), it is the barbarians who had reverted to the Way<sup>17</sup> and the central states who were not as cultured as the barbarians. (Here the Spring and Autumn Annals) escapes censure of (King) Chuang of Ch'u. Hsing (邢) and Wei were of the same surname as Lu. When they were extinguished by barbarians, the Spring and Autumn Annals does not mention it, (thus) escaping (criticism) of (Duke) Huan of Ch'i.<sup>18</sup> When it is thus, it is only virtue that is cherished. We always give precedence to (those who are most) cherished (i.e. one's parents).<sup>19</sup> The relationship of the



sons and grandsons of Chou (to their ruler) is equal, yet King Wen was the foremost. The seasons are equal yet Spring is the foremost; and the months are equal, yet the first month is the foremost; thus when virtue is equal precedence is given to (those who are) closest (in family). When we rank the twelve dukes of Lu, then (Dukes) Ting and Ai are most honoured.<sup>20</sup> Wei was one of the central states. Because she was of the same surname as Lu, she alone, was first to be considered internal at the meeting of Shan-tao (善稻).<sup>21</sup> Wu was one of the barbarian (tribes). (Although) she was the same surname as Lu, she alone was first to be considered external<sup>22</sup> at the meeting at Cha (邾).<sup>23</sup> There were over fifteen states which were extinguished, but sole precedence was given to the central states. Lu and Chin were both central states, but precedence for the criticism of the two names reached them alone.<sup>24</sup> The Earl of Sheng and the Viscount of Kao deserved to be cut off, yet they were merely not named because they were brother (states) of the same surname as Lu.<sup>25</sup> Those who fled abroad were extremely numerous, but (the Spring and Autumn Annals) reserved great censure alone (for cases in which) a maternal younger brother (was forced to) flee, because (the elder brother) was negating his mother and was turning his back on (his own) flesh and blood.<sup>26</sup> (Usually) no one who extinguishes another (state) is cut off, (by the Spring and



Autumn Annals) (but) the Marquis Huei (侯) of Wei extinguished (a state of) the same surname, and he alone is cut off.<sup>27</sup> (This was done because) he demeaned the founding ancestor and he forgot his forbearers. In the ranking of relatives, a beginning is made with the nearest. It is the eldest son (of the duchess) who is established, and a mother is honoured because of her son. Precedence...<sup>28</sup> "(Between the days) chia-hsü and chi-ch'ou, the Marquis Pao (侯) of Ch'en died."<sup>29</sup> (The Spring and Autumn Annals) recorded what was seen, but it did not mention his madness. Five meteorites fell in Sung and six fish-hawks flew backwards. The ears hear and take note; the eyes see and it is recorded. Sometimes it is brief and sometimes it is detailed. In either case the order (given) is that of the precedence of apperception.<sup>30</sup> The ritual of meetings, covenants,<sup>31</sup> comings to court, and sendings of embassies is also like this. The covenants of the feudal lords were extremely numerous, but (of those who were not of that rank,) I-fu (儀父) (of Chu) alone was favoured.<sup>32</sup> Duke Hsi (僖) of Cheng was about to come to meet the ruler of Lu (and the other feudal lords) but he was killed on the way. The Spring and Autumn Annals (notes) his intention of coming by saying: "He was going to the meeting."<sup>33</sup> The Viscount of Lu (季孫) left the barbarians and turned towards the feudatory thus causing his end. The Spring and Autumn Annals calls him

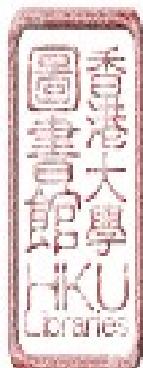


viscount in order to acknowledge his intent.<sup>34</sup> Ch'en fled from our meeting at Ts'ao (敖),<sup>35</sup> and Cheng fled from our meeting at Shou-tai (首戴).<sup>36</sup> At the meeting at Tao (洮) when Cheng stayed (at home) and did not come, (the Spring and Autumn Annals) says that he begged to take part in the covenant.<sup>37</sup> At the meeting at Chien-t'u (錢土), Ch'en arrived late, but (the Spring and Autumn Annals) said that he came to the meeting.<sup>38</sup> At the meeting at Pao-lai (包來) the men of Ch'u were suspicious of Lu, and (the Spring and Autumn Annals) disapproves and calls (the Ch'u ruler) 'man'.<sup>39</sup> The feudal lords who came to Lu were many, but (the rulers of) T'eng (滕) and Hsüeh (薛) alone are (given higher rank and) called 'marquis'.<sup>40</sup> When the Duke of Chou (周) crossed (the state of) Lu without proper ritual, (the Spring and Autumn Annals) takes away his rank and he is without his honorary title.<sup>41</sup> The states of Wu and Ch'u are considered wise when they first sent embassies to Lu.<sup>42</sup> At Ch'u-chi (曲蠡) and at the battle of An (安), the (state) which was the first to grieve for Lu was honoured.<sup>43</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. See KYC, Wen 9.1.

2. In the winter of BC 531 (Chao 11.10), the Ch'u army set up the crown prince of Ts'ai as its ruler. Although KYC indicated disapproval of Ch'u's usurpation of the right to punish when it had killed his father earlier in the year (Chao 11.3), it felt that the dead marquis had deserved the punishment for



the earlier assassination of his own father in BC 543 (Hsiang 30.2). Therefore, it argues, the son ought not to have been set up.

3. See CCFL 3, p.9-12, CCFL 5, p.5

4. KYC finds Duke Chuang of Lu to have been incorrect in thinking of his mother in BC 693 (Chuang 1.2) since she had been guilty of complicity in the death of her husband, Duke Huan, in Ch'i in the previous year (Huan 18.2).

5. See CCFL 4, p.8.

6. T'ai Po was the eldest son of the founder of the Chou line, T'ai Wang (太王). He renounced his position as heir in favour of King Wen's father, and went to live among the southern barbarians. They followed him as their leader, and he called himself Kou Wu (勾吴). It is from him that the ruling house of Wu is supposed to have acquired the surname Chi (姬).

7. Deleting jang (讓). (Yü Yüeh).

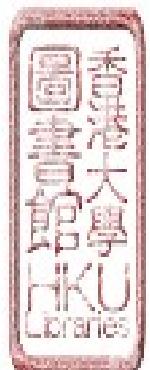
8. Po I K'ao was the eldest son of King Wen of Chou. He too declined the position of heir.

9. Substituting t'ui (退) for chi (姬). (Su Yü).

10. In BC 576 (Ch'eng 15.12), nobles from Lu, Chin, Ch'i, Sung, Wei, Cheng, and Chu met Wu at Ch'ung-li. The wording of SA clearly sets Wu apart from the other states. This, KYC explains, was to show that Wu was still barbarian.

11. At the battle of Chi-fu in BC 513 (Chao 23.7,8), Wu defeated the armies of Tun (頓), Hu (胡), Shen (沈), Ts'ai, Ch'en, and Hsü (徐), killing the rulers of Hu and Shen, and capturing the Ch'en general. KYC explains that the wording of SA indicates that although Wu had made a little progress, it is still barbarian.

12. In BC 506 (Ting 4.14), the armies of Wu and Ts'ai severely defeated Ch'u at Po-chü. KYC praises Wu, a barbarian state, for coming to the aid of a central state. By giving Wu's ruler his title, it says, the SA is indicating praise. Again in BC 492 (Ai 13.3), at the meeting at Huang-ch'ih, although Wu is still considered a barbarian state, its power is acknowledged and its ruler is given his title.



13. After being attacked by a combined army of the feudal lords in BC 656 (Hsi 4.2), the ruler of Ch'u sent a noble, Ch'ü Yüan (屈 宪) to the allied encampment at Chao-ling, to enter into a covenant (Hsi 4.4). The covenant was made with Duke Huan of Ch'i, and although KYC praises his action in saving the central states, the duke was, in fact, carrying out business usually conducted by the king. In this and the following cases where the involvement of a leader in a particular event is avoided, praise for his behaviour in general is intended.

14. In BC 699 (Huan 13.1), Lu, together with these allies defeated this enemy. KYC explains that the day is given in the middle of the entry in SA because Lu had had to rely on external aid.

15. Substituting p'ien (偏) for pien (偏). (Yü Yüeh). cf. CCFL 3, p.34

16. See CCFL 3, p.1.

17. Substituting tao (道) for pei (陪). (Lu Wen-chao).

18. See CCFL 1, p.1; CCFL 5, p.4; CCFL 6, p.6,8; and CCFL 7/8, p.4.

19. Deleting the first ch'i (其). (Su Yü).

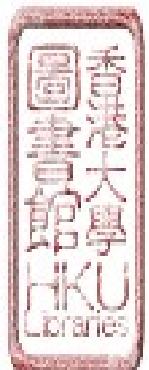
20. They were honoured because they were closest in time to Confucius.

21. In BC 568 (Hsiang 5.4), a noble of Lu and a noble of Wei met with Wu at Shan-tao. The wording of SA groups Lu and Wei together while excluding Wu. KYC does not comment.

22. Substituting wai (外) for nei (內). (Ling Shu).

23. In BC 563 (Hsiang 10.1), the Duke of Lu, the Marquis of Chin, the Duke of Sung, the Marquis of Wei, the Earl of Ts'ao, the Viscount of Chü (楚), the Viscount of Chu, the Viscount of T'eng (滕), the Earl of Hsüeh (薛), the Viscount of Hsiao-chu (少邾), and the Crown Prince of Ch'i, met Wu at Cha. The wording of SA excludes Wu while grouping the remainder together. Again KYC does not comment.

24. See CCFL 17, p.4.



25. According to KYC, Sheng was extinguished in BC 686 (Chuang 8.3) by Lu and Ch'i (although the wording of SA indicates only a surrender to the Ch'i army), yet the Earl of Sheng is recorded as having fled to Lu some seventy-one years later, in BC 615 (Wen 12.1). KYC explains that he had lost his territory, and that his name is not given in SA because he was related to the royal line of Lu. KYC gives the same explanation for the omission of the Viscount of Kao's name when he came to Lu in BC 640 (Hsi 20.2).

26. The younger brother of the Earl of Ch'in fled to Chin in BC 541 (Chao 1.4), while the younger brother of the Duke of Sung fled to Ch'en in BC 500 (Ting 10.12).

27. By naming the Marquis of Wei when he destroyed Hsing (晉) in BC 635 (Hsi 25.1), KYC understand SA to be censuring him for destroying a state of the same surname.

28. This translation agrees with Lu Wen-chao that there is text missing from this point. cf. CCFL 6, p.6,7.

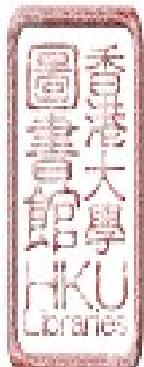
29. Two dates, fifteen days apart, are given for the death of the Marquis of Ch'en, in BC 707 (Huan 5.1). KYC explains that on the first of these dates, the Marquis disappeared, while on the second his dead body was found. It gives madness as the reason for his disappearance.

30. Occurred BC 644 (Hsi 16.1). This event is also mentioned in CCFL 6, p.4. The point here is the order of the words in SA. The five comes after 'meteorite', explains KYC, it was first noted that they were meteorites, and only upon examination was the number determined. Conversely, the number of six precedes 'fish-hawks' because it was first noted that there were this number, and only upon examination was it established what species they were.

31. Adding a meng (盟) after hui (會). (Ling Shu).

32. The duke of Lu entered into a covenant with the ruler of the dependent state Chu, for whom SA records the 'style' at this juncture, in BC 722 (Yin 1.2). Chu was shortly to become a full-fledged state.

33. KYC explains that the Earl of Cheng (CCFL here gives him his posthumous name and title) was assassinated on the way to the meeting with the feudal lords at Wei (魏) in BC 566 (Hsiang 7.9). It explains that SA says that "he was going to the meeting" to indicate his intention of going.



34. See CCFL 6, p.11. In BC 594 (Hsian 15.3), when Chin extinguished the barbarian clan surnamed Lu, SA accords its ruler the title 'viscount'.

35. The locations for this and the following four incidents are given at the beginning. This translation has placed each with its respective event. In the first, Ch'en fled from the meeting of the feudal lords at Wei in BC 566 (Hsiang 7.10). KYC does not comment. CCFL gives Ts'ao as the location of the meeting. Ts'ao was near Wei, and was the site of the death of the Earl of Cheng at this time. (cf. ff.33 above.)

36. Likewise, the Earl of Cheng fled from the covenant of the feudal lords at Shou-tai in BC 655 (Hsi 5.5,6).

37. In BC 652 (Hsi 8.1,2), when the Earl of Cheng begged to take part in the covenant, KYC explains that he stayed behind in his state when making this request.

38. In BC 632 (Hsi 28.8,9), when SA says that "the Marquis of Ch'en went to the meeting", KYC explains that he was late for it.

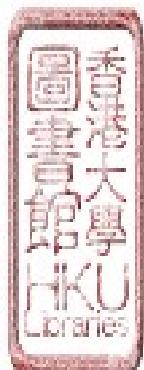
39. Lu's covenant with Ch'i at T'ao was concluded in BC 715 (Yin 8.8). KYC explains that it was contracted in order to alleviate Ch'u's suspicions of Lu.

40. The rulers of T'eng and Hsieh came to the court of Lu in BC 712 (Yin 11.1). Here they are accorded the title of marquis, but they are more usually referred to as 'viscount' and 'earl' respectively.

41. See CCFL 2,p.2. When the Duke of Chou crossed the state without proper ritual SA says tersely that Shih (室) came".

42. A representative of Wu first visited Lu in BC 544 (Hsiang 29.8) while Ch'u's first emissary arrived in BC 671 (Chuang 23.5). KYC indicates approval of both.

43. When the Duke of Sung died at Ch'i-chi in BC 517 (Chao 25.9) KYC explains that SA mentioned it because he had been grieving for Lu. The same explanation is given for the death of the Crown Prince Shou (子) of Ts'ao in the battle of An, BC 589 (Ch'eng 2.3).

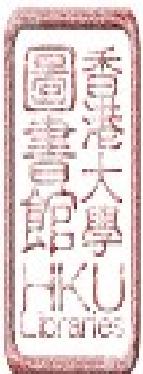


CCFL 34:**"Serving Basics"**

Ritual is a continuation of Heaven and Earth, the embodiment of the Yin and the Yang, and (that which) is attentive to host and guest. It ords<sup>er</sup> the position of honoured and mean, noble and lowly, and great and small. It differentiates the classes internal and external, distant and near, new and old. When virtue is great it is an omen. When the ten thousand things are extensive and abundant year after year for a long time, it is (also) an omen. Of those in the sky which are omens of Heaven, none is greater than the sun and moon. They are the connecting lights of Heaven and Earth and their brilliance cannot but illuminate. As for stars, none are greater than the Ta-ch'en,<sup>1</sup> the Northern Dipper, and the regular stars. There are three hundred divisions in the stars, and three thousand outer stars.<sup>2</sup> Ta-huo (太燄) has sixteen stars;<sup>3</sup> Fa (伐) has thirteen stars;<sup>4</sup> the Northern Dipper has seven stars; and the regular stars have twenty-eight constellations.<sup>5</sup> ...<sup>6</sup> This is similar to the one hundred stems of the milfoil plant<sup>7</sup> making one stalk. (After) one thousand years, the tortoise<sup>8</sup> is prized by man.<sup>9</sup> This is why the Three Dynasties continued to settle their doubts by means of it. In taking land, hill country is best. For a man to gain Heaven and win the masses, no one is better than the Son of Heaven who has received the mandate.



Below (him) come dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons. (All) the minds within the seas are anxious for the Son of Heaven. (All) the people within the borders are unified by (their) feudal lord. Eclipses of both the sun and moon announce bad fortune (for) they did not follow their (regular) paths.<sup>10</sup> There was a comet in the east,<sup>11</sup> in Ta-ch'en,<sup>12</sup> and entering the Northern Dipper.<sup>13</sup> The regular stars were not seen,<sup>14</sup> there were earthquakes,<sup>15</sup> Liang-shan (梁山) and Sha-lu (沙鹿) fell,<sup>16</sup> and there were fires (on the same day) in Sung, Wei, Ch'en, and Cheng.<sup>17</sup> Kings and dukes were usurped and killed by their nobles. All of these, the Spring and Autumn Annals recorded as serious anomalous occurrences. It did not record that the trails of the myriad stars came and fell like rain,<sup>18</sup> (nor that) there were attacks and destructions of plain and marsha. The deaths of the common people of a state cannot be predicted by the various plants. It is only in the names of fields and cities that the owner's name is usually recorded.<sup>19</sup> When the ruler acts as a general, it does not mention the official; and if it is an official, it does not mention the army.<sup>20</sup> When the king is wounded or the ruler is captured it does not say that the army was defeated.<sup>21</sup> Confucius said: "Only Heaven is great, and or Shao imitated it." (Thus) the imitator was (also) great. "Majestic was he in the merit achieved."<sup>22</sup> (This) says he achieved merit because his honour was great. If (Dukes) Huan



of Ch'i and Wen of Chin had not honoured the House of Chou, they would have been unable to be overlords. If the sages of the Three Dynasties had not imitated Heaven and Earth, they would have been unable to become king. Looking at it from this (point of view), we can understand the nobility of Heaven and Earth. If a river is deep, its waters cannot be measured. If honour is extreme, then respect is infinite. This is the reason that even though Heaven may give disaster and harm, it is still accepted and given importance, and infinite reverence. Such was (the case when) the temple of I-po (夷伯) was struck by lightning.<sup>23</sup> Heaven has no mistaken disasters, but earth has terrifying anomalous occurrences. The Spring and Autumn Annals does not dare to omit (them) and is attentive to those the Son of Heaven has cut off and those armies he has defeated even though he was not in accord with the Way.<sup>24</sup> There are a multitude (of instances when it is recorded that) an army went out, but no record of their return. When we come to: "(Our) army together with an army from Ch'i besieged Sheng, and Sheng surrendered to the Ch'i army,"<sup>25</sup> here alone does it record the (army's) return. Because the ruler should not have plundered abroad, it could say it directly here. When we come to other armies, it is always the ruler's error. Thus it says: "It was not the army's crime."<sup>25</sup> (Therefore) ministers and sons do not receive the guilt of their rulers and fathers. It is of para-



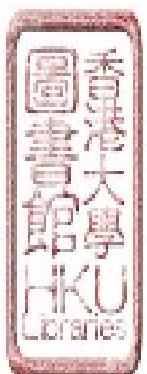
mount importance that the guilt is not the minister's or son's. If it is very clear, it gives it infinite illumination, but if it is very obscure, it gives it infinite concealment. Now the Spring and Autumn Annals records (the affairs of) Lu in order to explain the righteousness of the king. It gives less importance (Dukes) Yin and Huan, taking them as distant ancestors, but it honours (Dukes) Ting and Ai, taking them as deceased parents. They are greatly honoured and revered; manifest and brilliant. The additions to their territory and the reception of rich bounty were continuous and limitless. Constantly, for several decades prior to this, neighbouring recluses would approach their graves and (honour them as) revered and brilliant.<sup>26</sup> For the large states Ch'i and Cheng (it says): "When it is two (states) it does not call it a meeting."<sup>27</sup> (During the reign of Duke Ai) the deaths and burial ceremonies of the rulers of the minor states is recorded, and the phraseology is complete.<sup>28</sup> (Also at this time) the rulers of the far barbarians were given internal (phraseology) and they were no (longer) treated as external.<sup>29</sup> At this time, it did not (mention) Lu's border. When the strong among the feudal lords attacked (Duke) Ai, it always said (they 'attacked) us'.<sup>30</sup> Pi-wo (晉我) and K'uai (欒) of Chu were nobles of Chu and unrelated to Lu. They were made manifest because they were near (Dukes) Yin and Huan were related to the forebearers of (the writer of) the Spring and Autumn Annals. The day of the death



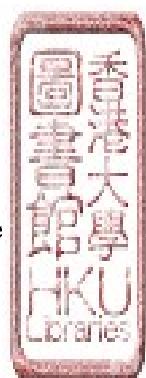
of (Prince) I-shih (易師) is not (recorded).<sup>32</sup> At the meeting at Chi (扱), it says that it was to alleviate the disorder in Sung.<sup>33</sup> (Thus) it made externals distant. At the meeting at Huang-ch'ih (黃邑) it used the phraseology accorded to two overlords to say that it did not consider them to be external, (but rather) close and internal.<sup>34</sup>

FOOTNOTES:

1. Ta-ch'en is Ta-huo. See ff.3 below.
2. These figures are approximate. Su Yü quotes the "Treatise on Astronomy" of the Chin-shu to the effect that the early astronomical charts showed two hundred and eighty-three groups of stars and one thousand four hundred and sixty-four separate stars.
3. Deleting erh (二). (Su Yü). Tao-huo is composed of the three constellations, Fang (房), four stars, (approx. GHA 16), Hsin (心), three stars (approx. GHA 16½), and Wei (尾), nine stars (approx. GHA 17 1/3).
4. The group of stars known as Fa is situated within the constellation Ts'an (氐) (approx. GHA 5 1/3), and is composed of only three stars. Su Yü surmises that the number thirteen is reached by including the seven stars from Ts'an, and the three stars from Tsui (觜). (The latter is another constellation just to the north of Ts'an, but of the same approximate GHA.)
5. Deleting chiu tz'u (九緝). (Su Yü).
6. This translation agrees with Su Yü and Lu Wen-chao that this next phrase of seven words is corrupt and ignores it. It agrees also with Lu Wen-chao that a passage has been lost from the text at this point.
7. The plant, the stalks of which are used in divination.
8. Tortoise shell was also used in divination.



9. Inserting wei (爲) after erh (而). (Lu Wen-chao).
10. cf. Songs II, 4.9.2; Legge, Classics IV, p.321.
11. Occurred BC 482 (Ai 13.10).
12. Occurred BC 525 (Chao 17.5).
13. Occurred BC 613 (Wen 14.6).
14. Occurred BC 687 (Chuang 7.2).
15. Five are recorded in SA, the first of which occurred BC 618 (Wen 9.12).
16. The former fell in BC 586 (Ch'eng 5.4), while the latter fell in BC 646 (Hsi 14.3).
17. Occurred BC 524 (Chao 18.2).
18. Stars fell like rain in the middle of the night in which the "regular stars did not appear" (Chuang 7.3). (see ff.14 above.)
19. cf. KYC Chao 1.6.
20. cf. KYC Yin 5.3.
21. cf. KYC Ch'eng 16.7, and Hsi 15.14.
22. Analects VIII.9. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.2.4).
23. Occurred BC 645 (Hsi 15.11). KYC does not illuminate the surrounding circumstances.
24. See for example the care with which the events surrounding the saving of Wei by the king's army is recorded in BC 688 (Chuang 6.1,2,3.).
25. SA, Chuang 8.3. KYC understands SA to be censuring Lu for this attack in BC 686, which resulted in the destruction of Sheng, a state of the same surname as Lu. The return of Lu's army is recorded, however (SA, Chuang 8.4), and KYC explains that the guilt, here, did not belong to the army.
26. The annotators are puzzled by this passage.
27. Substituting cheng (逞) for sung (爭). (Lu Wen-chao). One



of the occasions on which the quotation occurs in KYC is when SA records the fact that the rulers of Ch'i and Cheng went to Chi (邾) in BC 707 (Huan 5.2).

28. Lu Wen-chao says that in all cases during the reign of Duke Ai, the day of the death and the month of the burial of the rulers of minor states is given in SA.

29. Again during Duke Ai's reign, SA accords the requisite noble rank to all barbarian rulers.

30. Compare the wording in SA for the attacks on Lu of BC 675 (Chuang 19.5) and BC 487 (Ai 8.2). In the former the attack was on "our western border", while in the latter the attack was simply on "us".

31. Deleting shu ch'i (庶其), the first i (之), and adding k'uai (攷) after wo (我). (Lu Wen-chao). In BC 550 (Hsiang 23.3), Pi-wo fled to Lu, and in BC 515 (Chao 27.7) K'uai did the same. In both cases KYC explains that SA records the event in order to treat them as 'near'.

32. Prince I-shih died in BC 722 (Yin 1.7), and the day is not mentioned in SA. KYC comments tersely that he was too distant in time from Confucius.

33. Substituting yian (延) for t'ung (通). (Lu Wen-chao). The meeting occurred in BC 710 (Huan 2.4). The disorder in Sung refers to the assassination of the ruler (Huan 2.1), and the murder of Confucius' ancestor (Huan 2.2) earlier in the year.

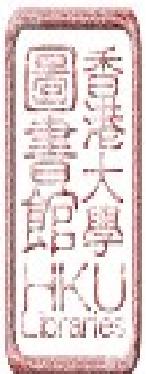
34. When the rulers of Lu, Chin and Wu met at Huang-ch'ih in BC 483 (Ai 13.3), it is in this manner that KYC explains why it is that SA accorded Wu's ruler noble rank.



CCFL 35:

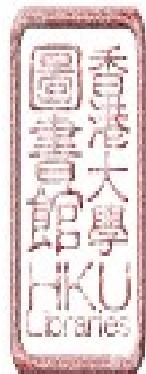
"A Comprehensive Examination of Names and  
Designations"

The study of the principles of the world is in the exhaustive discrimination of the important, and the exhaustive examination of the principles of the important lies in the comprehensive examination of names and designations. Names are the first section of the great principle. If they record the meaning of the first section (of the great principle), thereby giving insight into its action, then right and wrong can be known and the contrary and favourable will become self-evident. They (will thus) come close penetrating (the meaning) of the universe. The rectification of right and wrong is obtained from contrary and favourable; the rectification of contrary and favourable is obtained from names and designations; and the rectification of names and designations is obtained from the universe. The chief meaning of names and designations is the universe. The sages of antiquity shouted out (hsiao - 言高) imitating (hsiao - 言效) the universe. (These) were called designations (hao - 號號). And they cried out (ming - 告明) exposing the will (ming - 告命) (of Heaven). These were termed names (ming - 名名).<sup>1</sup> 'Names' means that they cried out and exposed (Heaven's) will. 'Designations' means that they shouted out and imitated (the universe). Shouting out and imitating the universe is 'designating', while crying out and (exposing Heaven's) will is called 'naming'.



(The words) 'name' and 'designation' have different pronunciations, but their basis is the same. All their crying out and shouting out<sup>2</sup> was a demonstration of Heaven's meaning.

Heaven does not speak (thus) causing man to manifest Its meaning; and it does not act (thus) causing him to do it correctly. Names are that in which (only) the sages manifested Heaven's meaning. This must be inspected comprehensively. The ruler, in receiving the Mandate (of Heaven) is granted Heaven's will. Therefore, he who is designated as the Son of Heaven ought to view Heaven as a father, and serve Heaven with filial piety. He who is designated a feudal lord ought to be respectful in viewing the Son of Heaven that he serves. He who is designated a noble ought to broaden his loyalty and trust, and to esteem ritual and propriety. This means that he is better than the common people and able to transform them. A knight (shih - 士) is a server (shih - 事), while the (common) people (min - 民) are asleep (ming - 門). A knight is unable to transform. He can be used only to conduct affairs, and follow his superiors. (These) five designations each have differentiation in their phraseology, (yet even) between (these) differentiations there are divisions. 'Names' are given to these divisions. Names grouped together are called designations. Designations are generic (terms). Names denote the specific. Designations generalize and summarize, while names

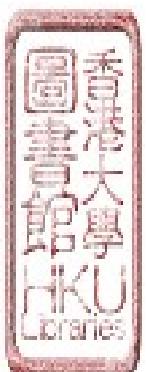


are particular and to the point. That which is to the point gives total definition, while that which is general only summarizes the scope. The act of presenting an offering in sacrifice to spirits and ghosts is designated in the one term as chi (祭). The specific names for chi are: tz'u (禱) for Spring, yüeh (禱) for Summer, ch'ang (饋) for Autumn, and cheng (賜) for Winter. The act of hunting for wild birds and animals is designated in one term as t'ien (畋). The specific names for t'ien are miao (苗) for Spring, sou (獵) for Autumn, and shou (狩) for Winter.<sup>3</sup> There are none of these which does not correspond to Heaven's meaning. Thus there is nothing which does not have a generic designation, and no designation which does not embrace (many) names. This is the reason that all things accord with their names and that all names accord with Heaven. (Thus) the bond between Heaven and Man joins and becomes one; in sameness, it is permeated by principle; in action, it benefits both; and in accord, it causes reciprocal interchange. This is called the Way of virtue. The Book of Songs says:

"But in calling out (hao - 呷) these words  
I have reason, I have proof."<sup>4</sup>

This refers to it.

In a comprehensive examination of the basic meaning of the designation 'king' (wang - 王) (we find) there are five



components. (These five) components are: majesty (hwang - 皇),<sup>5</sup> correct (fang - 方), aid (k'wang - 勉), yellow (hwang - 黄), and turning (wang - 往).<sup>6</sup> The word 'king' (implies) each of these.<sup>7</sup> This is the reason that if the king's will is not widespread and majestic (皇) then his Way cannot be straightforward and correct (方). If his Way cannot be straightforward and correct, then his virtue cannot be catholic in applying aid (勉). If his virtue cannot be catholic in applying aid, then goodness cannot be yellow (黄) (in colour). If goodness cannot be yellow (in colour) then the people will not turn (往) to him. (Finally), if people do not turn to him, then he is not complete in his kingliness. Therefore it is said: "Heaven covers all, while earth supports and contains.<sup>8</sup> The wind carries his orders and unifies his awe. The rain gives liberally and universalizes his virtue."<sup>9</sup> This refers to the art of kingship.

In a comprehensive examination of the basic meaning of the designation 'ruler' (chün - 臣) (we) also (find) there are five components. (These five) components are: primary (yüan - 元), source (yüan - 源), force (ch'dan - 力), warmth (wen - 温), and populous (ch'dan - 众).<sup>10</sup> The word 'ruler' (implies) each of these.<sup>11</sup> This is the reason that if the ruler's will is not the same as the primary (元), then his actions will cause



agricultural failure. If his actions cause agricultural failure, then his reign (lit. what he does) will not be established. If his reign is not established, then he will not be effective as a source (爲). If he is not effective as a source, then he abandons himself. If he abandons himself, then the transformation (of the people) does not occur. (If the transformation of the people) does not occur, then he (must) use force (力) to change them).<sup>12</sup> If he (must) use force to change them, he misses what is suitable. If he misses what is suitable, then the (Kingly) Way becomes unjust, and (his) virtue does not give warmth (溫) (to the people). If the (Kingly) Way becomes unjust and (his) virtue does not aid (the people), then the masses are neither friendly nor peaceful. If the masses are neither friendly nor peaceful, then they scatter and are not populous (散). (Finally), if they scatter and are not populous, then he is not complete in his rulership.

Names are created from reality. If they are not reality, then they cannot be considered names. Names are the means by which the sages realized phenomena. Names is a way of saying reality. All arguments contain obscurities. But if everyone would turn (their words) back to (their) reality, then the (original) obscurities would be clarified. If you wish to determine crookedness or straightness, it is best to use a



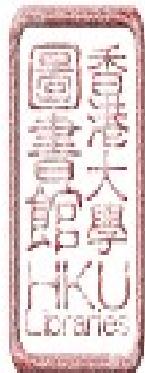
measuring line. Should you wish to determine truth or falsehood, it is best to use names. Names in a determination of truth or falsehood, are similar to a measuring line in the determination of crookedness or straightness. We investigate the name and the reality, and watch for differences. Thus the situation of truth and falsehood cannot be mutually confused.

Nowadays we are unclear about (the meaning of the word) nature (hsing - 性), and those who talk about it disagree. Let us examine (this problem) by returning to the name 'nature'. Does it not (mean) to be inborn? If we call the substance which is naturally inborn 'nature', then 'nature' is the basic substance. But when we examine the basic quality, nature, against the name, good, surely they do not fit! Since they do not fit, how can we continue to call this basic quality good! The name 'nature' cannot be alienated from 'basic quality', and if it is alienated, by so much as a hair, from 'basic quality', then it is no (longer) 'nature'. This must be made clear. It is by rectifying names that the Spring and Autumn Annals discriminates between the principles of things. In naming things it follows (strictest) reality, not missing (by so much as) the tip of an autumn hair. Therefore, in referring (ming - 名) (to the affair of) the meteorites, (the fact that) they were five (in number was mentioned) last.<sup>13</sup> And in relating (the affair in which) the fish-hawks flew backwards,



backwards, (the fact that) they were six (in number was mentioned) first.<sup>14</sup> Thus was the care with which the Sage rectified names. "With respect to his words, the superior man is totally without carelessness".<sup>15</sup> The narration (of the events of) the five meteorites and the six fish-hawks (is an example of) this.

That which controls (jen - 拙) the multitude of evils within and forbids them egress is the mind. Therefore the mind is named the controller. If the aura received by an individual were indeed without evil, then why should the mind control? From the name, mind, I have discovered the true nature of man. In the true nature of man there is (both) selfishness and humanity. The auras of (both) selfishness and humanity exist in the body. The name, body, is taken from Heaven. (Where) Heaven has the dual action of the Yin and Yang, the body has the dual natures of selfishness and humanity. (Where) Heaven has restrictions on the Yin and Yang, the body has controls over the feelings and desires. (This) is the same as the Way of Heaven. This is the reason that the action of the Yin is not exerted in the Spring and Summer and that the moon's rays are always suppressed by the sun's; sometimes it is full and sometimes it disappears. Thus is the restriction of Heaven on the Yin. How can we not stop our desires and restrict our feelings in order to respond to Heaven! Because



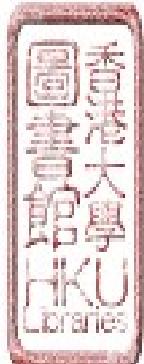
the body restricts that which Heaven restricts we say that the body is similar to Heaven. To restrict that which Heaven restricts is not to restrict Heaven (itself). We must know that without the benefit of an education our Heaven (-endowed) nature can never be controlled. When we examine reality in order to give names, what grounds have we (to consider nature good) when there has been no education!

Therefore nature is comparable to the rice plant, (while) goodness is comparable to the rice grain. The grain comes from the plant but the plant is not entirely grain. Goodness comes from the nature, but the nature is not entirely good. (Both) goodness and grain are that by which man continues and completes Heaven's (will). (Both) are beyond rather than within (the scope) of Heaven's actions. The actions of Heaven have (a point) to which they extend and at which they stop. (That which) is within Its scope is called our Heaven (-endowed) nature, (while that which) is beyond Its scope is called human affairs. (Although human) affairs are beyond (the scope) of the nature, the nature must complete its virtue. The designation for the (common) people (min - 人) is taken from (the word) 'asleep' (ming - 眠). If the nature were already good, then why is its designation taken from (the word) 'asleep'? By means of (the word) fall we indicate that if they are not held in place, they topple, sink and become disordered. How



can this be good!

Nature is similar to the eyes. When the eyes rest, there is darkness and then sleep. (We must) await awakening before there is sight. Before the awakening we can say that there is basic substance of sight, but we cannot say there is sight. Now the nature of all people possesses the basic substance (of goodness) but they are not yet awakened. It is comparable to the sleeper awaiting awakening. (Only) after they are educated is it good. Before they are awakened it can be said that they have the basic substance of goodness, but it cannot be said that it is good. This is the same as the eyes being asleep and then awakening. If we calm our minds and carefully examine them, these words can be seen (to be true). That the nature is like sleep before awakening is an act of Heaven. We imitate Heaven's act in creating the designation. Therefore we refer to people as min (because) it is similar to (the word for) asleep (ming). If we follow names and designations thus penetrating their principles, then we do obtain (their meaning). Thus the rectification of names and designations (is obtained) from the universe. The universe produces nature and feelings (ch'ing - 情). The nature and feelings are united and in a state of sleep. Feelings are (a part of) the nature. If we say that the nature is already good, what, indeed, can we say about the feelings!



Therefore the Sage did not say that the nature is good. (This would have) injured the name.

The body's having nature and feelings is similar to Heaven's having Yin and Yang. To say that man's basic substance is without feelings is like saying that Heaven is Yang without Yin. (Such) forced arguments have never been acceptable. The name 'nature' refers neither to the superior nor the inferior but to the average. Nature is like a cocoon or an egg. An egg must wait for hatching (before) it becomes a chick; and a cocoon must wait until it is unravelled (before) it becomes silk. Nature must await instruction (before) it becomes good. This refers to the reality of Heaven's (will). Heaven creates people whose nature contains the basic substance of goodness which is unable to become good (independently). Thereupon It establishes a king in order to make it good. This is the will of Heaven. The people receive a nature, which is unable (of itself) to become good, from Heaven, and they turn to the king for the instruction which will complete their nature. The king receives the will of Heaven and thus becomes the one responsible for the completion of the natures of his people.

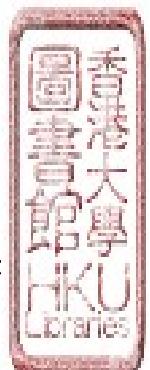
Now basing (our arguments) on the reality of human nature (we say that) those who say that the nature of the people is



already good, neglect the will of Heaven and abolish the responsibility of the king. If the nature of the people were already good, then what responsibility would remain with the king who had received the Mandate of Heaven? This is using names incorrectly thus causing the heavy responsibility (of the king) to be abandoned and the will of Heaven to be disobeyed. It is not a true saying. In the phraseology of the Spring and Autumn Annals, it speaks from the externals (of a case) if the internals depend on the externals. Now the nature of all the people depends on external instruction before it can become good. Goodness is related to instruction, not to nature. If it were related to nature it would be troublesome and crude; (we) could achieve merit ourselves without (the help of) wise people or sages. This is a source of error of (several of) my senior contemporaries. It is not the way of the phraseology of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Incorrect wording and theories not based in experience are avoided by the gentleman. What use are they?

Some (might) say: "The nature contains the beginnings of goodness and the heart contains the basic substance of goodness. How can you still maintain that they are not good?"

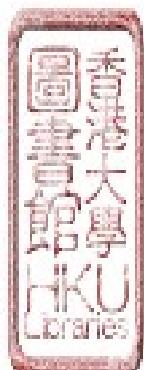
I would reply saying: "You are wrong. The cocoon has silk, but the cocoon is not silk. The egg contains a chick but



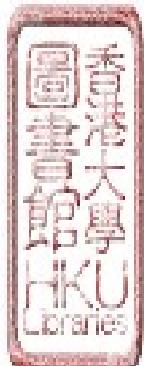
the egg is not a chick. If you follow these examples, then what doubts can there be? In creating people, Heaven has its great principle<sup>16</sup> and those who speak about nature ought not to disagree. Yet there are some who say nature is good and others who hold that it is not good. Thus each hold a different opinion about that which is referred to as good.

Nature has the beginnings of goodness which is activated in the love of one's parents. Since (man) is better than wild birds and animals, this is termed goodness - this is Mencius' goodness. Accord with the Three Bonds and the Five Regulators; understand the principles of the Eight Beginnings;<sup>17</sup> be loyal, trustworthy, and altruistic; and be modest and love ritual. (This) then, can be called goodness, and this was the Sage's goodness. Therefore Confucius said: "A good man is not mine to see; could I see a man of constancy, that would satisfy me."<sup>18</sup>

Looking at it from this, we know that what the Sage called goodness was not easy to attain. It is not being better than wild birds and animals that is termed goodness. If stirring the beginnings (of goodness) and being better than animals can be termed goodness, how is it that goodness is not apparent? Being better than animals not being goodness, is similar to being more intelligent than the grass and trees and not being named intelligent. The nature of the people is (indeed) better

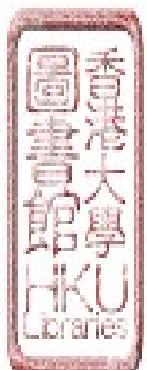


than birds and animals, but this cannot be named goodness. The word 'intelligent' is derived from 'sage'. The world considers correct, that which the Sage ordered. We correct day and night by observing the pole-star; and to correct suspicions and doubts, we (ought to) observe the Sage. The Sage considered that in an age without a king, of the people who had, (as a consequence) not received instruction, none could attain goodness. Thus is the attaining of goodness difficult. To say that all of (such) people could attain it is a mistake. When measured against the nature of animals, the people's nature is good. But when measured against the goodness of the (proper) Way of man, the people do not come up to it. It is permissible to say that the nature of the people is better than birds and animals, but it is not permissible (to say they are) what the Sage called good. This is the reason that my standards in the naming (名) of nature differ from Mencius. Mencius lowered his standards to the actions of birds and animals and therefore he said that nature is already good. I have raised my standards to what the Sage considered good. I say, therefore, that nature is not (already) good. Goodness is greater than nature, and the Sage is greater than goodness. The Spring and Autumn Annals gives importance to origins without regard for its root, how can we call that which is not yet good, already good?



FOOTNOTES:

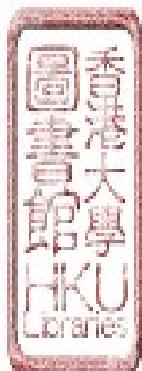
1. In archaic Chinese the rhymes in each of these series was almost identical. The initial consonants were merely similar. cf. B. Karlgren, Grammata Serica, (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co. 1966). The following notes on archaic pronunciation were all checked in this source.
2. Reading hao in the second tone.
3. Hsien (犧) for summer is omitted in accordance with the commentary. Of the three Commentaries and the Classic itself, the term occurs in the TC only. (cf. KYC, Huan 4.1).
4. Songs II.4.8.6. Legge, Classics IV, p.317. The present rescentration of the Songs has chi (兮) for chi (迄) of CCFL. This does not change the meaning of the two lines.
5. Yellow is generally associated with the colour of loess, the centre, reliability, genuineness, and the banners of Heaven.
6. As for 1. above.
7. In translation this sentence is an abbreviation of the repetitious original.
8. Reading shou (叟) for ai (爰). (Lu Wen-chao).
9. Source unknown.
10. As for 1. above. In this case however, the rhymes are slightly less similar.
11. As for 7. above.
12. The sentence in brackets is a suggested reconstruction for the one which has obviously been lost from the text.
13. The event occurred in BC 644 (Hsi 16.1). It is explained in the KYC that this order of narration is used because the meteorites were seen first while the number was ascertained only later.
14. This event also occurred in BC 644 (Hsi 16.1). It is explained in the KYC that this order of narration was used because the number of birds was noticed before their species was determined.
15. Analects 13.3.7. Legge, Classics I, p.264.



16. Reading ta (太) for liu (六). (Lu Wen-chao).

17. The Three Bonds were between: ruler and minister; father and son; and husband and wife. The Five Regulators were the regulators of time: years, months (moon), days (sun), the stars, and calendar calculations. In the commentary, however, Ling Shu indicates that he believes Tung to have meant the Six Relationships which were: paternal uncles, brothers, fellow clansmen, maternal uncles, teachers, and friends. The eight beginnings were probably: commiseration, love, morality, righteousness, deference, propriety, shame and wisdom. cf. W. T. Chan, Chinese Philosophy, p.277, ff.16,17.18.

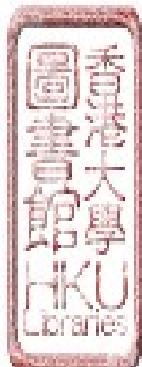
18. Analects VII.25.2. Legge, Classics I, p.203. The wording is Legge's. The present reseption of the Analects reads heng (恆) for CCFL ch'ang (常). CCFL had also dropped the first i (矣) of this passage. Neither differences change the meaning.



CCFL 36:**"The Reality of Nature"**

Confucius said: "If names are not correct, then speech will not accord with (reality)"<sup>1</sup>. Now to say that 'nature' is already good, is similar (to saying that we ought to) follow our natural inclinations without (having received a suitable) education. Neither is it in accord with the Way of conducting (good) government. Its names is 'nature's' reality; and its reality is the basic substance of 'nature'. What proof have we then, that this basic substance is capable of goodness when there has been no education?

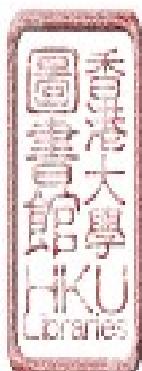
Goodness is like a rice-grain while 'nature' is like the rice plant. Although the grain comes from the plant, the (entire) plant cannot be called the grain. (Similarly) although goodness comes from the 'nature', the 'nature' cannot be called good. Grain and goodness (both) are what mankind continues and completes beyond (the scope of) Heaven; they are not within the scope of Heaven's actions. Heaven's actions have a stopping point which is not exceeded. Within that stopping point is called Heaven, while beyond it is called the instruction of the king. The instruction of the king is external to 'nature' and 'nature' cannot but comply with it. Therefore I say that 'nature' has the basic substance of goodness, but it cannot (of itself) become good. (Since) this is the reality (of the situ-



ation), how could I dare to state it differently?<sup>2</sup>

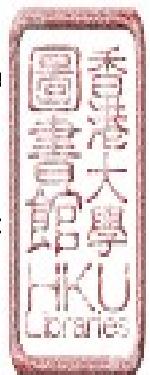
The actions of Heaven stop with the cocoon, the hemp plant and the rice plant. The making of cloth from hemp; the making of silk from cocoons; the (cultivation of the) rice plant to make grain;<sup>3</sup> and the creation of goodness in the 'nature': all these are what the sages did in order to advance and continue (the will of) Heaven. They could not be affected by the basic substance of the feelings and the 'nature'. We cannot, therefore, say that (they were done by the uneducated) 'nature'. To rectify the time, we observe Polaris; and to rectify suspicions and doubts, we (ought to) observe the Sage. We can consider the way the Sage gave names to (the phenomena of) the world to be correct. Now if we examine the words of the Sage, nowhere (do we find that) he names nature as good. (We do find that) there is, however, "I will never see a good man".<sup>4</sup> If the 'nature' of all the people were already good, how is it that he did not see a good person? If we examine Confucius' words, (we find that) the meaning of this is that goodness is extremely difficult to attain. But Mencius thought that the 'nature' of all the people had already attained it. He was mistaken.

The 'nature' of the Sage cannot be named 'nature'; neither can the 'nature' of fools<sup>5</sup> be named 'nature'. That which is



named 'nature' is that of the average person. The 'nature' of the average person is like cocoons and eggs. Eggs must be brooded for twenty days before they become chicks; and cocoons must be washed in boiling water before it becomes silk. 'Nature' must be imbued with education before it can become good. Goodness is that which is accomplished by education. It is not that which the basic substance can bring about (of itself). Therefore we cannot say that nature (of itself can bring it about.)

We must understand the name 'nature'. It does not wait for anything, for it is inborn and inherent. To make good that which is inherent, (depends) not on 'nature' but on education. Thus grain comes from the millet plant, but the plant cannot be called the grain; and cut jade comes from jade bearing rock, but jade bearing rock cannot be called cut jade. (Similarly) goodness comes from the 'nature', but the 'nature' cannot be called good. There are many examples from nature in which this is so. If you consider it not to be so for 'nature', then how are the analogies not applicable? The 'nature' of an egg cannot (of itself) produce a chick; the 'nature' of a cocoon cannot (of itself) become silk; the 'nature' of hemp cannot (of itself) become floss; and the nature of millet cannot (of itself) become grain. The Spring and Autumn Annals differentiates the principles of things, thus rectifying names. In naming a thing it is necessary that each accord with its reality. When (both) meaning and



feeling are realized, then it can be considered to be (the correct) name. Thus (the Spring and Autumn Annals first) mentions the meteorites, and (only) later (the number) five; and (in the case of the fish-hawks, mentions the number) six first.<sup>6</sup> Both these (cases indicate) the reality (of the situation). The sage in "speaking was extremely careful."<sup>7</sup>

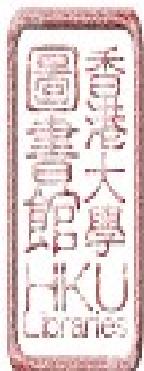
'Nature' is the basic substance given by Heaven, while goodness is (the result of) the transforming (influence) of the king's instruction. Were there not this basic substance, then the king's instruction could not transform; and without the king's instruction the basic substance could not become good. (Thus) the basic substance would not make the (entire) nature good. When a name is used incorrectly, it is unacceptable.<sup>8</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Analects 13.3.5. Legge, Classics I, p.273. Waley, Analects, p.177.
2. Reading i (爰) for mei (彙) as suggested by the commentary.
3. The present rescentration of the text actually reads: "the making of cooked rice from the rice grain". The change in the translation of this passage was made, in accordance with the commentary, in order to follow the logic of the previous sentence.
4. Analects 7.25.2. Legge, Classics I, p.203. Waley, Analect p.128. A fuller quotation from the same passage is to be found in CCFL 35 (cf. ff.18). In this one the erh (而) following the te (得) has been lost.
5. Literally, "pecks and hampers". This phrase is used in Analects 13.20.4, by Confucius.



6. Occurred Hsi (僞) 16.1. CCFL 35 ff.13 and 14 refer.
7. Analects 13.3.7, cf. CCFL 35 ff.15
8. The commentary notes the striking similarity between this chapter and the preceding one. It suggests the probability that this chapter is a later forgery.



CCFL 37:"The Feudal Lords"

We are born, nourished, and brought up and again give birth. It ends and begins again. It is this process which enriches the masses without end. Although Heaven does not speak, Its intention to give a sufficiency is obvious. The sages of old perceived Heaven's generosity towards mankind. Therefore they faced south and ruled the world. But it was necessary that they cause equal benefit to those places which were so distant that their eyes could not see them, and those which were so hidden that their ears could not hear about them. Consequently they cut off those territories which were beyond a thousand li together with their inhabitants, and established states and set up rulers for them. The Son of Heaven had them on his behalf see and hear that which he could not, and at the court ceremony they were summoned and questioned. 'Feudal lords' (chu hou - 賈侯) is similar to the wording of "all those who serve" (chu hou - 賈侯).<sup>1</sup>

FOOTNOTES:

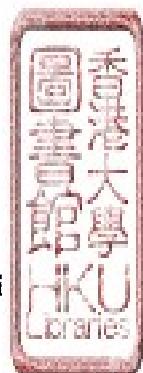
1. Clearly this is but a fragment of a complete chapter.



CCFL 38:**"The Reply on the Five Elements"**

King Hsien (侯軒) of Ho-chien (河間)<sup>1</sup> questioned Master Tung of Wen (溫)<sup>2</sup> City saying: "In the Hsiao-ching it says: 'Filial piety is the constant of Heaven and the righteousness of Earth.'<sup>3</sup> Why does it say (this)?"

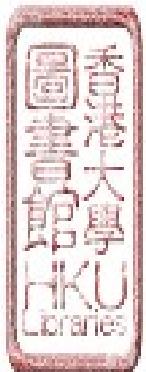
(Tung Chung-shu) replied saying: "Heaven has the five elements. They are: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. Wood engenders fire; fire engenders earth; earth engenders metal; and metal engenders water. Water acts in the winter; metal acts in the autumn; earth acts in the last month of summer; fire acts in the summer; and wood acts in the spring. Spring controls birth; summer controls growth; the last month of summer controls maturation; autumn controls harvesting; and winter controls storing. Storing is what winter completes. This is the reason that whatever the father produces, the son causes to grow; whatever the father causes to grow, the son causes to mature; and whatever the father causes to mature, the son brings to completion. Whatever the father does, the son receives it and carries on the process. He does not dare but to cause it to accord with his father's wishes. (This) completes the Way of mankind. Therefore the five elements are the five actions. Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) the father transmits it and the son receives it. This



is the Way of Heaven. Therefore it says that filial piety is the constant of Heaven. This refers to it.

The King said: "Excellent! I have now heard of the constant of Heaven, but I wish (still) to hear of the righteousness of Earth."

(Tung Chung-shu) replied saying: "Earth puts forth the clouds to make the rain, and gives rise to the gases which cause the wind. Wind and rain are the actions of the earth, but earth does not dare to take the credit. That honour must be sent up to Heaven. It is proclaimed as though they followed Heaven's aura. Therefore we say, Heaven's wind, and Heaven's rain. No one says, Earth's wind and Earth's rain. The industry and labour are Earth's, but the honour goes immediately to Heaven. If (Earth) did not have an infinity of righteousness, how could it be able to practise this. Thus inferior serves superior in the same way that Earth serves Heaven. This can be called great loyalty. Earth is the child of fire, and of the five elements, none is more noble than earth. Earth does not command a season, and does not divide credit and honour with fire. Wood indicates spring; fire indicates summer, metal indicates autumn, and water indicates winter. The righteousness of the loyal minister and the actions of a filial son are taken from (the example of) earth. Earth is the most noble

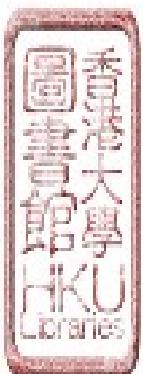


of the five elements, and its righteousness cannot be increased upon. Of the five sounds, none is more honoured than kung (公);<sup>4</sup> of the five flavours, none is more honoured than sweet-ness; and of the five colours, none is more honoured than yellow. This (is why) it says that filial piety is the righteousness of Earth."

The King said: "Excellent!"<sup>5</sup>

FOOTNOTES:

1. King Hsien was a brother of Emperor Ching who was infeudated with Ho-chien in BC 155, and ruled it until he died in BC 130.
2. Tung Chung-shu was in fact from Kuang-ch'uan (匡川), and commentators have had much trouble with this statement. It is generally felt that Wen is a mistake for Ch'ang (長) which was a place near if not in Kuang-ch'uan. Wen, however, was a hsien in Ho-nei (河內), a commandery some distance to the southwest.
3. Hsiao-ching, "San-Ts'ai" (三才).
4. The first note of the ancient musical scale.
5. The remainder of this chapter has been moved to form the last paragraph of CCFL 41. (Su Yü.)



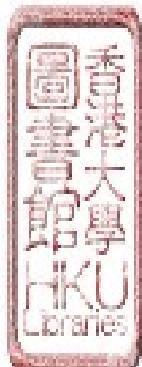
CCFL 39: Lost.

CCFL 40: Lost.

CCFL 41:

"The Creator of Man is Heaven"

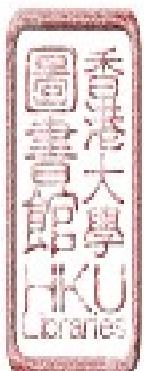
The giver of birth could not be the (actual) creator of mankind. The creator of mankind is Heaven, and man's human behaviour<sup>1</sup> is based in Heaven. (Thus) Heaven is the distant ancestor of mankind. This is the reason that mankind is thus ranked above with Heaven. The body of man assimilates Heaven's number and is completed. The physical power of man assimilates Heaven's will and is humane. The virtuous behaviour of man assimilates Heaven's principle and is righteous. The likes and dislikes of man assimilate Heaven's warmth and clarity. The joys and angers of mankind assimilate Heaven's cold and heat. The fate which man receives, assimilates Heaven's four seasons. Human life has joy, anger, remorse, and pleasure. (These) correspond to the categories spring, autumn, winter, summer. Joy corresponds to spring; anger corresponds to autumn; pleasure corresponds to summer; and remorse corresponds to winter. The duplicate of Heaven is in mankind. Man's feelings and nature are also from Heaven. Therefore I say that the command received from Heaven is that which controls mankind.<sup>2</sup> As for the Way, nothing is clearer than examining the body's (resemblance to) Heaven. If Heaven (can make) it appear, It will cause it to appear. To correspond to (the way in which) Heaven sends forth



the four seasons, we must be loyal in the receiving of it. Thus the government of (Emperors) Yao and Shun could not be improved upon. Thus (the people) could be (allowed) to live, or they could be killed, but they could not be urged to disorder. Therefore it says: "If it is illegal I will not speak of it, and if it is not (in accordance with) the Way, I will not practise it."<sup>3</sup> This refers to it.

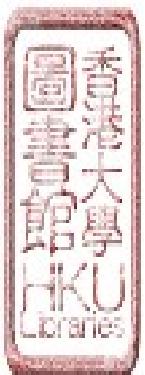
Tradition says:<sup>4</sup> "Only the Son of Heaven receives orders from Heaven. The world<sup>5</sup> receives orders from the Son of Heaven.<sup>6</sup>" (The people of) a single state, receive their orders from their ruler. "If the ruler's orders are favourable, then the people<sup>7</sup> have favourable orders, but if the ruler's orders are harsh, then the people<sup>7</sup> have harsh orders." Therefore it says: "When one man has good fortune, the myriad peoples rely on him."<sup>8</sup> This refers to it.

Tradition says that government has three beginnings. If father and son are not close, then cause them to be loving. If the senior ministers are not harmonious, then cause them to respect and accord with ritual. If the common people are not peaceful, then encourage them to be filial and brotherly. Filial piety and brotherly love are the means by which the people are pacified. Encouragement is to practise it personally in order



to change them. The way of Heaven and Earth cannot by means of heat and cold alone, complete the year. There must be spring, summer, autumn and winter. The Way of the sage cannot by power alone complete (good) government. He must have moral suasion. Therefore I say that you (should) lead them with boundless love, thus teaching them humanity. The true gentleman does not honour things which are difficult to acquire, thus teaching them righteousness. Even the Son of Heaven must have (that which he) honours, thus teaching them filial piety. He must have priorities, thus teaching them brotherly love. This (shows) that power alone is not sufficient to rely on. Is not the merit of moral suasion great!

Tradition says that Heaven gives us birth; that Earth supports us; and that the sage teaches us. The ruler is the mind of the people. The people are the body of the ruler. With whatever the mind likes, the body must be at ease. (Thus) the people must follow whatever the ruler likes. Therefore, the ruler and the people honour filial piety and brotherly love. They love ritual and righteousness, give importance to humanity and purity and despise wealth and profit. This is managed personally above, and the myriad peoples listen and cause goodness below. Therefore it says: "The teachings of the former kings can transform the people."<sup>9</sup> This refers to it.<sup>10</sup>



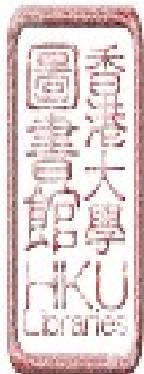
Clothing and appearance are the means by which the eye is pleased. Sound and response are the means by which the ear is pleased. The dismissal or retention of evil or good is the means by which the mind is pleased. Therefore the clothing of the gentleman is correct and his appearance is respectful, thus pleasing the eye. His words are principled and his replies humble, thus pleasing the ear. He loves humanity and generosity, and he hates shallowness and pettiness; he follows good people and avoids mean (people), thus pleasing the mind. Therefore it is said: "Practise (what) thought enjoys, ... and demeanour can be gazed upon."<sup>11</sup> This refers to it.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Inserting wei (爲) after chih (之). (Lu Wen-chao).
2. Substituting che (惖) for yeh (也). (Su Yü).
3. Hsiao-ching, "Ch'ing Ta-fu" (淸大夫). CCFL reverses the order of the lines. This translation returns them to the original sequence.
4. Much of this paragraph is similar to Li-chi, "Piao-chi" (表記). Like sections are given inside quotation marks here and the differences are noted below.
5. Li-chi has "knights" (shih - 士).
6. Li-chi has "ruler" (chün - 君).
7. Li-chi has "officials" (ch'en - 臣).
8. History 5.27.13, (Legge, Classics III, p.600), has chao (翫) for wan (翫).

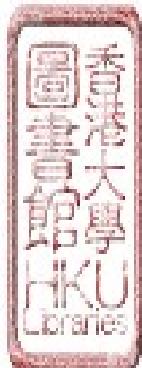


9. Hsiao-ching, "San-ts'ai" (三才).
10. The following paragraph was printed as the last paragraph of CCFL 38.
11. Hsiao-ching, "Sheng Cun" (生存).

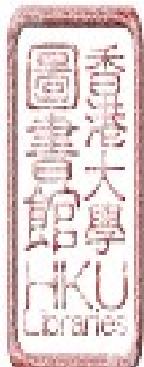


CCFL 42:"The Meaning of the Five Elements"

Heaven has the five elements. The first is called wood; the second is called fire; the third is called earth; the fourth is called metal; and the fifth is called water. Wood is the beginning of the five elements; water is the end of the five elements; and earth is the middle of the five elements. This is the sequence ordered by Heaven.<sup>1</sup> Wood engenders fire; fire engenders earth; earth engenders metal; metal engenders water; and water engenders wood. This is their father and son (relationship). Wood occupies the left; metal occupies the right; fire occupies the front; water occupies the back; and earth occupies the centre. This is the order of the father and son (relationship) in receiving from and giving to each other. Thus wood receives from water; and fire receives from wood; earth receives from fire; metal receives from earth; and water receives from metal. All who give act as fathers, and all who receive act as sons. It is the Way of Heaven that the son be constantly caused to follow the father. As soon as wood is born, fire nourishes it; and as soon as metal dies, water stores it away. Fire takes pleasure in wood and nourishes it with Yang, while water overcomes metal, and buries it with Yin. In the serving of Heaven, earth gives the utmost loyalty. Therefore, the five elements are the actions of the filial son and the loyal minister. The five elements are so named (since) the



are similar to the five actions.<sup>2</sup> This is how we get the terminology. The sage knows this and consequently increases his love and deceases his majesty. He is generous in the nourishment of the living, and conscientious in attendance when they die. This is the system of Heaven. The son receives and completes, just as fire takes pleasure in wood; and he buries his father as does the water overcome metal. In the service of the ruler he is like the earth respecting Heaven. (Thus) he can be called a man of (correct) action. In the succession of the five elements, each follows its order. In the official action of the five elements, each devotes its (best) ability. Therefore, wood occupies the east and controls the vapours of spring; fire occupies the south and controls the vapours of summer; metal occupies the west and controls the vapours of autumn; and water occupies the north and controls the vapours of winter. This is why wood controls the giving of life; and metal controls the taking of life. Fire controls heat; and water controls cold. It is the way of Heaven that in using men, it must be according to their sequence, and that in making men officials, it must be according to their abilities. Earth <sup>and</sup> occupies the centre, acts as Heaven's enricher. Earth is the arms and legs of Heaven and its virtue is vigorous and good. cannot be named in the service of one season. Therefore there are five elements and four seasons. Earth (serves) in each of them. Although each manages (a season) if it did not follow



earth, metal, wood, water, and fire could not be established.

(This) is like (the fact that) if sour, salt, acrid and bitter did not follow the enrichment of sweet, they would not be complete flavours. Sweetness is the basis of the five flavours.

Earth is the master of the five elements. The five elements being controlled by the vapours of earth is similar to the five flavours being enriched by sweetness. It cannot but have it.

Therefore, of the actions of the sage, none is more noble than loyalty. This refers to the virtue of earth. The jurisdiction of the most important of the offices of men is not named. Such is the prime minister. That which is controlled<sup>3</sup> by the most important of the offices of Heaven is (also) not named. Such is earth.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. This order differs from that given in the "Great Plan". cf. History 5.4.5, (Legge, Classics III, p.325), where the order is given as water, fire, wood, metal, and earth.

2. The double meaning of hsing (行) is being played upon here. In this context it can mean both 'element' and 'action'.

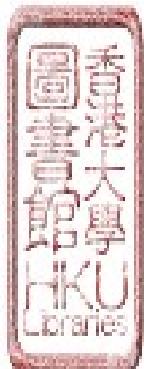
3. Substituting chu (竺) for sheng (生). (Su Yu).



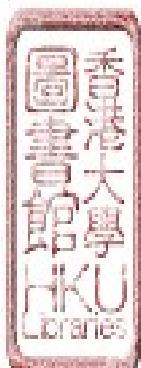
CCFL 43:

"Yang is Honourable While Yin is Mean"

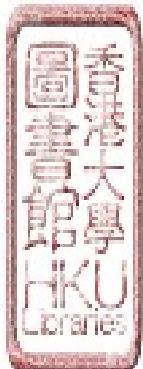
The great way of Heaven ends at ten (times) ten days. When ten days (is multiplied) by ten, a sequence of time of Heaven and Earth is completed. When ten days (is multiplied) by ten, the completion of the achievement of creation and growth is ended. Ten is where the numbers of Heaven stop. The sages of old took as the (cardinal) numeral the place where the numbering of Heaven stopped, and (after) recording (the numeral) ten, began again. Generation after generation the people transmitted it, but they did not know how to examine its source. Had they known how to examine its source, they would have seen the beginning of Heaven's number; and had they seen the beginning of Heaven's number, they would have known the location of honourable and mean, discord and accord. Had they known the location of honourable and mean, discord and accord, then the reality of Heaven and Earth would be manifest, and the value of the sage would be prominent. This is why in the first month, that the Yang vapours begin to emerge from the ground. They rear things and cause them to grow such that their achievement must be completed. (Their action) accumulates over ten months. It is in accord with Heaven's number that man is also born after ten months. Thus the Way of Heaven is completed after ten months. It is in accord with the Way of Heaven that man is also born after ten months. Therefore the Yang vapours emerge from the northeast



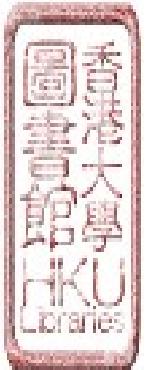
and go out through the northwest. They come forth in the first month of spring, and finish in the first month of winter. There is nothing that does not respond to them. When the Yang first emerges, things also begin to emerge; when the Yang begins to flourish, things also begin to flourish; and when the Yang begins to decline, things also begin to decline. Things follow the Yang in emerging and going out, and numbers follow the Yang in beginning and ending. The correctness of the Three Kings followed the Yang in arising again. Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) the Yang is honourable while the Yin is mean. Therefore, in numbering the days, it is daylight and not darkness which is depended upon; and in numbering the years, it is Yang and not Yin which is depended upon. It is correct that the Yin be insufficient to be indicated. This is the reason that the Spring and Autumn Annals, (when dealing) with wedding ceremonies, indicated the Duke of Sung but did not indicate the marquis of Chi's (季) mother.<sup>2</sup> It was fitting for the mother of the marquis of Chi to be named, but she was not indicated. It was not fitting for the Duke of Sung to be mentioned, yet he was indicated. To regulate in accordance with the Way of Heaven, tye Yang is indicated while the Yin is not indicated. Although the husband is mean, he is always Yang, and although the wife is honourable, she is always Yin. Among Yin, all are Yin; and among Yang, all are Yang. All who are superior, are Yang to their inferiors; and all who are inferior



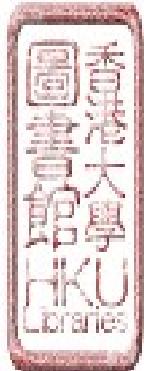
are Yin to their superiors. To be Yin is to be lower. What is it called and what does it possess? All of it is united with the Yang and (although) it has flourishing power, it refuses merit. Therefore, (although) it is in obedience to (that which is) below Heaven<sup>3</sup> that clouds emerge and rain is caused, it is decreed that it should be called Heaven's rain. It does not dare to have (the name of) its source. Superior is good and inferior is evil. The evil endure (censure) while the good do not endure it.<sup>4</sup> \*Earth (t'u - 土) is like Earth (ti - 天) in being the acme of righteousness. Thus the Spring and Autumn Annals does not give the name of evil to the ruler, and does not give the name of goodness to the minister. All goodness returns to the ruler, and all evil returns to the minister. The righteousness of the minister is comparable to Earth. Being a minister for mankind is the same as Earth serving Heaven; and being a man's son is the same as earth serving fire. Although it occupies the centre, (earth) also rules seventy-two of the year's days.<sup>5</sup> (This) is transmitted to fire in order to harmonize nourishment and growth (of things). Thus (earth which is) the unnamed, gives the merit to fire. Thus, fire flourishes, and (the son) does not dare to divide the merit with his father. (This) is the goodness of the acme of filial piety. Thus the behaviour of the filial son and the righteousness of the loyal minister are both patterned on Earth. Earth's service of Heaven is like inferior serving superior. (This) is the union of Heaven and Earth. Things (however,) do not have the righte-



ousness of a synthesis. Thus the extention of the essences of Heaven and Earth, and the alternation of the categories of Yin and Yang differentiate the principles of accord and discord. How can there be anything to which it cannot be added. It is in superior and inferior;<sup>6</sup> it is in large and small; it is in strong and weak; it is in wise and degenerate; and it is in good and evil. All that belongs to evil is Yin; while all that belongs to good is Yang. Yang is virtue; while Yin is punishments. When punishments are opposed to virtue, yet in accord with virtue, this is of the category, expedience. Although it is called expedience, it is always completed by the constant.<sup>7</sup> This is the reason that Yang acts in accord, while Yin acts in discord. That in which the action is discordant but which is harmonious is Yang,<sup>8</sup> while that in which the action is harmonious, but which is discordant, is Yin. This is why Heaven makes Yin expedience and Yang constant. Yang comes out from the south, while Yin comes out from the north. The constant is used when (things) are flourishing, while expedience is used when (things) are declining. Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) Heaven gives prominence to the constant and obscures expedience; brings virtue forward and pushes punishment back. Therefore we say that Yang is the virtue of Heaven, while Yin is the punishment of Heaven. The Yang vapours are warm, while the Yin vapours are cold; the Yang vapours give, while the Yin vapours take away; the Yang vapours are



humane, while the Yin vapours are cruel; the Yang vapours are forgiving, while the Yin vapours are severe; the Yang vapours love, while the Yin vapours hate; and the Yang vapours create, while the Yin vapours destroy. This is why the Yang always dwells in the substantial and is active when (things) are flourishing; and Yin always dwells in emptiness and is active when things are in decline. This is the reason that Heaven loves humanity and brings it near; hates the abnormality of cruelty and keeps it distant; and considers virtue important and punishment unimportant. It brings the constant forward and pushes expedience back; and honours Yang while demeaning Yin. Therefore, in the summer, Yin retires and dwells below. It is insufficient to be used in the (important) affairs of the year. In the winter it comes out and dwells above, being placed in empty places. (Thus) during the seasons when nourishment and growth is taking place, it is kept below. It is kept at a distance so that it will not be able to act as Yang. In the season when there is nothing happening it comes out in empty places and causes the preparation of sequence and the maintenance of barriers. All this is how Heaven keeps Yang close, and keeps Yin at a distance.\* It considers virtue to be important and punishment to be unimportant. This is why the ruler of men makes close, what Heaven makes close, and keeps at a distance, that which Heaven keeps at a distance. He gives importance to that which Heaven gives importance, and considers unimportant that which Heaven considers unimportant. Thus it



is the way of Heaven to be aided by Yang and not aided by Yin, to give importance to virtue and to consider punishment unimportant. Punishments can no more be used to complete the world than can Yin be used to complete the year. The use of punishments in the practice of government is called opposition to Heaven. It is not the Way of the King.

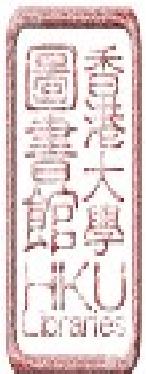
FOOTNOTES:

1. Su Yü thinks that pao (寶) should read shih (實), thus giving "substance".
2. In the wording of SA, an emissary was "sent" to Lu by the Duke of Sung in BC 591 (Ch'eng 8.5), while the emissary merely "came" to Lu in BC 721 (Yin 2.5). Both were on missions related to a forthcoming marriage of their rulers. The relevant rule here is that the master must not be mentioned in entries related to wedding ceremonies. It is explained that the Duke of Sung was mentioned because his mother was dead, and that the absence of the Marquis of Chi's name indicated that his mother was still alive.
3. Substituting t'ien (天) for chih (之). (Su Yü).
4. The section between asterisks has been transferred from CCFL 44, and the missing section has been transferred to CCFL 44. (Ling Shu).
5. i.e. one-fifth of a year. Su Yü thinks that this was composed of the last eighteen days of each season.
6. Adding tsai (委) before shang (上). (Ch'ien T'ang).
7. Substituting ching (經) for ch'tan (緝). (Su Yü).
8. Adding che yang (耆陽) after shun (順). (Su Yü).



CCFL 44:**"The Way of the King Completes the Triad"**

In ancient times, the creators of words made three (horizontal) strokes and joined their middles, calling (this character) 'king' (wang - 王). The three (horizontal) strokes (represented) Heaven, Earth and man, while the joining (stroke) in the middle (represented) the completion of the Ways of each. Who but the king could occupy the centre of Heaven, Earth and man and connect them thus forming a triad? This is the reason that the king is Heaven's agent. He controls Its seasons and completes them.<sup>1</sup> He makes an example of Its commands and causes obedience of them among his people. He follows Its numbers in initiating affairs, and he copies Its Way in conducting government.<sup>2</sup> He controls his (own) will and turns (mankind) to humanity. The goodness of Humanity is in Heaven, for Heaven is humanity. Heaven protects and nurtures all things. It transforms them, gives them birth, nourishes them and completes them. The achievement of Its actions is unceasing, for when It ends It begins again. Everything It gives rise to, It turns to the service of man. When we examine Heaven's intentions, (we see) inexhaustible and infinite humanity. In receiving his life from Heaven, man (also) takes humanity from Heaven and is humane. Thus<sup>3</sup> there is the close relationship of father and son elder brother and younger brother; the mind to be loyal, trustworthy; loving and benevolent; the actions are are proper righteous, incorrupt and humble; and government which has rig

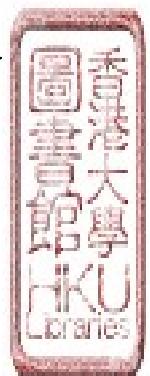


and wrong, accord and discord. The culture (of the king) is principles, brilliant, and generous. His knowledge is broad, comprehensive and extensive. Only the Way of man can form a triad with Heaven. Heaven constantly makes love and benefit its intention; makes nourishment and growth its business. Spring, summer, autumn and winter are its means. The king also is constant in making love and benefit his intention; in making peace and happiness for the world his business. Love, hate, pleasure and anger are his means.<sup>4</sup> Thus the love, hate, joy, and anger of the king,<sup>5</sup> are the spring, summer, autumn and winter of Heaven. It is by<sup>6</sup> warm, clear, cold and hot that (things) are transformed and completed. If Heaven's sending forth of these is timely, then it is a good year, but if it is not timely, it is a bad year. If the ruler's sending forth of these four is righteous, then the world is (well) governed, but if it is not righteous, then the world is disordered. This is why the way of (good) government is the same as that for a good year; and the way of disorder is the same as that for a bad year. Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) the principle of man duplicates the Way of Heaven. Heaven has cold, has heat...<sup>7</sup> \*The incidence (of the emotions) joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure are, in substance, directly connected to clear, warm, cold and hot. The aura of joy is warmth and acts in the spring. The aura of anger is clarity and acts in the autumn. The aura of pleasure is the sun and acts in the summer. The au-



of sorrow is the moon and acts in the winter. The four auras as are what Heaven and man both have in common. They are not that which man could cultivate. Therefore, they may be regulated, but they may not be stopped. If they are regulated there is accord, but if they are stopped there is discord.

Man is born of Heaven and he accepts his transformations from Heaven. The aura of joy is taken from the spring; the aura of pleasure is taken from summer; the aura of anger is taken from autumn; and the aura of sorrow is taken from winter. (This) is the heart of the four auras. The response of the four limbs, like the four seasons, each has its place. Cold and heat cannot be transferred any more than can the limbs and the trunk. When the position of the limbs and the trunk are changed, it is called a freak; when the position of heat and cold are transferred, it is called a year of ruin; and when joy and anger are transferred it is called a disordered age. The brilliant king rectifies joy and has it act in the spring; rectifies anger and has it act in the autumn; rectifies pleasure and has it act in summer; and rectifies sorrow and has it act in winter. Superior and inferior pattern (themselves) on this, thus taking the Way of Heaven. The vapours of spring are loving; the vapours of autumn are majestic; the vapours of summer are pleasure; and the vapours of winter are sorrow. The vapour love gives birth to things; the vapour majesty completes them; the vapour pleasure nourishes the living; and the vapour sorrow buries



the dead. (This) is the will of Heaven. Therefore it is by means of spring's vapour, warmth, that Heaven loves and gives birth; it is by means of autumn's vapour, clarity, that Heaven is majestic and completes (things); it is by means of summer's vapour, heat, that Heaven gives pleasure and completes them; and it is by means of winter's vapour, cold, that Heaven is sorrowful and stores (things) away. Spring controls birth; summer controls nourishment; autumn controls harvesting; and winter controls storing. ... acting as a son.<sup>8</sup> Thus the four seasons are comparable to the Way of father and son; the will of Heaven and Earth, and the righteousness of ruler and minister. The principle of Yin and Yang is the law of man. Yin is the vapour of punishment, while Yang is the vapour of virtue. Yin begins in the autumn, while Yang begins in the spring. The word for spring is similar to that for wriggling, and the word for autumn is similar to that for waterfall.<sup>9</sup> Wriggling is the appearance of joy and pleasure; while a waterfall has a sad and mournful appearance. This is the reason that spring is joy, summer is pleasure, autumn is sadness, and winter is mourning. We mourn death and take pleasure in life. It is the wish of the great man that summer be the maturation of spring and that winter be the burial of autumn that love is brought forward; that majesty is ~~is pushed~~ back; that we take pleasure in life; and that we sorrow for death; (all) are constants<sup>10</sup> of Heaven. Thus man is aided by



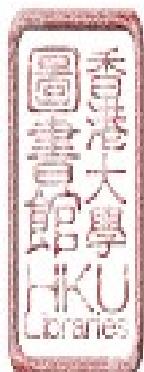
Heaven.\* Because Heaven has these, it simply enters the body (of man).<sup>11</sup> The ruler of men occupies a position which (can) create or destroy; and he shares with Heaven the power to change and transform. There is nothing that does not respond to Heaven's transforming (influence). The transformations of Heaven and Earth are like the four seasons. If there is a favourable wind, then there will be warm vapours which will cause creation of (good) customs; but if there is a harsh wind, there will be clear vapours which will cause destruction of (good) customs. If there is joy, then hot vapours will cause nourishment and growth; but if there is anger, then cold vapours will cause barriers. The ruler of men changes habit and custom with love, hate, joy and anger, while Heaven transforms the vegetation with warmth, clarity, cold and heat. If joy and pleasure are seasonable and correct, then the year will be good; but if they are unseasonable and disorderly, then the year will be bad. Heaven and Earth and the ruler of men are a unity. Thus the likes, dislikes, joys, and angers of the ruler men are the warmths, clarities, coldnesses and heats of Heaven. Which comes where cannot but be examined. If it should be hot and it is cold, or if it should be cold and it is hot, then it is certain to be a bad year. If the ruler of men should show joy but shows anger, or should show anger but shows joy, then the age is certain to be disorderly. This is



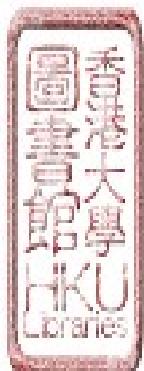
why the great charge of the ruler of men is that he be attentive to concealment and restrictive of internals. (This causes it to be certain that when he shows love, hate, joy or anger, it is righteous. (This) is like the certainty that warmth, clarity, cold and heat are timely in their occurrence. If the ruler of men holds to this without error, then his infallability in love, hate, joy and anger is like (the way in which) spring, autumn, winter and summer are never wrong, and it can be said that he forms a triad with Heaven.<sup>11</sup> If he conceals these four deeply (within) and does not allow them to come forth in a disorderly (fashion), then it can be called Heaven (-like).

FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting fa (法) for shih (兮). (Su Yü). Su Yü also feels that two words are missing from the end of this phrase.
2. Reversing the positions of chih (兮) and fa (法). (Su Yü).
3. Deleting the following seven words and adding yu (有). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. Substituting chieh ch'i (兮 兮) for erh pei (而 併). (Su Yü).
5. Inserting chih (兮) after chu (兮). (Su Yü).
6. Substituting chu (兮) for chu (兮). (Lu Wen-chao).
7. Agreeing with Su Yü that text has been lost from this point. The section between asterisks has been transferred from CCFL 41 and the missing section has been transferred to CCFL 43.
8. Agreeing with Su Yü that there is text missing here.



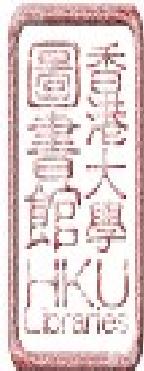
9. In both cases Tung Chung-shu uses words the phonetic of which is the season in question.
10. Substituting ch'ang (常) for tang (當). (lu Wen-chao).
11. Deleting wu suo chih (無 所 之). (Su Yu).
12. Deleting nai (乃). (Su Yu).



CCFL 45:

"Heaven's Form"

The Way of Heaven has order in (its) seasons and regularity in its sequences. In spite of changes, there are constants, and in spite of contradictions, there are (things which are) complimentary. It is minute, yet it reaches the distant; and it is distant, yet it reaches the delicate. It is a unity yet collective,<sup>1</sup> broad, yet substantial, and empty, yet overflowing. Observing Heaven, the sage imitates it. Therefore he shows restraint and judgment as to the occasions on which he loves, hates, is joyful, or is angry for he wishes to unit it with (the way that) Heaven is not unseasonal in sending forth warmth, clarity, cold and heat. He proclaims this by means of government orders, and he transforms (people like) a clear but subtle wind, for he wishes to unit it with (the way that) Heaven loses its unity in order to complete the year.<sup>2</sup> He is embarrassed by shaloow inessentials and ornate emptiness, and he honours sincere generosity and loyal trust, for he wishes to unite it with (the way in whihc) Heaven is silent and speechless, yet achieves virtue and completion. He is neither partisan nor selfish, and he thinks general love and mutual benefit to be good, for he wishes to unite it with (the means by which) Heaven brings things to completion with a minimum of frost and a maximum of dew. Thus he examines himself internally and cannot but be timely in manifesting (his feelings) externally. The ruler of men cannot but be timely in his joy



and anger. If it is permissible it is timely, and if it is timely it is righteous. When joy and anger are joined to their (proper) categories, their principles are the same. Therefore, righteousness<sup>3</sup> is the category to which timeless is joined. Joy and anger are the alternate auras of cold and heat.

FOOTNOTES:

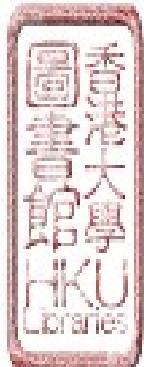
1. Deleting shao (少). (Su Yü).
2. The commentators have been puzzled by this sentence.
3. Deleting pu i (不義). (Su Yü).



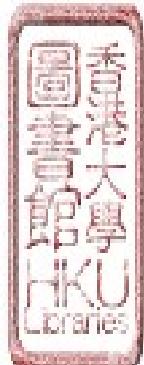
CCFL 46:

"The Discrimination of Heaven is in Man"

An opponent might (argue) saying that the Yin and Yang meet twice in one year. They meet in the south in the middle of summer and they meet in the north in the middle of winter. Since the aura of winter is the burial of things, how is it that they meet there? (I would reply that) metal, wood, fire and water each serves that by which they will be controlled and following the Yin and the Yang, they combine strengths and share the achievement. It is not the result of Yin and Yang alone, but rather that Yin and Yang comply with them and arise to help them in what they control. Thus the lesser Yang complies with wood, and arises to help the births of spring. The greater Yang complies with fire, and arises to help the nourishment of summer. The lesser Yin complies with metal, and arises to help the completion of autumn. The greater Yin complies with water and arises to help the storing away of winter. Although Yin and water share the aura and unite in winter, their substance is not the same. Therefore, water alone has the burial, and Yin does not share it. This is why the Yin and Yang meet in the middle of winter without there being a burial. The purpose of spring is love; the purpose of summer is pleasure; the purpose of autumn is majesty; and the purpose of winter is sorrow. Therefore love which has majesty, and pleasure which has sorrow are the rules of the four seasons. The



calamity<sup>1</sup> of joy and anger and the righteousness of sorrow and pleasure are not with man alone. They are also with Heaven. The Yang of spring and summer and the Yin of autumn and winter is not with Heaven alone. They are also with man. If man were without the aura of spring how could he have extensive love which encompasses the masses? If man were without the aura of autumn, how could he establish majesty and complete achievement? If man were without the aura of summer, how could he cause nourishment to flourish and take pleasure in creation? If man were without the aura of winter, how could he be sorrowful over death and mourn at funerals? If Heaven were without the aura of joy, how could it be warm and in spring bring things into being? If Heaven were without the aura of anger, how could it be clear, and in autumn destroy and bring to an end? If Heaven were without the aura of pleasure, how could it disseminate Yang and in summer cause nourishment and growth? If Heaven were without the aura of sorrow, how could it stir up Yin and in winter stop up and store? Therefore we say that Heaven has the actions, joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure, while man has the auras of spring, autumn, winter, and summer. This is to say that they are of the category, pairs. An ordinary man, even though he may be lowly, can thus see the uses of virtue and punishment. In total, the action of each of the Yin and the Yang is six months. Their distance or proximity is of the same degree, but their positions differ. As for the



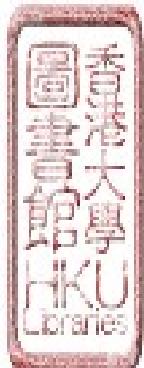
action of the Yin, in the spring it occupies the east, and in the autumn it occupies the west. In the summer it occupies the left of the void and in the winter it occupies the right of the void. In the summer it dwells below the void and in the winter it dwells above the void. These are the constant offices of the Yin. As for the action of the Yang, in the spring it comes above, and in the winter it goes below. These are the constant offices of the Yang. Yin completes the four changes of the year, but Yang always occupies the substantial. Is this not taking Yang as close, keeping Yin at a distance, using virtue, and disregarding punishments? It is the will of Heaven to place Yin constantly in emptiness,<sup>2</sup> but to a small extent, it takes it as an aid. Therefore, punishments supplement virtue. Yin is the helper of Yang and Yang is the master of the year. The insects of the world follow Yang in their entries and exits. The plants of the world follow Yang in their sprouting and falling. The Three Kings of the world followed Yang in reforming the first (month of the year). The honourable and the mean of the world follow Yang in giving sequence to their positions. The younger occupy the lesser of the Yang while the older occupy the elder of the Yang. The nobler occupy the more flourishing of the Yang. The meane*r* occupy the weaker of the Yang. Those who are hidden away are said to be undeserving of the Yang. Those who are undeserving of the Yang are ministers and sons. Deserving of the Yang are rulers and fathers. Therefore the ruler of men faces south.



and because of his Yang takes the throne. It is the system of Heaven that Yang is honourable and Yin is mean. Thus it is proper that the right be honoured and the Yin not be honoured. The elder Yang is respected for its honour achieves merit.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Without offering an alternative, Su Yü feels that huo (祸 - "calamity") is a mistake.
2. Substituting hsü (胥) for ch'u (楚). (Su Yü).



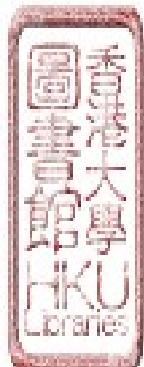
CCFL 47:**"The Positions of Yin and Yang"**

The aura of the Yang first enters from the northeast. Travelling south it goes to its position. It revolves to the west and goes out in the north to be stored to rest. The aura of the Yin first enters from the southeast. Travelling north it goes to its position. It revolves to the west and goes out in the south to be put aside in repression. Thus the Yang's position is in the south and its resting (place) is in the north. The Yin's position is the north, and its (place of) repression is the south. When the Yang reaches its position there is great heat; and when the Yin reaches its position there is severe cold. When Yang reaches its resting (place) it goes out and undergoes transformation in the earth. When Yin reaches its (place of) repression it escapes and is virtuous below. Thus it is the Yang that comes out and causes growth above in the summer, and goes out and undergoes transformation below in the winter. It is the Yin that goes out and guards empty places in the summer, and comes out and guards an empty position above in the winter. The Yang comes out in substance and goes out in substance, while the Yin comes out in emptiness and goes out in emptiness. Such is Heaven's use of Yang and disregard of Yin, Its love of virtue and Its lack of love for punishments. Therefore, in completing the year, the Yin and Yang each come out once.



CCFL 48:"The Beginning and End of Yin and Yang"

The Way of Heaven ends and begins again. The direction north is where Heaven does its beginning and ending, and where the Yin and Yang unite and separate. After the arrival of winter, Yin bows its head and goes out in the west while Yang raises up its head and comes in in the east.<sup>1</sup> The places at which they enter and exit are always mutually opposed, while the suitability of the amount (of each) in the mixture is always in mutual accord. There is not an excess of (that with the) larger (amount), and there is no dearth of (that with the) lesser (amount). In spring and summer there is more Yang and less Yin, but in autumn and winter there is more Yin and less Yang. The amount is never constant, for they are never undivided and (always) separated from one another. By means of their entry or exit they mutually increase or decrease and by means of the amount (of each) they cause mutual benefit. The one which is increasing triumphs over the one which is decreasing, and (the latter) increasingly disappears. When the one which is leaving is decreased by one, the one which is entering is increased by two. (Thus) in one move, that which Heaven is causing to rise is doubled. (The other) constantly maintains its opposition while controlling its power to rise again.<sup>2</sup> Thus they follow their own categories and react to each other. Therefore their auras help each other and as they change and



transform, supplement each other. It is in the middle of spring and autumn that the auras of Yin and Yang are equal. Thus there is creation in the middle of spring and destruction in the middle of autumn. Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) that which Heaven is causing to rise has an accumulation of aura, while that which Heaven is doing away with has a diminution of aura. Therefore when spring arrives, the lesser Yang enters in the east, and following wood, shares with it the giving of birth. When summer arrives, the greater Yang enters the south and following fire, shares with it the creation of warmth. Is this not following (their own) category and rising with it? The lesser Yang follows wood while the greater Yang follows fire. Wood and fire correspond to each other, thus each follows what is correct. Is this not a rectification of order? When autumn arrives, Yin arises, but on autumn's behalf does not follow metal. To follow metal would be to harm the achievement of fire. Although it does not follow metal, it arises, on autumn's behalf in the east. It demeans its position and follows its affairs in completing the achievement of the year. Is this not expediency? The action of Yin is indeed to dwell constantly in emptiness, for it cannot dwell in substance. When winter comes, the greater Yin<sup>3</sup> which was stopped in emptiness, gains the north, and following its category, with water gives rise to cold. Thus the Way of Heaven has order, constants and expedients.



FOOTNOTES:

1. The meaning of ch'u (ㄔㄨ) and ju (ㄐㄔ) have been given their opposite values here in order to render the meaning of this sentence more clearly in English.
2. Su Yü thinks this sentence corrupt.
3. Substituting yin (ㄧㄣ) for yang (ㄧㄤ). (Su Yü).



CCFL 49:**"The Meaning of Yin and Yang"**

One Yin and one Yang are the constants of Heaven and Earth. Yang is Heaven's virtue, while Yin is Heaven's punishment. We trace out the actions of Yin and Yang as they complete the year in order to see what it is that Heaven takes as close, and uses. (Yin) completes the achievement of Heaven, yet is still called empty. (This) is the fruit of emptiness. Thus (the relationship of) clarity and cold to the year is like that of sour and salt to the tastes. (Both) have very little. The government of the sage also follows accordingly. The lesser Yin of Heaven is used in achievement, while the greater Yin is used in emptiness. The lesser Yin of man is used in majesty while his greater Yin is used in burial. Burial is also emptiness and emptiness is also burial. This is why it is the Way of Heaven to complete life in three seasons, and to bury the dead with one season. The dead are referred to as the one hundred things which have withered and fallen, while the buried are referred to as the sadness and sorrow of the aura of Yin. Heaven also has the auras of joy and anger, and a heart which is mournful or happy, thus duplicating man. When we unite them into categories, Heaven and man are a unity. Spring is the aura of happiness. Therefore it gives birth. Autumn is the aura of anger. Therefore it destroys. Summer is the aura of pleasure. Therefore it nurtures. Winter is the aura of sadness. There



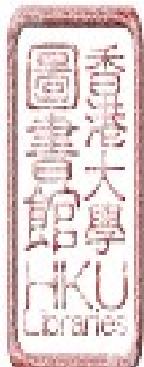
fore it stores away. Both Heaven and man have all four. They have the principle and make identical use of it. That which is the same as Heaven is the great (good) government, while that which is different from Heaven is great disorder. Therefore, of the Ways of the ruler of men, none is more illuminated than the use of the uniformity between Heaven and the individual. This causes the certainty that the emergence of joy or anger is righteous to be like the certainty that the incidence of cold or heat is seasonal. It causes virtue (being used) more liberally than punishment, to be like Yang (being used) more frequently than Yin. Therefore, as for the actions of Yin, Heaven uses them a little in order to complete Autumn, and turns the remainder to winter. As for the actions of Yin, the sage uses them a little to establish majesty, and the remainder he turns to burial. Burial is also man's aura of winter. Therefore the greater Yin of man is not used for punishment. It is used in burial. The greater Yin of Heaven is not used on things. It is used on emptiness. Emptiness is also burial and burial is also emptiness. Its reality is one. In both cases the intention is to bury the dead and gone.



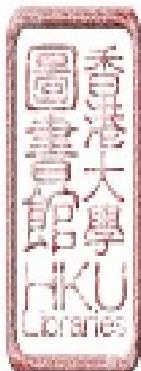
CCFL 50:

"The Entry and Exit and the Ascent and  
Descent of Yin and Yang"

The great way of Heaven<sup>1</sup> is that things which are mutually opposed do not come out together. Thus it is for Yin and Yang. In the spring it brings in Yang and takes out Yin; and in the autumn it brings in Yin and takes out Yang. In the summer it sends Yang to the right and sends Yin to the left, while in winter it sends Yin to the right and sends Yang to the left. If Yin comes in, then Yang goes out, and if Yang comes in, Yin goes out. If Yin goes to the right, then Yang goes to the left, and if Yin goes to the left, then Yang goes to the right. Thus in the spring they are both in the south, and in the autumn they are both in the north, yet they are on different paths. In the summer they meet in front and in winter they meet at the back, yet their arrangement differs. They operate together without causing mutual disorder, evil, or confusion, each controlling its (own) portion. This refers to the intention of Heaven. But how do they follow their duties? When the Way of Heaven first approaches severe winter, the Yin and Yang each come from (their) one direction and move to the back. The Yin comes to the west from the east, while the Yang comes to the east from the west. When it comes to the middle month of winter, they meet, coming together in the north to form a unity. This is called a solstice. (Then) they separate and part from each other. The Yin goes to the right, while the Ya-



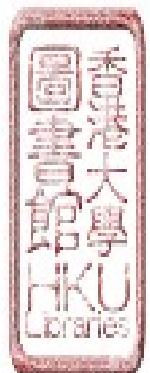
goes to the left. The Way of the one which goes to the left is harmonious, while the Way of the one which goes to the right is discordant. The discordant aura goes to the left and arises, while the harmonious aura goes to the right and descends. Therefore it is warm below and cold above. From this we see that in winter, Heaven sends Yin to the right and Yang to the left; causes what it sends to the right to rise, and what it sends to the left to descend. When the winter months are finished, the Yin and the Yang return to the south. When the Yang returns to the south it comes in at yin (寅),<sup>2</sup> and when the Yin returns to the south it goes out at hsü (戌).<sup>3</sup> These demonstrate points at which Yin and Yang first come out of the earth or enter into the earth. When it comes to the middle month of spring, the Yang is precisely in the east and the Yin is precisely in the west. It is called the "spring divide".<sup>4</sup> At the "spring divide" the Yin and Yang are evenly divided. Therefore, day and night are equal and heat and cold are even. Day by day the Yin diminishes, giving way to Yang; and day by day the Yang increases and becomes vast. Therefore, warmth occurs for the first time. When it comes to the month of the height of summer, they meet, coming together in the south to form a unity. This (too) is called a solstice. (Then) they separate and part from each other. The Yang goes to the right while the Yin goes to the left. Going to the left (Yin) goes below, and going to the right (Yang) goes above. (Therefore) it is hot above and cold below. From this we see that in summer, Heaven



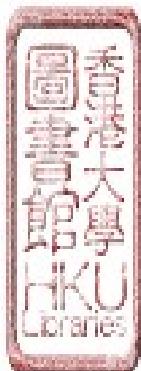
sends Yang to the right and Yin to the left; causes what it sends to the right to rise, and what it sends to the left to descend. When the summer months are finished, the Yin and the Yang return to the north. When the Yang returns to the north it goes out at shen (申),<sup>5</sup> and when the Yin returns to the north it comes in at ch'en (辰).<sup>6</sup> These demonstrate points at which Yin and Yang first come out of the earth or enter into the earth. When it comes to the middle month of autumn, the Yang is precisely in the west and the Yin is precisely in the east. It is called the "autumn divide".<sup>7</sup> At the "autumn divide" the Yin and Yang are evently divided. Therefore day and night are equal and heat and cold are even. Day by day the Yang diminishes, giving way to Yin; and day by day Yin increases and becomes vast. Thus when it comes to the last month of autumn there is the first frost, and when it comes to the first month of winter, there is the first cold. At "little snow"<sup>8</sup> all things are completed, and at "severe cold" the storing away of things is finished. The achievement of Heaven and Earth is ended.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting chih (之) for tao (道). (Su Yu).
2. East north-east.
3. West north-west.
4. One of the twenty-four dates in the Chinese solar calendar. In this case, March 23, the vernal equinox.

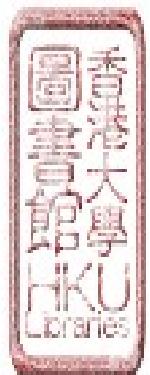


5. West south-west.
6. East south-east.
7. As for ff.4 above. September 23, the autumnal equinox.
8. As for ff.4 above. November 22.
9. As for ff.4 above, January 21, and the last of the twenty-four dates.

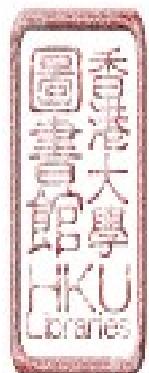


CCFL 51:**"The Way of Heaven is Without Duality"**

It is the constant Way of Heaven that things which are mutually opposed do not arise together. It is called a unity and the course of Heaven is a unity, not a duality. Yin and Yang are things which are mutually opposed. Therefore, when one comes in the other goes out, and when one is to the right, the other is to the left. In the spring they are both in the south, and in the autumn they are both in the north; in the summer they meet in front, and in winter they meet in the back. They both act, but on different paths; they meet together, but each controls (for the other). Is this (not) their refinement! They Way of Heaven has one entrance, one exit, one rest, and one submission. The principle is one but the intentions are not the same. The entrance of the Yang belongs to the front where it is used in the affairs of the year, while the entrance of the Yin belongs to the back where it guards emptiness. As for Yang's rest, when its achievement is already completed above, it conceals itself below. As for Yin's submission, it cannot be close,<sup>1</sup> and its location is kept at a distance. Thus is Heaven's use of Yang, and relinquishment of Yin; Its love of virtue and Its lack of love for punishments. Therefore when Yang emerges it comes to the front, but when Yin emerges, it goes to the back. (In this) we see the intention to honour virtue and demean punishments. Yang emerges and concentrate



in the summer, using virtue in order to complete the affairs of the year.<sup>2</sup> Yin emerges and concentrates in the winter, placing punishments in empty places. It must be examined in (the light of) this. Heaven is without a constant in things, but it shows a unity towards the seasons. There is one of whatever is suitable to the season. Therefore there is one opening, one closing, one commencement and one abrogation. (Each) stops when it comes to the end of the season (Each) ends and begins again with a unity. A unity is a oneness. This is why everything in Yin's position is, to Heaven, a hater and disrupter of good, and should not be named as controller of the Way of Heaven. Therefore an eternal unity without duality, patters the Way of Heaven.<sup>3</sup> Whether affairs are important or unimportant and whether things are difficulty or easy, if they are opposed to the Way of Heaven, there will be no completion. Thus the eyes cannot see double, the ears cannot hear double, and the hands cannot do two things (at the same time). No one can draw a square with one hand while drawing a circule with the other. Men have thought it to be a small and easy thing, but they have never been able to do it. Such is the impossibility of going against Heaven. (When) we examine things and the writing of characters (we see that) this is why men of old stopped with one "middle" (chung - 中) (and then writing the word) "heart" (hsin - 心), calling it "loyalty" (chung - 忠). Had they held up two



"middles" it would have been called "calamity" (huan - 惡.).

It is calamity when there is not (merely) one middle to man.

Because there was not (just) one, it gave rise to a calamity.

Therefore the true gentleman demeans duality and honours unity.

Who is without goodness? But if goodness is not a unity it will be insufficient to establish the individual. What government is without constancy? But if its constancy is not a unity, it will be insufficient to bring achievement. The Book of Songs says:

"When God is near you,  
You are not of two minds."<sup>4</sup>

(These) are the words of one who understood Heaven's Way.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Deleting i (是). (Su Yu).
2. Inserting ch'eng (成) before sui (歲). (Su Yu).
3. Substituting erh (二) for mieh (歲), and adding fa (法) after it. (Su Yu).
4. Songs III.1.2.7, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.436), has ju (居) for ju (居), and erh (歲) for erh (二).



CCFL 52:

"Which is More Frequent, Warmth or Clarity?"<sup>1</sup>

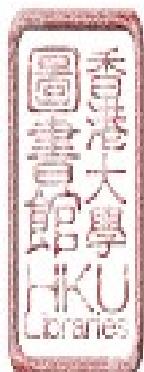
It is the Way of Heaven that Yang is brought in to make warmth in order to give birth (to things), and Yin is brought in to make clarity in order to complete (things). If there were no heat, there could be no growth, and if there were no cold, there could be no maturation. (These) are the essences of the year. If this is applied by one who has concentrated<sup>2</sup> yet who has been unable to understand whether there is more heat or cold, he must come into conflict with Heaven. Even though he is industrious, if he is in conflict with Heaven, he will be unsuccessful. Between<sup>3</sup> the first month and the tenth month Heaven's achievement is completed. How do you calculate how much of the interim was occupied by each of Yin and Yang? Which of hot or cold had the greatest number of days? From the beginning of things until they are completed, was there a greater fall of dew or frost? From the middle of spring until autumn, the vapours are warm, soft, and harmonious. When it comes to the last month of autumn, the ninth month, Yin, for the first time is in greater quantity than Yang. At this time, Heaven sends forth the cold and lets the frost fall. When the cold is sent forth, and the frost falls, all the things sent down by Heaven are indeed already completed. Therefore, it is in the ninth month that Heaven's achievement comes to its final greatness. In the tenth month it is entirely completed. Therefore,



when we examine the evidence and calculate the reality, (we find that) the clear and cold days are very few. It is only after the achievement is completed that the Yin comes out in major proportions. In the completion of achievement, Heaven allows the lesser Yin, but does not allow the greater Yin. When the lesser Yin is inside, and the greater Yin is outside, frost accumulates on things and snow accumulates on emptiness. Emptiness is simply unused land. It does not reach things. After achievement is already finished and completed, and before things are born again, is when the greater Yin ought to emerge. Although we say it is the Yin, it is also the greater Yang that aids and transforms its position, and it does not know (from) whom it receives it. The sage ruler occupies a superior position (and the people) are covered by Heaven, supported by earth, commanded by the wind, and bestowed upon by the rain. The gift of the rain is a general spread of virtue, while the command of the wind is directness in the speaking of orders. The Book of Songs says:

"Without recognition and without knowledge,  
Accord with the pattern of God."<sup>4</sup>

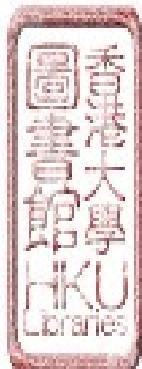
(This) says that he is without the ability to recognize, yet he effects what Heaven (wants) done. The floods of (Emperor) Yu (禹) and the drought of (Emperor) T'ang were not regular (occurrences). It was that they met with a change in the aura of the world, and the Yin and Yang were out of balance. (Empero



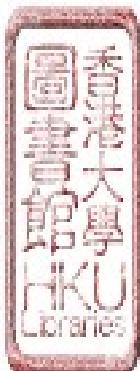
Yao looked on the people as his sons, and the people looked on (Emperor) Yao as their father and mother. The Book of History says: "It was in the twenty-eighth year that Fang-hsun (方軒) died, and the common people were as though they were mourning their own parents. Within the four seas, the eight sounds were stopped up for three years."<sup>5</sup> For three years the aura of the Yang was repressed by the Yin, and the aura of the Yin greatly flourished. This is why (the time of) Yu is known for its floods. (King) Chieh was the vicious scoundrel of the world, while (Emperor) T'ang was the flourishing virtue of the world. When the world did away with the vicious scoundrel, and obtained the flourishing virtue, this was twice a great goodness and a repetition of Yang. Therefore (the time of Emperor) T'ang is known for its drought. In both cases they met with changes. It was not the mistake of (Emperors) Yu and T'ang and we should not doubt the constancy of peaceful life because of the changes that they encountered. Thus there were no faults in what they administered, and thus the correct Way was entirely illuminated.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting ch'ing (淸) for ao (燠). (Su Yu).
2. Substituting chih (炽) for chih (熾). (Su Yu).
3. Deleting shih (是). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. Songs III.1.7.7. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.454).

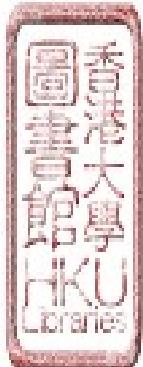


5. History II.1.5.13, (cf. Legge, Classics III, p. 40), has ti (帝) for fang hstün (放曆); has san tsai (三歲) after pi (父); lacks chih nei (之內); has o (遠) for o (閼); and is without the final san nien (三災). Fang-hstün was Emperor Yao's name. Su Yü feels that the CCFL version may be an accurate reflection of the New Text Book of History.



CCFL 53:**"The Foundation is Righteousness"**

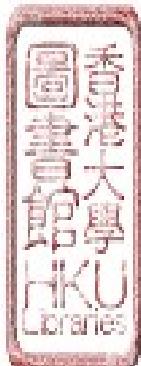
Everything must have an opposite. Opposites must have an upper and must have a lower; must have a left and must have a right; must have a front and must have a back; and must have an outside and must have an inside. When there is good, there must be evil; when there is accord, there must be discord; when there is joy, there must be anger; when there is cold there must be heat; and when there is day there must be night. These are all opposites. Yin is the opposite of Yang; the wife is the opposite of the husband; the son is the opposite of the father; and the minister is the opposite of the ruler. There is nothing that is without an opposite, and all opposites have a Yin and a Yang. Yang is part of Yin and Yin is part of Yang. The husband is part of the wife and the wife is part of the husband. The father is part of the son and the son is part of the father. The ruler is part of the minister and the minister is part of the ruler. The righteousness of ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife are derived from Yin and Yang. The ruler is Yang, while the minister is Yin; the father is Yang, while the son is Yin; and the husband is Yang, while the wife is Yin. The Way of the Yin is not exercised by itself. When it begins, it does not arise alone, and when it ends it does not divide the achievement. This means that there is that with which it shares. This is the



reason that the ministers transfer merit to the ruler, that the son transfers merit to the father, that the wife transfer merit to the husband, that the Yin transfers merit to the Yang, and that Earth transfer merit to Heaven. When there is promotion and ascent, there is repression and descent. When there is rejection and sending to the left; there is raising up and sending to the right. When there is taking as close and utilizing, there is separating and keeping at a distance. When there is wishing for fainly increase, there is wishing for daily decrease. When there is increase in usefulness<sup>1</sup> there is decrease in hindrance. At (some) times the decrease is small and the increase is large, and at (other) times, the decrease is large and the increase is small. (However) small it is not cut off (completely, and however) large it is not excessive. The Yin and the Yang are two entities, and in completing the year, each comes out once. When they emerge,<sup>2</sup> their distance or proximity is of the same degree, but their intentions differ. When Yang comes out, it is always arrayed in front and employed on (the year's) business. When the Yin comes out, it is always arrayed to the rear, and it guards emptiness.<sup>3</sup> This shows how Heaven takes Yang as close, keeps Yin at a distance, employs virtue, and does not employ punishments. This is why the way of the system of humanity and righteousness is taken in its entirety from Heaven. Heaven acts as the ruler and protects and enriches (mankind). Earth acts as the minister and aids and supports him. Yang is the



husband and gives him birth, and Yin is the wife and aids it. Spring is the father and gives birth; summer is the son and nourishes; autumn is death and encoffins; and winter is pain and buries.<sup>4</sup> The three bonds of the Way of the king may be sought after from Heaven. Heaven sends forth the Yang to make warmth to give birth, while Earth sends forth the Yin to make clarity to give completion. If there is no warmth there is no birth, and if there is no clarity, there is no completion. Thus if we calculate the proportion of each, there is one hundred times as much warmth and heat as there is clear and cold. (The relationship of) moral suasion to punishments is similar to this. Therefore the sage increases his love, and decreases his majesty, makes his virtue generous and abridges his punishments. By this means he matches Heaven. The great number of Heaven must have ten (times) ten days. The way of Heaven and Earth is completedly started in ten days (times) ten. The achievement of birth and growth is finally completed in ten days (times) ten. The vapours of Heaven are stately. They are not suddenly cold or suddenly hot.<sup>6</sup> But the cold does not cause frost-bite and the heat does not cause sun-stroke. (This is) because they come in a stately manner and do not end abruptly. "The Book of Changes says: 'When you tread on the frost, hard ice is coming.' This speaks of accord."<sup>7</sup> Thus the coming of the severe does not transgress its class. This is indeed, the acts of Heaven not being hastily<sup>8</sup> completed. Wh-



man does, should also not be hastily<sup>8</sup> taken to extremes.

Whatever is on the rise does so gradually so as to accord with the passing (of what it is replacing). This causes the minds of men to be happy and at ease. It does not cause their minds to be fearful. Therefore it says: "The true gentleman rules mankind for mankind. When they reform he stops."<sup>9</sup> This refers to it. The Way of the sage is identical with Heaven and Earth; as vast as the four seas. He changes and transforms their customs and habits.<sup>10</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting ch'i (氣) for yung (用). (Lu Wen-chao).
2. Deleting the second i (之). (Lu Wen-chao).
3. Substituting hsü (虛) for ch'u (處) (Su Yü), and tz'u (處) for erh (而). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. Su Yü thinks that the sentences describing the seasons are a later addition.
5. Deleting yu yü (有餘). (Yu Yüeh).
6. Inserting pu (乎) before the first cha (乍). (Lu Wen-chao).
7. Changes, "K'un" (坤), (cf. Wilhelm, Changes, p.393), has chih (氣) after ping (平), and shun (順) for sun (遯). This translation replaces the chih.
8. Substituting cha (乍) for tso (作). (Lu Wen-chao).
9. Changing ch'in neng yüan (勤能怨) to kai erh chih (改而 to make it identical to The Doctrine of the Mean 13.2, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.394). (Su Yü).
10. Lu Wen-chao believes that text has been lost from this point.

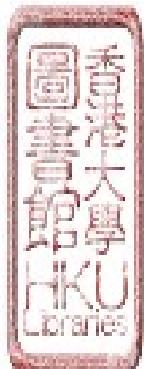


CCFL 54: Lost.

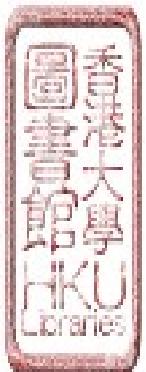
CCFL 55:

"The Duplicate of the Four Seasons"

It is the Way of Heaven that spring is warm in order to give birth; that summer is hot in order to nurture; that autumn is clear in order to destroy; and that winter is cold in order to store away. Warm, hot, clear, and cold are different auras but their achievement is the same in that they all are the means by which Heaven completes the year. The sage duplicates what Heaven does in the conduct of government. Therefore with congratulations he duplicates the warmth which acts in the spring; with rewards he duplicates the heat which acts in the summer; with reprimands he duplicates clarity which acts in the autumn; and with punishments he duplicates coldness which acts in the winter. Congratulations, rewards, reprimands and punishments are different affairs, but their achievement is the same in that they all are the means by which the king completes his virtue. Congratulations, rewards, reprimands, and punishments; and spring, summer, autumn, and winter respond to each other according to kind, like fitting the two halves of a tally together. Therefore we say that the king matches Heaven. (This) refers to their Ways. Heaven has the four seasons and the king has the four policies. The four policies are of the same kind as the four seasons. They are what Heaven and man both have. Congratulations are the spring; rewards are the summer, reprimands are the autumn; and punishments are the winter.



Congratulations, rewards, reprimands, and punishments cannot but be complete, just as spring, summer, autumn and winter, cannot but be entire. Congratulations, rewards, reprimands, and punishments cannot but be used in the (right) place, just as spring, summer, autumn, and winter, cannot but come out at the (right) time. Congratulations, rewards, reprimands, and punishments each have a correct place, just as spring, summer, autumn and winter, each have a (correct) time. The four policies cannot contend with one another, any more than the four seasons can contend with one another. The four policies cannot change their places any more than the four seasons can change their places. Therefore the Spring and Autumn Annals was critical when congratulations, rewards, reprimands or punishments were not used in the correct place.



CCFL 56:"Man Duplicates Heaven's Number"

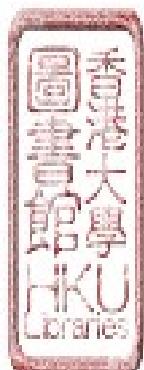
Heaven's virtue is giving, Earth's virtue is transforming, and man's virtue is being righteous. The aura of Heaven is above, the aura of Earth is below, and the aura of man is in between. The birth in spring and the growth in summer are the means by which the one hundred things flourish. The death in autumn and the harvest in winter are the means by which the one hundred things are stored away. Therefore nothing is finer than the auras, nothing is richer than Earth, and nothing is more spiritual than Heaven. Of the things created by the essences of Heaven and Earth, none is more noble than man. Man receives the mandate from Heaven, and his superiority is therefore greater (than other) things.<sup>1</sup> (Other) things have defects and none are able to be humane and righteous. Only man is able to be humane and righteous. (Other) things have defects and none are able to match Heaven and Earth. Only man can match Heaven and Earth. Man has three hundred and sixty joints, thus matching Heaven's number. The shape of his body and his bones and flesh match the generosity of Earth. Above, the perceptions of his ears and eyes are an image of the sun and moon. The openings of the body and the arrangement of the pulse are images of the rivers and valleys. The sorrow, pleasure, joy, and anger of the mind are of a kind with the spiritual auras. When we look at the unity of man's body, how much is its superiority



(to other) things, and how similar it is to Heaven! (Other) things simply take the Yin and Yang of Heaven in order to live, in a prone (position), but man gloriously has Its culture and principle. Therefore there are none among the (other) things which do not bend and move in a prone (position).<sup>2</sup> Man alone stands straight, and faces directly, while taking an upright position.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, those who receive but little from Heaven take a prone (position), while those who receive much from Heaven take an upright position. This demonstrates that man is separated from (other) things, and forms a triad with Heaven and Earth. This is why, on the body of man, his head is raised up<sup>4</sup> and round, thus modeling the appearance of Heaven. His hair models the stars, and his ears, eyes model the sun and moon. The breathing of his nose and mouth models the winds and the auras, and the advanced intelligence of his mind resembles the spirits. The substance or emptiness of the stomach and the womb model the one hundred things. The one hundred things are closest to the Earth, thus (the body) below the waist is the Earth. In the models of Heaven and Earth, the waist is the sash. That which is above the waist<sup>5</sup> is spiritual, honourable, and majestic.<sup>6</sup> Its appearance is of a kind with Heaven. That which is below the waist<sup>5</sup> is bountiful but humble and mean. It is the same as the richness of the earth. The feet are spread out and square, modeling the shape of the Earth. Thus when tying the bindings of the ritual sash, the waist<sup>5</sup> must be strai-



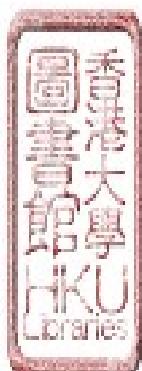
in order to differentiate these intentions. Everything from the sash up is Yang, while everything from the sash down is Yin. Each has its division.<sup>7</sup> Yang is the aura of Heaven and Yin is the aura of Earth. If the action of the Yin and Yang cause man to have a sickness of the foot, or a numbness of the throat, then the aura of Earth arises becoming clouds and rain thus modeling it and responding to it. The omens of Heaven and Earth, and the duplications of the Yin and Yang, are constantly established in the (human) body. The body is similar to Heaven. Their numbers are blended together, thus their fates are mutually connected. With the number which brings the year to a close, Heaven completes the body of man. Thus the three hundred and sixty-six lesser joints duplicate the number of days, and the twelve major joints duplicate the number of months. Inside, there are the five organs<sup>8</sup> which duplicate the number of the five elements, and outside, there are the four limbs which duplicate the number of the four seasons. Sometimes he looks, and sometimes he closes his eyes, thus duplicating day and night. Sometimes he is firm and sometimes he is yielding, thus duplicating winter and summer. Sometimes he is sorrowful and sometimes he is happy, thus duplicating the Yin and Yang. The plans and calculations of his mind duplicate the limitations (of Heaven). The moral principle of his conduct duplicates Heaven and Earth. All these are obscure on the surface, but manifest in the body, and are born together with man. They enclose him with matchings and pairings. With that which can be counted



the number is duplicated, but in that which cannot be counted the kind is duplicated. All are the same and unified in duplicating Heaven. This is why that which has form is displayed in order to make manifest that which does not have form, and that which can be numbered is restricted in order to make manifest that which cannot be numbered. This is to say that it is also fitting that the Way be responded to in kind. This is similar to forms fitting together.<sup>9</sup>

FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting kao wu (考吾) for i (儀). (Lu Wen-chao).
2. Deleting t'ien ti (天祀). (Su Yü).
3. Following Lu Wen-chao's reconstruction.
4. There is no record of there being the character 爾. This translation follows Su Yü in substituting p'en (彭).
5. Substituting yao (效) for ching (誠). (Sung I-jang - 桑子讓)
6. Deleting ming (明). (Su Yü).
7. Substituting yu (育) for ch'i (其). (Sun I-jang).
8. Heart, liver, spleen, lungs and kidneys.
9. Following Su Yü's reconstruction.



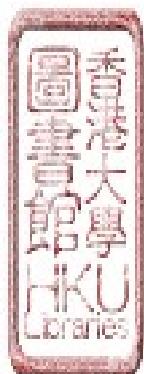
CCFL 57:

"(Things of) a Kind Move Each Other"

Now when water is directed onto level ground, it avoids the dry and goes to the damp, and when identical firewood is placed on the fire, (the fire) avoids the damp and goes to the dry. The one hundred things (all) avoid that with which they differ and follow that with which they are identical. Therefore when auras are the same they congregate, and when sounds are alike they respond. The evidence is manifest. We test it by tuning a ch'in and a se<sup>1</sup> and alternating them. If we pluck the kung, then the kung of the other responds to it, and if we pluck the shang, then the shang of the other responds to it.<sup>2</sup> (Whichever) of the five notes matches (the one struck) will sound of itself. This is not supernatural, but normal. Good attracts good and evil attracts evil. (Things of) a kind arise in response to one another. If a horse calls, (other) horses respond to it, and if an ox calls, (other) oxen respond to it. If an emperor or king is about to arise, auspicious omens first appear; but if they are about to fall, omens of misfortune first appear. Thus it is according to kind that things respond to each other. Therefore rain is caused to come by a dragon, and heat is expelled by a fan. Where an army is encamped becomes thorns and brambles. Both good and evil have a source which acts as their control, but no one knows its location. When Heaven is about to have the Yin cause rain, the illness o



men first becomes active. This is (two) Yins arising in response to one another. When Heaven is about to wish the Yin to cause rain, the aura of Yin also causes man to wish to sleep. When grief also causes men to lie down it is (two) Yins seeking each other out. When happiness causes man not to wish to lie down, it is (two) Yins requiring each other. At night water becomes several degrees deeper, and with an east wind, the wine will overflow. At night the disease of a sick person becomes more severe, and just before dawn the cocks compete with each other in crowing. The aura becomes increasingly refined. Thus Yang increases Yang, and Yin increases Yin. The auras of the Yin and Yang can indeed<sup>3</sup> bring increase or decrease according to kind. Heaven has Yin and Yang, and man, too, has Yin and Yang. When the Yin aura of Heaven and Earth arises, the Yin aura of man arises in response to it. When the Yin aura of man arises, the Yin aura of Heaven and Earth also arises in response to it. Their Ways are the same. When those who understand this wish to cause rain they activate the Yin in order to give rise to Yin, and when they wish to stop rain. they activate Yang in order to give rise to Yang. Therefore the causing of rain is not supernatural. It is suspected of being supernatural because its principles are subtle. It is not the auras of Yin and Yang alone that can come and go according to kind. The causes of bad luck, calamity, and good fortune also follow this. It is always the self that gives rise to something, and things which move in response to it according



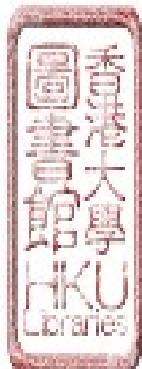
to kind. Therefore the intelligent sage is spiritual, introspective, and he listens within himself.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is the brilliant sage alone who knows that (Heaven's) basic intention is in this. Thus in the response between a ch'in and a se, if the kung is played, the kung of the other replies by sounding of itself. This is the movement of things according to kind. The movement is with sound and it is formless. When man does not see the form of the movement, he says that it sounded of itself. In the same way formless interaction is called spontaneous, but it is not, in fact, spontaneous. It was caused to be thus. Things do indeed have real causes, but the causes are formless. The Commentary to the Book of History says that when the (House of) Chou was about to rise, there were large red crows which carried seeds of grain in their mouths, that congregated on the roof of the king's house. "King Wu was happy and all the nobles were happy. The Duke of Chou said: 'Be earnest about it! Be earnest about it! Heaven has shown us this in order to encourage us. We will rely on it with fear.'"<sup>5</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Musical instruments having five and fifty strings respectively.
2. Kung (宫) and shang (商) are the first and second notes of the pentatonic scale.
3. Substituting ku (角) for yin (阴). (Su Yü).
4. Deleting the following eight words of the text. (Su Yü).



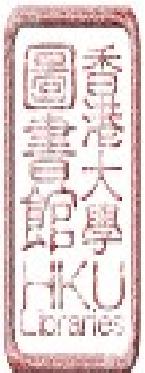
5. From the New Text version of the "Great Oath". (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.298). Also found in Shang-shu Ta-chuan (尚書大傳), which is attributed to Fu Sheng (伏勝), the Ch'in erudite who dictated the Book of History from memory to Ch'ao Ts'o (鼂錯) in the time of Emperor Ching of the Han.



CCFL 58:**"The Five Elements Produce Each Other"**

The auras of Heaven and Earth come together into a unity, separate into the Yin and Yang, divide into the four seasons, and arrange into the five elements. Elements are activities. (Because) their actions are not the same, they are called the five elements. The five elements are the five jurisdictions. Consecutively, they produce each other,<sup>1</sup> but alternately, they overcome each other. Thus in government if you oppose them there will be disorder, but if you accord with them, there will be (good) government.

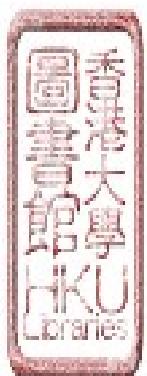
The east is wood and the basis of agriculture. The Minister of Agriculture esteems humanity, and promotes scholars of classical learning. He leads them into the way of emperors and kings, holding to and according with their goodness, and correcting them and preserving them from their wrongs. He grasps the compasses, causes creation and brings warmth and fertility. Below, he understands topography, fertile and rocky soil, and good and evil. In establishing his undertaking, he creates rules and accords with what is fitting for the earth. Such a one was Chao Kung.<sup>2</sup> He personally went to the southern acres and observed the people opening up the wilds and extending cultivated ground. He plowed (the fields) and sowed the five



grains such that there was a surplus. Everybody had a sufficiency and the granaries were filled to capacity. The Minister of War brings grain to fruition.<sup>3</sup> The Minister of War is the court and the court is fire. Therefore we say that wood produces fire.

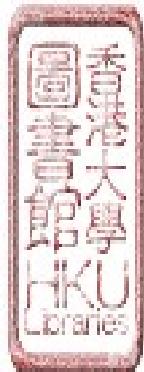
The south is fire and the court.<sup>4</sup> The Minister of War esteems wisdom and promotes wise and sagely scholars. Above he understands astronomy. When form or omen are not yet seen, and when the shoots have not yet come forth, he alone sees clearly and the sources of preservation and loss, the essentials of success and failure, and the origins of (good) government and disorder, and he takes precautions beforehand. He grasps the set-square, causes growth, brings the loyal, is generous to the humane, and he supports and assists his ruler. Such a one was the Duke of Chou. When King Ch'en was young and weak, he punished Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu in order to settle the world.<sup>5</sup> When the world is already pacified, the official who then calms the ruler is the Minister of Works. The Minister of Works is earth. Therefore we say that fire produces earth.

The centre is earth and the officials of the ruler. The Minister of Works esteems good faith. He demeans his person and takes his body lightly. In rising early and going to bed late, he reports past events in detail in order to encourage



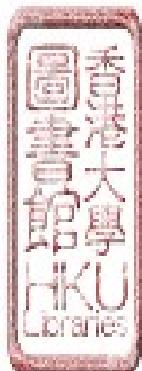
the intentions of the king. Seeing clearly success and failure, he subtly exhorts (the ruler) to offer his goodness, while preventing and destroying his evil, cutting off its sources and stopping up the crevices. He holds the bonds, controls the four directions, brings the loyal, is generous towards the trustworthy, and thereby serves his ruler, and holds to righteousness while giving up (what he himself) favours. Such a one was T'ai Kung.<sup>6</sup> He responded to Heaven in according with the changes of the seasons, thus his dignity and dominance were complete. The great controller (of this) was the Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of the Interior is metal. Therefore we say that earth produces metal.

The west is metal, the great controller and the Minister of the Interior. The Minister of the Interior esteems righteousness. A minister would die for his ruler, and the masses of mankind would die for their fathers. Thus there are honoured and mean of family relationships, and there are superior and inferior of status. Each will serve until death, and their service does not transgress (the proper) bounds. In holding power and attacking, his troops do not carelessly overcome (the enemy), and in capturing, they are not careless of that which they have taken. (Only) after it is righteous does he put it into practice. He brings purity and awe, and his disposition is direct, resolute and firm. Such a one was (Wu)



Tzu-hsü (子胥).<sup>7</sup> He attacked the guilty and punished the unrighteous. This is why the common people were neighbourly, the border regions were peaceful, and bandits and thieves did not come forth. If the cities are without litigation, then there is closeness and peace. The holder of the law is the Minister of Justice. The Minister of Justice is water. Therefore we say that metal produces water.

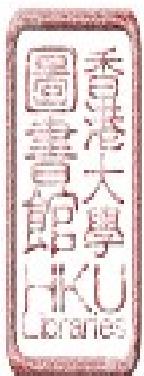
The north is water, the holder of the law, and the Minister of Justice. The Minister of Justice esteems propriety. When ruler and minister are in (proper) position, and when old and young are in (proper) order, then the court has noble rank<sup>8</sup> and village communities have seniority. In ascent and descent he bows and yields. In making obeisance and paying (official) calls, he is (straight) as a set-square. When erect, he is bent (like a) ch'ing,<sup>9</sup> and when bowing, it is as (though) he were holding a drum. Holding the scales, he causes the storing away, and brings clarity, purity, and fairness. He does not take bribes and he does not accept invitations. In holding the law and hearing cases at law, he is not partial. Such a one was Confucius.<sup>11</sup> His judgments, when he acted as the Minister of Justice in Lu, were honest and genuine. He share them with the masses, he did not presume to take it into his own hands. Thus the dead were without hate, and the living were without resentment. The one hundred craftsmen were on time in completing utensils. When utensils were already completed, they



were given to the Minister of Agriculture. The Minister of Agriculture is the official of the fields, and the official of the fields is wood. Therefore we say that water produces wood.

FOOTNOTES:

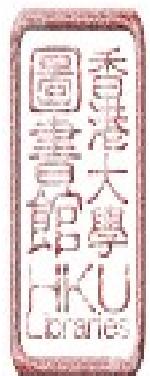
1. This refers to the order in which they are given below: wood, fire, earth, metal, and water.
2. cf. Songs 1.2.5, (Legge, Classics IV, p.26). The Duke of Chao went south on government business to encourage agriculture, he sat under the tree mentioned in this ode and thereafter it was loved in his memory. The Duke of Chao was a half-brother of King Wen, and this section of Songs and the twelfth chapter of History are named after him.
3. SPPY has shih (𠵼) for shih (𠵼).
4. Placing the yeh (也) after the ch'ao (朝). (Su Yü).
5. cf. History 5.17.1, (Legge, Classics III, p.487). Kuan Shu was executed, while Ts'ai Shu was merely imprisoned.
6. T'ai Kung was Li Shang (子尚), the founder of the state of Ch'i. cf. SC32.
7. Wu Tzu-hsü was a loyal minister of Kings Ho Li and Fu Ch'ai of Wu. See CCFL 6, ff.197 and ff.120; and CCFL 7, (beginning).
8. Substituting i (以) for yu (育). (Su Yü).
9. A ch'ing was a curved stone chime. (see ZH 2101.1.2).
10. Confucius was thought to have been the Minister of Justice in Lu for a short time under Duke Ting. (see Legge, Classics I, p.72).
11. Substituting chun (春) for t'un (屯). (Lu Wen-chao).



CCFL 59:**"The Five Elements Overcome Each Other"**

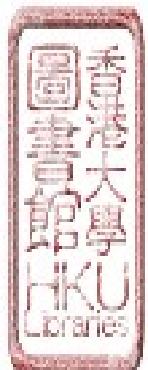
Wood is the Minister of Agriculture. If the Minister of Agriculture is disloyal, becoming cliquish and partisan and thus obscuring his ruler's brilliance, causing wise scholars to retire and hide, cutting off and extinguishing the dukes and ministers, teaching the people to be extravagant in the exchange of guests and not exhorting them to carry out the work of the fields, (allowing) gambling, cockfighting, dog racing and horsemanship; then old and young are without proper conduct, and great and small do violence to one another. All become bandits and thieves, perverse and reckless and cut off from principle. He will be punished by the Minister of the Interior. Such was Duke Huan of Ch'i. Acting as overlord, he used troops to invade Ts'ai. When (the army of) Ts'ai dispersed, he then invaded Ch'u, and the people of Ch'u capitulated.<sup>1</sup> Thus he pacified the central states.<sup>2</sup> Wood is agriculture and agriculture is the people. When they become disobedient and rebellious, then the Minister of the Interior is ordered to punish their leaders and correct them. Therefore we say that metal overcomes wood.

Fire is the Minister of War. If the Minister of War becomes slanderous, going back on his word and changing what he says, thus accusing people falsely; then internally, family



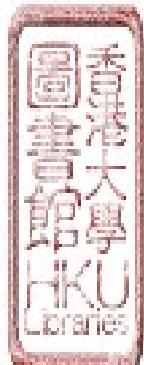
relationships will become divisive, and externally, loyal ministers will become distant. The wise and sagely will drift away, while the slanderers and the wicked daily flourish. Such was the upper noble of Lu, Chi-sun (Ssu) (子孫斯). He urged power and snatched control, thus demeaning the virtue and awe of the state. He reverted to indolence and wickedness, slandered its wise officials and defrauded and misled its ruler. Confucius, who was the Minister of Justice for Lu, upheld righteousness and put the law into practice. Chi-sun (Ssu) expunged himself by destroying Pi (嬖) Hou (嬖) and Ch'eng (成) for he had erred in (the matter of) weapons, and armour.<sup>3</sup> Fire is the court, and when it does evil, commits slander and misleads the ruler, the holder of the law punishes it. The holder of the law is water. Therefore we say that water overcomes fire.

Earth is the ruler's officials, and its senior is the Minister of Works. When the Minister of Works is obsequious, saying, "Permissible", to all the ruler does, and saying, "Good," to all the ruler speaks, flatteringly according with the ruler's instructions, listening to and obeying his selfishness, progressing what the ruler likes in order to gladden the ruler's will, leading the ruler into evil and betraying the ruler into unrighteousness; then great will be his palaces and houses, many will be his terraces and pavilions. They will be carved and inlaid, made brilliant by the five colours. But his taxes and



levies will be without limit, thus stealing the people's wealth; his forced labour and public work will be applied (too) frequently, thus stealing the people's time; and the projects in which he engages will be endless, thus stealing the people's strength. The common people become sad and bitter, rebelling against or abandoning the state. Such was King Ling of Ch'u. He was constructing the terrace at Kan-hsi for three years without completing it. The common people were worn out and they rebelled. This reached his person and he was assassinated.<sup>5</sup> Earth is the ruler's officials. If the ruler is extravagant, unrestrained, and erring in propriety, the people will rebel, and if the people rebel, then the ruler has nothing. Therefore we say that wood overcomes earth.

Metal is the Minister of the Interior. When the Minister of the Interior becomes rebellious, then internally he encroaches upon the ruler, and externally, he treats the military with arrogance. He usurps power and snatches control, punishing and executing the innocent, conducting invasions, being tyrannical, fighting battles and stealing. He does not carry out orders, and does not stop because of prohibitions. Thus the generals are not close to him, the soldiers do not obey him, the army becomes weak, and territory is seized. When he causes the ruler to have shame, the Minister of War punishes him. Suc-



is the case of Ch'u killing its Minister of the Interior, (Ch'eng) Te-ch'en (成得臣). (Ch'eng) Te-ch'en several times defeated the enemy in battle.<sup>6</sup> Internally he encroached upon the ruler, and (externally) he was arrogant and without pity. His common soldiers could not be made to face the enemy, and this weakness thereby endangered the state of Ch'u, and the Minister of War punished him. Metal is the Minister of the Interior. When the Minister of the Interior causes weakness so that the officers and masses (of the army) cannot be used, the Minister of War punishes him. Therefore we say that fire overcomes metal.

Water is the Minister of Justice. If the Minister of Justice causes disorder, being excessive in congratulations and petty in attentiveness, clever of speech and insinuating of countenance, when he accepts invitations and receives bribes, forms cliques and is partial, is slow to order and quick to punish, and when he punishes and executes the innocent, then the Minister of Works punishes him. Such was Ying T'ang (盈湯), when he was the Minister of Justice in Ch'i. When T'ai Kung was infeudated in Ch'i he questioned him about the essentials in (good) government of the state.<sup>7</sup>

Ying T'ang replied saying: "Simply use humanity and righteousness."



T'ai Kung said: "What is the use of humanity and righteousness?"

Ying T'ang replied saying: "Humanity is loving mankind and righteousness is respecting the aged."

T'ai Kung said: "What is loving mankind and respecting the aged?"

Ying T'ang replied: "Loving mankind is not being supported by the strength of your sons. Respecting the aged is the husband bowing down to his wife if she is the elder."

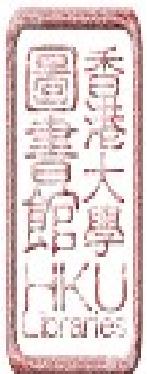
T'ai Kung said: "By means of humanity and righteousness, I wish to govern Ch'i (well); but now you have disordered Ch'i with (your) humanity and righteousness. (Now that) I am established, I will punish you in order to settle Ch'i."

Thus water is the Minister of Justice administering the laws. When the holder of the law forms cliques<sup>8</sup> and is partial, relying on the law to (do nothing more than) punish mankind, the Minister of Works punishes him. Therefore we say that earth overcomes water.



FOOTNOTES:

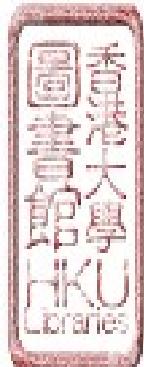
1. Tung Chung-shu seems to be treating Duke Huan as though he were acting as the Minister of the Interior for the king. The attacks on Ts'ai and Ch'u occurred BC 656 (Hsi 4.1,2).
2. The following six words have been deleted. (Yü Yüeh).
3. The Chi-sun clan was one of the three noble families which had usurped power in Lu. Hou was destroyed by Shu-sun Chou-ch'ou (叔孫州仇), and Pi was destroyed by Chi-sun Ssu (季孫斯) and Chung-sun Ho-chi (仲孫何忌), in the spring of BC 489 (Ting 12.3,5). The former belonged to the Shu-sun clan, while the latter belonged to the Chi-sun clan, and both were walled and heavily armed fortresses. Ch'eng (成), which belonged to the third important family, the Chung-sun clan, was besieged but not destroyed later in the year (Ting 12.11). KYC (Ting 12.5) remarks that the destruction of the first two cities was done under Confucius' orders.
4. Substituting pen (\*) for ta (\*). (Lu Wen-chao).
5. See CCFL 6, (ff.115).
6. SA records the defeat in battle and execution of Ch'eng Te-ch'en for the year BC 632 (Hsi 28.5,6). KYC gives no details of his career.
7. There is apparently no record as to who Ying T'ang was. For T'ai Kung see CCFL 58 (ff.6).
8. Substituting a (阿) for fu (夫). (Lu Wen-chao).



C CFL 60:

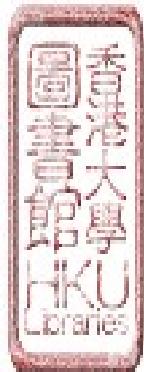
"Harmony With and Obstruction of the Five  
Elements"

Wood is spring, the nature of creation, and the basis of agriculture. The business of agriculture is encouraged, the people's time is not stolen, the people are used for no more than three days a year, and taxes are exacted at one part in ten. Scholars of the classics are promoted, the host of prohibitions are strictly adhered to, light bindings are released, detention is abolished, fetters and handcuffs are done away with, the gates of the houses are opened, and barriers are pushed out. If this benevolence reaches the grass and trees, then trees will be splendid and vermillion grass will grow. If this benevolence reaches the scaled creatures, then the fish will be greatly completed, sturgeon and whale will not appear and a host of dragons will descend. If, (however), the ruler of men is untimely in his going out and coming in; if he races dogs, indulges in horsemanship, hunts,<sup>1</sup> and races horses; if he does not return to his palace and houses, is fond of the pleasures of the flesh, drinks wine (until) he is deeply flushed with the alcohol; if he indulges himself unrestrainedly, paying no attention to the business of government, often using corvee labour, thus stealing his people's time, and making plans and raising taxes, thus stealing his people's wealth, the people will be ill with skin diseases and plagues of the body, and their feet and ankles will be afflicted. If this



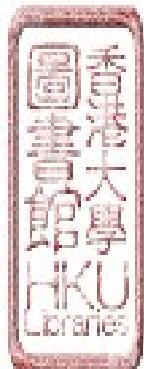
malevolence reaches wood, then the flourishing wood will decay and the artisans' wheels will usually be defective. If the myriad (water creatures) are inundated with poisoned water, or if the dams are drained in order to catch fish, the malevolence reaches the scaled creatures, the fish do not become numerous, dragons hide themselves deeply away, and sturgeon<sup>2</sup> and whales appear.

Fire is summer, the completion of growth, and the court. The wise and the good are encouraged, many talented are promoted, their ability is acquired, and their strength is used. Those with merit are rewarded, those with virtue are enfeoffed, goods and wealth are distributed, the fatigued are aided, feudatory boundaries are rectified, and envoys (are sent to) the four directions. If this benevolence reaches fire, then fire will accord with mankind and a sweet dew will descend. If this benevolence reaches feathered creatures, then the birds which fly will be greatly completed, the yellow goose will appear,<sup>3</sup> and phoenix will hover. If, (however), the ruler of men is misled by slander and evil; internally, family (relationships) will be torn apart, and externally, loyal officials will be pushed away. It will bring murder of the crown prince, punishment and execution of the innocent, expulsion of loyal officials, the making of concubines into wives, and the abandonment of law and order. If wives and concubines perform government, and the improper are rewarded, then the people will



become ill with a stopping up of the blood, swelling, and dullness of sight. If this malevolence reaches fire, there will be drought, and fire disasters will be inevitable. If they take from the nest and seek out the fledgling, then this malevolence reaches the feathered creatures, and the birds which fly will not be completed, the winter migration will not occur, owls will congregate and call,<sup>4</sup> and the phoenix will fly high.

Earth is the middle of summer, the completion of maturity of the one hundred plants, and the officials of the ruler. The rules of palace and house are adhered to, man and wife are differentiated, and the benevolence of relationship is increased. If this benevolence reaches earth, the five grains are completed and an excellent harvest flourishes. If this benevolence reaches the creatures which have no scales, hair or feathers, then the common people are neighbourly, the cities and towns are quite full, the wise and sagely are all placed (in office) and immortals descend. If, (however), the ruler of men is fond of lewd indulgence, and (has) an excess of wives and concubines, he will be offending his family, insulting his father and elder brothers, and oppressing and deceiving the common people. If his terraces and pavilions are many, resplendent with the five colours, carved and inlaid, then the people will suffer from illness of the heart and stomach, they will become



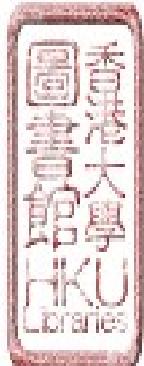
sallow,<sup>5</sup> and their tongues will become painfully cankered. If this malevolence reaches earth, then the five grains will not mature, and there will be harshness and reckless punishments. If this malevolence reaches the creatures which have no scales, fur or feathers, then the creatures which have no scales, fur or feathers will not be completed, the common people will rebel against or abandon (the state) and the wise and sagely will be allowed to disappear.

Metal is autumn and the beginning of the killing vapours. The flags and drums are established and the banners and battle axes are grasped in order to punish bandits and ruffians, forbid violence and cruelty, and pacify and assembly...<sup>6</sup> Therefore it is necessary that in moving the masses and raising troops that it respond with righteousness and principle. When they go out it is (called) exercising the troops, and when they come in, it is (called) a troop recall.<sup>7</sup> Thus in training them, they comply with seeking and hunting. When preserved, disintegration is not forgotten, and when at peace, danger is not forgotten. The battlements are restored, the walls are repaired, the multitude of prohibitions are examined, the weapons and armour are prepared, the one hundred officials are admonished, and the lawless are punished. If this benevolence reaches metal and stones, then a cool wind will emerge. If this benevolence reaches the furred creatures, then the (wild) beast



will be greatly completed, and unicorn will arrive. If, (however), the ruler of men is fond of battles and violent raids, the feudal lords covet bribes of cities and towns, and they disregard the lives of the common people, then the people will become ill with coughs in the throat, twisted sinews, and congestion and stopping up of the nose. If this malevolence reaches metal, then in the smelting of metal, congealing and solidifying will not be correct. If surrounding nets are erected and the forests are burned in order to hunt, then the malevolence reaches the furred creatures, the (wild) beasts are not completed, the white tiger attacks ferociously, and the unicorn goes far away.

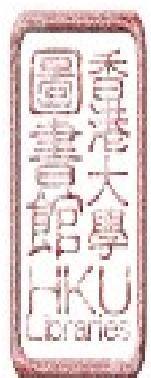
Water is winter, storing away, the acme of Yin and the beginning of the sacrifices in the ancestral temple. The sacrifices of the four seasons are respected, and sequence is given to the Ti and Hsia Sacrifices to the ancestral tablets.<sup>8</sup> The Son of Heaven sacrifices to Heaven while the feudal lords sacrifice to earth. The doors to the houses are closed, there is great investigation, punishments and reprimands are decided, the guilty are held, barriers and bridges are prepared, and it is forbidden to move abroad. If this benevolence reaches water, then sweet springs emerge. If this benevolence reaches armoured creatures, then soft shelled turtles and alligators are greatly completed, and the sacred tortoise appears. If, (however)



the ruler of men treats the ancestral temple lightly, does not pray, does away with the sacrifices, is not harmonious in exercising the law, and obstructs Heaven's seasons, then the people will become ill with superous swelling, dropsy, paralysis and rheumatism, and their pores will not be open. If this malevolence reaches water, then misty auras will be dark and obscure, and floods become certain. If water harms the people, and the malevolence reaches the armoured creatures, then the tortoise will hide deeply away, and soft shelled turtles and alligators will cry out.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Adding t'ien lieh (天犧) before chih (祭). (Su Yü).
2. Adding chan (禪) before ching (祭). (Su Yü).
3. See Dubs, History II, p.152,3, and ff.2.2.
4. Owls were traditionally regarded as inauspicious.
5. Reading yü (兌) for yd (兌). (Sun I-jang - 孫易章).
6. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that text is missing from this point.
7. See KYC, Chuang 8.2.
8. Both were ancestral sacrifices. The Ti (禘) was held every five years, while the Hsia (夏) was held every three years.



CCFL 61:

"The Five Elements: Regulating Water"

(From) the day of the Winter Solstice,<sup>1</sup> wood is in control for seventy-two days, and its aura is dry, turbid and green.

(After this) fire is in control for seventy-two days, and its aura is intense and red. (Then) earth is in control for seventy-two days, and its aura is turbid and yellow. (Next) metal is in control for seventy-two days, and its aura is diffuse and white. (Finally) water is in control for seventy-two days, and its aura is clear, cold and black. (Then), again we get wood for seventy-two days. When wood is in control, its action is soft and kind, and the host of prohibitions are adhered to.

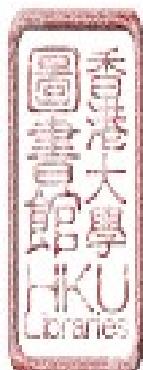
Coming to the First of Spring,<sup>2</sup> light bindings are released, detention is abolished, fetters and hand-cuffs are done away with, the gates of houses are opened, the barriers are pushed out, the young and orphans are preserved, compassion is felt for widows and the lonely, and there is no chopping down of trees. When fire is in control, the feudatory boundaries are rectified, and fields and arable lands are accorded with. Coming to the First of Summer,<sup>3</sup> the wise and good are encouraged, those with virtue are enfeoffed, those with merit are rewarded, envoys are sent to the four directions, and there is no setting of fires. When earth is in control, the elderly are nurtured, the young and orphans are preserved, compassion is felt for widows and the lonely, the filial and brotherly are rewarded, benevolence is given, but there is no raising up of earthworks. When metal



is in control, battlements are restored, walls are repaired, the multitude of prohibitions are examined, the weapons and armour are prepared, the one hundred officials are admonished, the lawless are punished, the elderly are preserved, and there is no smelting of metal and stone. When water is in control, the doors of the houses are closed, there is a great investigation, punishments and reprimands are decided, the guilty are held, barriers and bridges are prepared, it is forbidden to move abroad, and there is no clearing out of ponds or embankments.

FOOTNOTES:

1. One of the twenty-four solar terms. It is December 21 on the Western Calendar.
2. As for ff.1 above. It is February 5 on the Western Calendar.
3. As for ff.1 above. It is May 5 on the Western Calendar.



CCFL 62:

"The Five Elements: (Good) Government and  
Disorder"<sup>1</sup>

If fire opposes wood, hibernating insects emerge early and there is lightning<sup>2</sup> and thunder.

If earth opposes wood, birds and insects are much afflicted with stillbirth and infertility of eggs.

If metal opposes wood, there is warfare.

If water opposes wood, there is a fall of frost in the spring.

If earth opposes fire, then there is much thunder.

If metal opposes fire, the grass and trees are harmed.

If water opposes fire, there is hail in summer.

If wood opposes fire, there are earthquakes.<sup>3</sup>

If metal opposes earth, there is calamity among the five grains.<sup>4</sup>

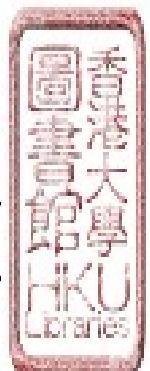
If water opposes earth, it will be cold in summer and there will be a fall of frost.

If wood opposes earth, the creatures which are not scaled, furred or feathered will not be completed.

If fire opposes earth, there will be a severe drought.<sup>5</sup>

If water opposes metal, the fish will not be completed.

If wood opposes metal the grass and trees will sprout twice.



If fire opposes metal, the grass and trees will flourish in the autumn.

If earth opposes metal, the five grains will not be completed

If wood opposes water, the hibernating insects do not hide away in winter.

If earth opposes water, the hibernating insects emerge in winter.<sup>7</sup>

If fire opposes water, stars will fall.<sup>8</sup>

If metal opposes water, the winter will be severely cold.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. The dates of any of these events which are regarded by KYC as a disaster or an anomalous occurrence are noted.

2. Substituting hsüan (旱) for hsien (蝗). (Lu Wen-chao).

3. Earthquakes occurred in BC 618 (Wen 9.12), BC 557 (Hsiang 16.6), BC 523 (Chao 19.3), BC 514 (Chao 23.11), and BC 489 (Ai 3.2).

4. Deleting shang (傷). (Su Yu).

5. There were crop failures in BC 687 (Chuang 7.5) and BC 666 (Chuang 28.6).

6. KYC understands SA to be indicating drought by means of several different wordings. Severe droughts were recorded with this wording in BC 639 (Hsi 21.3), and BC 602 (Hsüan 7.4).

7. Locusts occurred in Lu in the winter of BC 483 (Ai 12.6).

8. Falling stars are recorded in BC 687 (Chuang 7.2).



CCFL 63:**"Relief from the Changes in the Five Elements"**

When changes in the five elements occur, they ought to be relieved by virtue. If it is given to the world, then malevolence will be warded off, but if it is not relieved by virtue, then within three years Heaven will cause a rain of stones. If wood has changes, then (the plants) will wither in the spring, and flourish in the autumn.<sup>1</sup> In the autumn the wood will freeze, and in spring there will be much rain. This is because forced labour and public work occurred (too) frequently, and taxes and levies were repetitious (thus) making the common people impoverished. They will rebel against or abandon (the state), and in the roads there will be many starving people. The one who saves them will reduce forced labour and public work, lessen taxes and levies, open the granaries, and relieve the hardships. If fire has changes, the winter will be warm and the summer will be cold. This is because the king was not knowledgeable, the good were not rewarded, the evil were not done away with, the degenerate had position, and the wise withdrew from notice. Thus heat and cold lose their sequence and the people (suffer from) epidemics. The one who saves them will promote the wise and the good, reward the meritorious, and enfeoff the virtuous. If earth has changes, high winds occur, and the five grains are blighted. This is because there was no trust, humanity or wisdom, fathers and elder brothers were not respected, there was



unbound dissipation, and palaces and houses flourished. The one who saves this will reduce palaces and houses, do away with carving, elevate the filial and brotherly, and have pity for the masses. If metal has changes, (the constellations) Pi (畢) and Ang (昴)<sup>2</sup> return three times, and there will be warfare, many soldiers, and many bandits and thieves. This is because ritual was abandoned, there was a greed for wealth, the peoples' lives were regarded as unimportant, but property and bribes were regarded as important. The common people hurry after profit, and there are many offenses against propriety. The one who saves them will promote the incorrupt, establish the upright, obscure the military and use the civil, and restrict (the use of) armour and weapons. If water has changes, the winter will be humid with much mist, and there will be hail in spring and summer. Thus the laws and ordinances are neglected, and punishments and reprimands are not used. The one who saves this will be concerned about the prisons, try criminals, punish the guilty, and hold a five days investigation.<sup>3</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. In each of the three times TPYL quotes this sentence it has "winter" instead of the "autumn" which is given here. (cf. TPYL translations in Section III below.)

2. Pi and Ang are the nineteenth and eighteenth of the twenty-eight Chinese constellations (approx. GHA 4 hrs.)

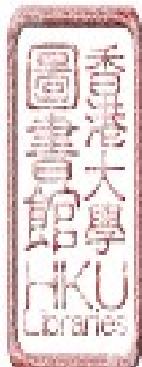
3. Substituting sou (搜) for sou (叟). (Lu Wen-chao).



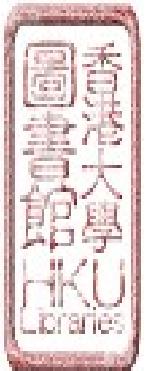
CCFL 64:**"The Five Elements and the Five Affairs"**

If the king is without propriety with his ministers and if his demeanour is without respect, then wood will not be pliable and there will be violent winds in the summer. Wind is the aura of wood, and its note is chiao.<sup>1</sup> Thus the response to it is violent winds. If the king's words are not harmonious, then metal will not be malleable, and there will be much rolling of thunder in the autumn. Thunder claps are the aura of metal, and their note is shang.<sup>2</sup> Thus the response to it is thunderclaps. If the king's vision is not clear, then fire will not blaze up and there will be lightning in the autumn. Lightning is the aura of fire, and its note is chih.<sup>3</sup> Thus the response to it is lightning. If the king's hearing is not acute, then water does not moisten and descend, and there is much violent rain in the spring and summer. Rain is the aura of water, and its note is yü.<sup>4</sup> Thus the response to it is violent rain. If the king's mind is not comprehensive, then sowing and reaping are not completed, and there is much thunder in the autumn. Thunder is the aura of earth, and its note is kung.<sup>5</sup> Thus the response to it is thunder.

Why is it that we say that of the five affairs, "the first is called demeanour; the second is called speech; the third is called vision; the fourth is called hearing; and the fifth is



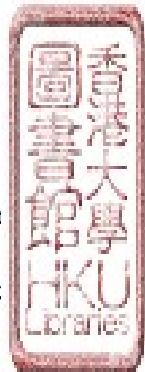
called thought?"<sup>6</sup> The five affairs are the means by which mankind receives the mandate from Heaven, and the means by which the king regulates and governs the people. Therefore if the king governs for the people, he cannot but be wise, and the rules of conduct cannot but be correct. As for the king, "his demeanour is said to be reverential."<sup>6</sup> To be reverential is to be respectful. "His words are harmonious."<sup>6</sup> To be harmonious is to be capable of being obeyed. "His sight is clear."<sup>6</sup> To be clear is to know wise and degenerate, and to distinguish black from white. "His hearing is acute."<sup>6</sup> To be acute is to be able to hear things and evaluate meanings. "His thought is comprehensive."<sup>6</sup> To be comprehensive says that there is nothing it does not encompass. Why does it say, "reverence becomes respect; harmony becomes order; clarity becomes wisdom; acuteness becomes consideration; and comprehensive becomes sagely?"<sup>6</sup> "Reverence becomes respect," means that internally, the king is indeed able to have the attitude of reverence, and that there is no one in the world who does not gain (self-)respect. "Harmony becomes order," means the words of the king can be followed, and that when the ministers<sup>7</sup> comply with them and carry them out, the world is (well) governed. In "clarity becomes wisdom," wisdom means knowledge. If the king is brilliant, the wise are promoted, the degenerate are retired, the world knows good and encourages it, and it knows evil and is ashamed of it. In "acuteness becomes consideration," consideration means consideration of affairs



If the king is acute, then when listening to affairs and planning with ministers and inferiors, affairs do not lack (proper) appraisal. In "comprehensive becomes sagely," sagely means established. If the king's mind is broad and there is nothing it does not encompass, then his sageliness is able to give establishment, and all things attain what is fitting for them.

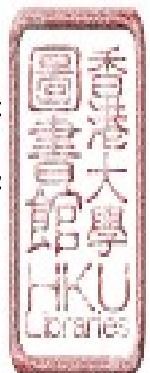
If the king is able to be respectful he is decorous, and if he is decorous, the aura of spring is successful. Therefore, decorum is important to spring. In spring the aura of the Yang is subtle, but it changes the gentleness and can transform the weakness of the ten thousand things. At this time the Yin aura is injurious. Therefore the king commands respect, and in commanding respect he does not discuss secret affairs. Subsequently the ten thousand things can be born and wood can be pliable. If the government of autumn is carried out in the spring, the grass and trees will wither. If the government of winter is carried out (in the spring), there will be snow. If the government of summer is carried out (in spring), there will be destruction. If there are mistakes in the government of spring...<sup>8</sup>

If the king is able to govern (well), then righteousness is established, and if righteousness is established, the aura of autumn is successful. Therefore order is important to autumn. When the aura of autumn begins to destroy, the king carries out



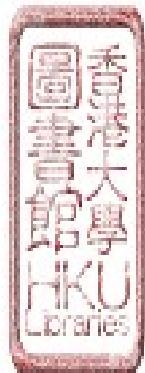
minor punishments and reprimands. When the people do not transgress, then righteousness and propriety are completed. At this time the Yang aura is injurious. Therefore the king is aided by the actions of his officials, and afterwards the ten thousand things become mature. In autumn the grass and trees do not flourish, and metal is malleable. If the government of spring is carried out in autumn, (the grass and trees) will flourish. If the government of summer is carried out (in autumn), (the grass and trees) will become dry.<sup>9</sup> If the government of winter is carried out (in autumn), there will be decline. If there are mistakes in the government of autumn, then there will be unceasing high winds and silent thunder in the spring.

If the king is able to be wise, then he understands good and evil, and if he understands good and evil, then the aura of summer is successful. Therefore, wisdom is important to summer. In summer the Yang aura begins to flourish, and the ten thousand things begin to grow. If the king does not conceal his clarity, then the Way does not retreat and become blocked up. Thus after the arrival of summer great warmth thrives, and the ten thousand things vigorously nourish the pregnant.<sup>10</sup> At this time cold is injurious. Therefore the king aids with the actions of rewarding and bestowing. Afterwards, in the summer, the grass and trees are free from frost, and fire blazes up. If the government of spring is carried out in summer, there will be wind. If the government of autumn is carried out (in summer), there will be



floods. If the government of winter is carried out (in summer), there will be decline. If there are mistakes in the government of summer, then there will be no freezing, the five grains will not be stored away, and the severe cold will be prolonged in winter.

If there are no mistakes in the consideration of the king, then the aura of winter is completed. Therefore consideration is the master of winter. In winter the Yin aura begins to flourish, and the grass and trees must die. If the king is able to listen to affairs and evaluate plans and consider them, then he does not invade and attack. If he does not invade and attack but still destroys, then the dead are without hate and the living are without regret. After the arrival of the days of winter, a severe cold descends and the ten thousand things are stored away below. At this time heat is injurious. Therefore the king aids it with the business of urgent decisions. Thus water moistens and descends. If the government of spring is carried out in winter, then it is steamy. If the government of summer is carried out (in winter), there is thunder. If the government of autumn is carried out (in winter), there is drought. If there are mistakes in the government of winter, then in summer, the grass and trees will not bear fruit, .... frost,<sup>11</sup> and the five grains are diseased and rotten.



FOOTNOTES:

1. Chiao (角) is the third note on the ancient Chinese pentatonic scale.
2. Shang (商) is the second note on the pentatonic scale.
3. Chih (徵) is the fourth note on the pentatonic scale.
4. Yü (羽) is the fifth note on the pentatonic scale.
5. Kung (宮) is the first note on the pentatonic scale.
6. From History 5,4.6, (cf. Legge, Classics III, p.326-327).
7. Substituting tse ch'en (則臣) for ming cheng (明正). (Yü Yüeh).
8. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that there is text missing from this point.
9. Substituting kao (槁) for ch'iao (喬). (Sun I-jang).
10. Deleting the following thirteen words. (Su Yü).
11. Agreeing with Su Yü that there is text missing from this point.



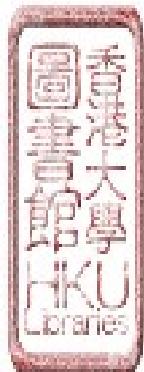
CCFL 65:**"A Discourse on the Suburban Sacrifice"**

It is said that wine disperses smoke; that owl feathers do away with dust in the eyes; that a loadstone attracts metal; that a speculum attracts fire; that if silk worms make silk in the house, the strings of the musical instruments will break in the hall; that when rice matures in the wilderness, there will be a deficiency of grain in the barns; and that when wild grass grows in Yen (蕪),<sup>2</sup> the orange trees will die in Ching (橘).<sup>3</sup> These ten things<sup>4</sup> are all strange and may be wondered at. They are not what mankind intended. Since that which was not intended by mankind already exists, then perhaps the origins of good and bad omens, good and bad luck and benefit and injury are not strange and wonderful. It is to be feared for such are the things which are not intended by mankind.<sup>5</sup> Confucius said: "There are three (things) which the true gentleman fears. He fears the mandate of Heaven;<sup>\*6</sup> he fears great men; and he fears the words of the sage."<sup>7</sup> Could it be that they were not injurious to mankind, and that Confucius feared them in vain? From this we see that we cannot but fear and respect Heaven. Similarly we cannot but be attentive in serving the ruler and superiors. If we are inattentive in serving the ruler, the arrival of disaster is manifest; but if we do not fear and respect Heaven, the arrival of calamity is obscured. When it is obscure its beginnings are invisible and it seems to be spontaneous. Therefore when we say that the calamities of Heaven are grave and



venerable, it is to say that there is not necessarily an immediate effect. It is secret and soundless; hidden and formless. Looking at it from this (point of view, we see that) the distinction between the calamities of Heaven and the reprimands of the ruler is simply obviousness and obscurity. Thus in reaching mankind, there is very little difference, and Confucius groups them together, saying that they can be feared.<sup>8</sup> The spiritual brilliance of the mind of Heaven and Earth and the reality of the successes and failures of the acts of mankind are, indeed, that which no one is able to see. The sage alone is able to see it. The sage is one who can see what mankind cannot see, thus the words of the sage may also be feared. How can it be that the ritual of the suburban sacrifice is neglected? The ritual of the suburban sacrifice is that to which the sage<sup>9</sup> gives great importance. That to which the sage gives great importance is neglected yet good fortune and bad fortune, benefit and harm are obscure and cannot be seen. We have received much harm from them (but) how can we understand them? Therefore we say that the questioner of a sage should ask what he does and not ask on what account. If he asks on what account, he will never be able to see it, and it would be better not to ask. He should ask what he does and do it;<sup>10</sup> and what he does not do and not do it. Thus he would become as sincere as the sage. How could there be mistakes? The Book of Songs says:

"With neither mistake nor forgetfulness,  
Following the old rules."<sup>11</sup>



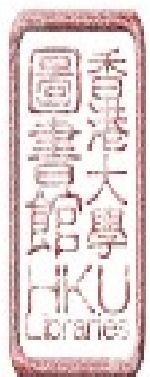
The "old rules" were the cultured regulations which had been created by the former sages. The "following" of them was the restoring and obeying of them.<sup>12</sup> This speaks of the creation of the cultured regulations of the former sages. Although we cannot see them in profound detail or understand their principles, we do not lose<sup>13</sup> the achievement of their great worth.

The meaning of the suburban sacrifice in the service of Heaven was created by the sages.\* Therefore the cultured regulations of the sage kings of antiquity gave it greatest importance.

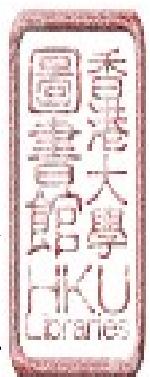
None of the kings of preceding generations failed to follow it and give it importance. They feared its spirituality and carried it out. Thus they served Heaven. When we come to the Ch'in (Dynasty, however), it alone negligently did away with it. How could they not "follow" the greatness of "the old rules!"

Heaven is the great ruler of the one hundred spirits. If we are not complete in serving Heaven, even the one hundred spirits will be of no avail. How could it be said that they would! If we do not sacrifice to the spirits of Heaven and sacrifice to the spirits of Earth, the Spring and Autumn Annals is critical.<sup>14</sup> Confucius said: "If you offend Heaven, there is no one to whom you can pray."<sup>15</sup> This is the law. Therefore it was never seen that the State of Ch'in received good fortune as did the State of Chou. The Book of Songs says:

"It was this King Wen  
Who carefully and regularly  
Was open in his service of God.  
He was allowed to be comforted with much good  
fortune."<sup>16</sup>



"Much good fortune" does not refer to the merit of the service of mankind.<sup>17</sup> It refers to what is blessed by Heaven. The commentary says that the sons of the state of Chou were many and wise. It flourished to the extent that there were four double pregnancies. In four births there were eight sons, all of whom were true gentlemen, superior and brave.<sup>18</sup> This was what was given to the State of Chou by Heaven, and not what could have been done by the State of Chou (of itself). Now Ch'in was the same as Chou in acting as the Son of Heaven, but in the way it served Heaven it differed from Chou. (The latter) considered the suburban sacrifice to be the beginning of the one hundred spirits. In meeting the first of the year, the beginning must be on the first hsin ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) day of the first month.<sup>19</sup> Offerings are first presented in sacrifice to Heaven, and then it is presumed to make them to earth.<sup>20</sup> This is the meaning of giving precedence to the honourable. That which is given precedence in the year and that which is not done in the year are far removed from one another. Thus the blessings<sup>21</sup> of the world are like things which cannot be wondered at. Thus the reason that it has not been done for a long time is not that they saw clearly that it was right not to do it. The officials of ritual are constantly jealous and none are able to clearly understand what is correct. Now I<sup>22</sup> consider that right and wrong can be settled by turning inside to the mind. Yao spoke to Shun saying: "The calculations of the calendar are in your person."<sup>23</sup> This is to say that by examining the self you under-



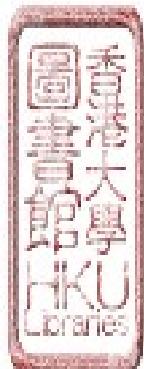
stand Heaven. Now if the person had a son who would not wish him to have the propriety of a son? The sages rectified names and if names are not emptily created, then Son of Heaven means he is Heaven's son. Measuring Heaven by means of the self, how could (Heaven) alone not wish Its son to have the propriety of a son? Now if he acts as the son of Heaven and negligently does not sacrifice to Heaven, why should Heaven treat him well?<sup>24</sup> I have heard it said that if the world is at peace, then disasters do not occur. The occurrence of disasters nowadays show that the world is not yet at peace. The way in which the world is not yet at peace is that the suasion of the son of Heaven is not yet practised. The Book of Songs says:

"His behaviour was greatly virtuous,  
And the states of the four (directions) accorded  
with him."<sup>25</sup>

"Greatly" means outstanding. If a king has brilliant and outstanding virtue which he practises towards the world, then no one in the four directions will not be effected, and his reforming influence will benefit them. Therefore we say that he is happy in congratulations and rewards; stern in punishments and reprimands; and expeditious in legislation and ordering.

#### FOOTNOTES:

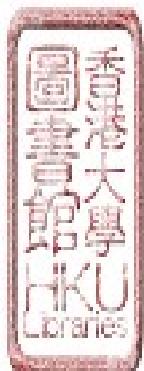
1. Literally "neck/metal". Commentators have been puzzled by this. The translation here agrees with Su Yü that it must have been some sort of a speculum and has been rendered thus.



2. i.e. the north.
3. i.e. the south.
4. There are only seven listed. Yu Yüeh thinks that the last three count as two each, but Su Yu thinks that three cases have been lost from the text at this point.
5. Deleting teng (箇). (Su Yu).
6. SPPY CCFL 65 ends at this point. The section between asterisks seems to have been lost from the SPPY edition. Su Yu has followed Lu Wen-chao's suggestion by removing the balance of CCFL 67 to follow the second asterisk.
7. Analects 16.8.1, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.313).
8. Deleting pu (不). (Su Yu).
9. Inserting sheng (聲) before jen (人). (Su Yu).
10. Inserting ch'i suo (其庶) after wen (問). (Yu Yüeh).
11. Songs 3.2.5.2, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.482). The commentators have incorrectly amended ch'ien (錢) to ch'ien (錢).
12. Substituting che (赤) for ke (赤). (Yu Yüeh).
13. Substituting shih (赤) for chih (之). (Ch'ien) T'ang - 錢唐).
14. Following Yu Yüeh's reconstruction. cf. KYC, Hsi 31.3.
15. Analects 3.13.2, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.159).
16. Songs 3.1.2.3, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.433) has wei (唯) for wei (唯), and yü (亦) for yün (允).
17. Substituting chih (之) for yeh (也). (Su Yu).
18. See Analects 18.11, (Legge, Classics I, p.338-339).
19. This rule is given in KYC, Ch'eng 17.6.
20. Substituting wei (唯) for yü (亦). (Su Yu).
21. Su Yu suspects that this word is mistaken.



22. Substituting ch'ieh (執) for ch'ieh (懶). (Su Yu").
23. Analects 20.1.1, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.350).
24. The commentators feel that text has been lost from this point. Lu Wen-chao feels that the following text belongs to CCFL 67 (from which is removed), but Su Yü places it here.
25. Songs 3.2.2, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.511).



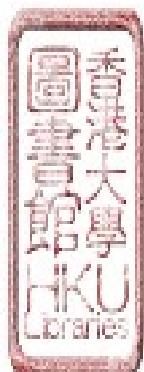
CCFL 66:"The Meaning of the Suburban Sacrifice"

It is a law of the Spring and Autumn Annals<sup>1</sup> that the king performs one sacrifice in a year in the suburbs, and four sacrifices in the ancestral temple. In the ancestral temple he follows the changes of the four seasons, but in the suburbs, he follows the beginning of the new year.<sup>2</sup> It was commenced thus by the sages, and he cannot but attend to it personally.

Heaven is the ruler of the one hundred spirits, and that which is most honoured by the king. Because he most honours Heaven, immediately it changes to a new year,<sup>3</sup> he performs the Suburban Sacrifice. The Suburban Sacrifice must be performed on the first hsin (辛) day of the first month.<sup>4</sup> (This) says that he heads the affairs of a year with that which he most honours. Each time there is a new year he heads it with the Suburban Sacrifice.<sup>5</sup> (This) is the meaning of giving precedence to nobility, and the Way of honouring Heaven.

FOOTNOTES:

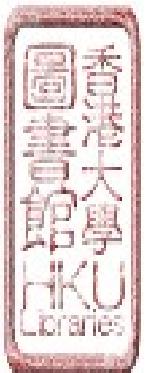
1. Deleting chiao i (郊祭). (Ch'ien T'ang).
2. Substituting yü (歲) for i (以). (Su Yü).
3. Deleting shih (歲). (Su Yü).
4. KYC, Ch'eng 17.6.
5. Deleting the second chiao (郊). (Yü Yüeh).



CCFL 67:"The Sacrifice in the Suburbs"

(According to) the meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals, when there is great mourning in the state, the sacrifices of the ancestral temples are stopped, but the Suburban Sacrifice is not stopped. They do not presume to use mourning for parents to omit the ritual of the service of Heaven.<sup>1</sup> The burial of parents is the acme of sorrow, and still we do not dare to omit the Suburban Sacrifice. What (then), could be (serious) enough to cause the Suburban Sacrifice to be omitted? Therefore in accord with ritual it is said that those in mourning do not sacrifice. Only when sacrificing to Heaven is mourning set aside, and the act (of sacrifice) performed. In performing the Suburban Sacrifice, the awe towards Heaven and the importance given to Heaven by the ancients was this extreme.

Nowadays, the host of ministers and scholars are not profound<sup>2</sup> in their examination when they say: "When the myriad peoples are extremely poor, and some are close to starving and freezing, is the Suburban Sacrifice justifiable?" How mistaken are these words! The Son of Heaven, and parents serve Heaven, and sons and grandsons care for the myriad peoples. (To say that) there can be no purpose in sacrificing to Heaven when people everywhere have not yet eaten their fill is similar to (saying that there is no use feeding one's parents when the sons and grandsons have not yet eaten. There are no words more perverse than



these, and they are far divorced from propriety. Ritual<sup>3</sup> puts honourable first and mean last. What is more honourable than the Son of Heaven? The Son of Heaven has the appellation Heaven's son. How then, could he receive the appellation of the Son of Heaven and lack the propriety of the Son of Heaven? The Son of Heaven cannot but sacrifice to Heaven. It is not different from this that a man cannot but feed his father.<sup>4</sup> No one in the world could consider it permissible in human behaviour for a son not to serve his father. Now, how is this different from being the Son of Heaven and not serving Heaven? Therefore, in performing the ritual of a son, the Son of Heaven must first conduct the Suburban Sacrifice when each first of the year arrives, in order to present offerings to Heaven, before presuming to act for Earth. In carrying out the Way of the son, each time he is about to raise an army, he must first perform the Suburban Sacrifice in order to announce it to Heaven, before presuming to carry out the attack. When King Wen received the Mandate of Heaven and ruled the world, he first performed the Suburban Sacrifice before presuming to conduct affairs or to raise an army to attack Ch'ung (崇).<sup>5</sup> In the Book of Songs it says:

"Luxuriant were the shrubs of oak;  
We made it firewood, and piled it up.  
Fine and handsome was our ruler the king;  
From left and right they hurried.

"Fine and handsome was our ruler the king;  
To left and right they carried the sceptres.



"In carrying the sceptres, able-bodied and strong;  
They were eminent men, as was correct."<sup>6</sup>

This is the phraseology of the Suburban Sacrifice. Below that it says:

"Crossing in those Ching (淸) River boats,  
Rowed by his many followers,  
The king of Chou progressed,<sup>7</sup>  
Followed by the six armies."

This is the phraseology of the attack. Below that it says:

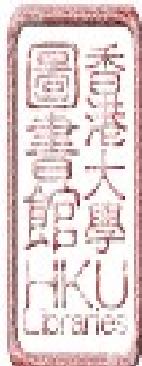
"King Wen received the Mandate of Heaven,  
And achieved this military merit.  
When he had attacked Ch'ung (崇),  
He built his city at Feng (豐)."

From these phrases we see that King Wen received the Mandate and then performed the Suburban Sacrifice, and then attacked.

At the time of his attack, how quickly were the people at peace!

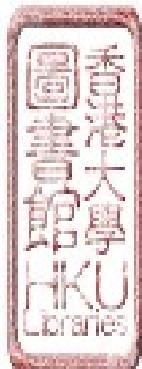
#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Deleting ti (地). (Su Yü).
2. Substituting shen (神) for t'an (天). (Yü Yüeh).
3. Adding li che (禮者) before hsien (先). (Ch'ien T'ang).
4. At this point Su Yü appends the first paragraph of CCFL 69. The remainder of this chapter has been moved to continue CCFL 65.
5. See SC 32/2b.
6. Songs 3.1.5.1,2, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.442-443).
7. Songs 3.1.5.3, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.443).
8. Songs 3.1.10.2, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.461).
9. Substituting chü p'ing (遽平) for ch'u yang (處決). (Lu Wen-chao).



CCFL 68:"The Four (Seasonal) Sacrifices"

In ancient times there were four sacrifices in a year. The four sacrifices accord with what is produced and matured by the four seasons in making the sacrifice to one's predecessors and to one's parents. Therefore, "in the spring it is called the Tz'u (初), in the summer it is called the Yüeh (夏), in the autumn it is called the Ch'ang (長), and in the winter it is called the Cheng (烹)."<sup>1</sup> This is to say that there should be no error in the timing of the performance of sacrifices to one's predecessors. If the (correct) time passes without the sacrifice, then the Way of the son has been lost. In the Tz'u, onions are (offered as) food at the beginning of the first month. In the Yüeh, wheat is (offered as) food in the fourth month. For the Ch'ang, the taste of millet (is offered) during the seventh month. In the Cheng, the first rice is brought in in the tenth month. This is the constant of Heaven and the righteousness of Earth. The filial son and (his) filial wife follow the seasons of Heaven, and accord with the benefits of Earth.<sup>2</sup> They sow<sup>3</sup> vegetables, mushrooms, melons, and fruits, and they plant rice, wheat, and millet. When the vegetables are grown, and the grains are mature, they give constant thought to (the selection of) a lucky day on which they offer all of the sacrificial things. They fast, bathe and purify themselves, and with the utmost in respect they sacrific



to their predecessors and parents. If the filial son and his filial wife do not allow the (correct) time to pass, attend to (the sacrifice) with love and respect, and carry it out with reverence and deference, they will avoid guilt.

Having<sup>4</sup> received the mandate to act as king, he must first sacrifice to Heaven, and then carry out his kingly duties. Such was King Wen in his attack on Ch'ung (崇). The Book of Songs says:

"Fine and handsome was our ruler the king;  
To left and right they carried the sceptres.  
In carrying the sceptres, able-bodied and strong;  
They were eminent men, as was correct."<sup>5</sup>

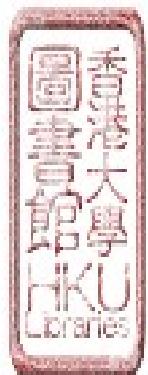
This (refers to) the Suburban Sacrifice of King Wen. Later on the wording says:

"Crossing in those Ching (淸) River boats,  
Rowed by his many followers,  
The king of Chou progressed,  
Followed by the six armies."<sup>6</sup>

This (refers to) King Wen's attack on Ch'ung. First it says

that they carried the sceptres, and afterwards it says that he attacked Ch'ung. From this we see that King Wen first carried out the Suburban Sacrifice, and afterwards made the attack.

King Wen received the Mandate, and then he carried out the Suburban Sacrifice. He carried out the Suburban Sacrifice, and then he attacked Ch'ung. At that time, the people of the state of Ch'ung were suffering under a violent and disorderly



ruler. They had not yet come under the virtue and benefit of a sage, and King Wen performed the Suburban Sacrifice. Why should he not perform the Suburban Sacrifice for those who had not yet been imbued with virtue and benefit!

FOOTNOTES:

1. KYC, Huan 8.1.
2. At this point Su Yü appends a short section from CCFL 70.
3. Su Yü thinks that this word is a mistake. This translation suggests this rather extended translation of the word ti (持).
4. This paragraph is almost identical with the final section of CCFL 67.
5. Songs 3.1.5.2, (cf. Legge, Classics LV, p.443).
6. Songs 3.1.5.3, (ibid.)



CCFL 69:

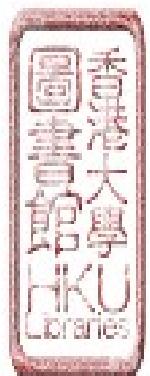
"The Prayer of the Suburban Sacrifice"<sup>1</sup>

In the time of King Hsüan of Chou,<sup>2</sup> the world (suffered from) a drought, and it was an extremely bad year. The king was grieved by this, and the Book of Songs says:

"Bright was the Milky Way,  
Shining and turning in the sky.  
The king said: 'Alas!  
What guilt does man have now?  
Heaven has sent down death and havoc,  
And famines arrive repeatedly.  
There is no spirit which we have not raised up,  
And we have not begrimed the beasts of sacrifice.  
We have exhausted our tokens and tallies of jade.  
Why are we not heard?'

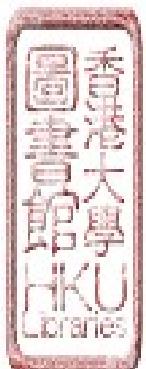
"The drought has already become severe,  
And the heat is concentrated and fierce.  
I have constantly made offerings in sacrifice,  
From the suburbs to the palace.  
Above and below I have sacrificed to the dead,  
Leaving no spirit unhonoured.  
Yet Hou Chi does not overcome it,  
And God does not come near.  
Waste and ruin descends on the land.  
Why does it befall our person?"<sup>3</sup>

King Hsüan, himself, thought that it was because of the inability of Hou Chi<sup>4</sup> and the non-intervention of God that the disasters arrived. Having these disasters, he was even more fearful and attentive in his service of Heaven. If it had not been bestowed upon the family by Heaven, how could the family be established as the Son of Heaven? The establishment (of the family) as Son of Heaven, was bestowed on the family by Heaven. The bestowal on the family by Heaven was the use of the family by Heaven.<sup>5</sup> The family is both bestowed upon and used by Heaven.



When Heaven has already bestowed upon it, and Heaven has already used it, how can a family<sup>6</sup> not but reach out to Heaven? Therefore, wheever the Spring and Autumn Annals was critical of the Suburban Sacrifice, it was never critical of the ruler (because his) virtue was not completed in (that) Suburban Sacrifice. Thus not carrying out the Suburban Sacrifice and sacrificing to the mountains and streams, is losing the order of the sacrifices, and offending against ritual.<sup>7</sup> Thus criticism of it was essential. From this we can see if sacrifice is not made to Heaven, it is not permissible to sacrifice to the lesser spirits. Thus in the Suburban Sacrifice divination comes first. If it is unlucky, it is not dared to perform the Suburban Sacrifice. For the sacrifices to the one hundred spirits there is no divination. There is divination for the Suburban Sacrifice alone, for the Suburban Sacrifice is the most important. The Spring and Autumn Annals is critical of sacrifices which are carried out when there is mourning, but it is not critical of the Suburban Sacrifice when there is mourning. The Suburban Sacrifice is not avoided when there is mourning. If it is not avoided even when there is mourning, how much more so for other things! The prayer of the Suburban Sacrifice says:

"Magnificent is Heaven above,  
Its brilliance reaching earth below!  
It blends with the spirits of the Earth,  
Sending down seasonal wind and rain.  
All living things, all people,  
Gain what is (fitting).



"Timelessly,  
 It is granted to only one personage,  
 To respectfully pray for the protection of  
 Heaven on high."<sup>8</sup>

It is not said for the self. It is said for, "All living things, all people," and Heaven finds no blame in it. When Heaven finds no blame in it and the wording is reverential and obedient, there may be joy for its correctness. The foregoing was the nine phrases of the prayer<sup>9</sup> of the Suburban Sacrifice. The nine of the phrases is a Yang number.

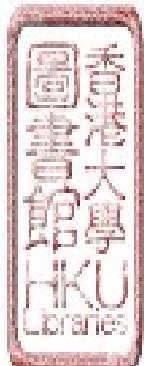
FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting chu (禐) for ssu (禐). (Ch'ien T'ang). The first paragraph has been moved to CCFL 67.
2. Ruled BC 827-782.
3. Songs 3.3.4.1,2, (Legge, Classics IV, p.528-530). The present rescentration has wu-hu (吁乎) for wu-hu (嗚呼).
4. Hou Chi was the Minister of Agriculture under Emperor Shun, and thought to be the founder of the Chou line.
5. Deleting the following five words. (Lu Wen-chao).
6. Substituting chia (彌) for chien (闕). (Yu Yieh).
7. see KYC, Hsi 31.3.
8. This prayer is also given in Ta-tai Li-chi, "Kung Kuan" (公冠). It precedes a prayer, the wording of which would indicate that it is also a prayer for the Suburban Sacrifice.
9. Substitution as for ff.1 above.



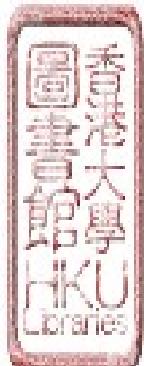
CCFL 70:**"Accord with the Mandate"**

The father is the son's Heaven, and the ancestors<sup>1</sup> are the father's Heaven. There is nothing which is not created by Heaven. Heaven is the ancestor of the ten thousand things. Had it not been for Heaven, the ten thousand things would not have been created. With Yin alone there would be no creation and with Yang alone there would be no creation. (Only) after the Yin and Yang form a triad with Heaven and Earth is there creation. The son of Heaven<sup>2</sup> may be honoured, but the son of the mother may be demeaned. The honoured has an honourable designation, and the mean has a mean designation.<sup>3</sup> Therefore Heaven protects and takes as a son the one whose virtue is the same as Heaven and Earth. His designation is Son of Heaven. Next in order, there are (those) honoured by the five ranks of nobility. All are designated states or cities. Those between Heaven and Earth who are without virtue, and who are worse than the common people of (their) regions and states, do not deserve to be associated with (their) state or city. All are cut off from kinship ties, and separated from the Heavenly relationships. They are simply called gatemen<sup>4</sup> or bandits. (Those) between Heaven and Earth who are without name, surname, designation, or family are the meanest of the mean. The highest honour<sup>5</sup> is so lofty that it cannot be added to, and the lowest meanness



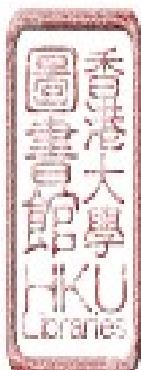
is so obscure that nothing is lower. The Spring and Autumn Annals ranks the order of the positions of honourable and mean, and its repetitious display (of them) can be obtained and viewed. Even if you are dull and stupid it will be clear.<sup>6</sup> Prince Ch'ing-fu (of Lu) was guilty, (but) it was not proper for him to be associated with (his) state.<sup>7</sup>

Because of his kinship to it (however) it conceals it on behalf of (the state), and calls him Chung-sun (仲孫) of Ch'i, thus doing away with his relationship of being a price. Therefore, those who have the great guilt of not obeying the commandments of Heaven are alienated from their Heavenly relationships. From Heaven, men receive commandments by means of the Way; and from men, men receive commandments by means of words. Those who do not accord with the Way, Heaven cuts off; and those who do not accord with the words, man cuts off. Ministers and sons greatly receive their orders from their ruler,<sup>8</sup> to take leave and cross the border. But if there is danger to the national altars and the state it is permissible (for them) to speak out and act on their own.<sup>9</sup> Such (was the case) at the covenant (after the battle) at An.<sup>10</sup> The Son of Heaven receives his commandments from Heaven; the feudal lords receive their commandments from the Son of Heaven; the son receives commandments from the father; the minister and the concubine receive commandments from their ruler; and the wife receives commandments from her husband. All those who receive commandments respect (the source as though



he were) Heaven, so that it is also permissible to say that they receive commandments from Heaven. If the Son of Heaven is unable to obey the commandments of Heaven, he is done away with and called, duke. Such were the descendants of kings.<sup>11</sup> If dukes and marquises are unable to obey the commandments of the Son of Heaven, their names are cut off, and they are unable to hold their position. Such was the Marquise Shuo (豫侯) of Wei.<sup>12</sup> If the son does not obey the commandments of his father then he has the guilt which is punishable by the over-lord. Such was the Crown Prince K'uai K'uei (駟驥) of Wei.<sup>13</sup> If the minister does not obey his ruler's commandments, even if he is good, he is referred to as a rebel. Thus it was when, "Chao Yang (趙鞅) of Chin entered Chin-yang (晉陽) in revolt."<sup>14</sup> An example of the concubine not obeying her ruler's commandments is (the case where) the concubine (from Ch'i) was the first to arrive.<sup>15</sup> An example of the wife not obeying the husband's commandments is (the case where the Duchess of Lu) was cut off from her husband (because) it did not say "and".<sup>16</sup> I say the guilt of those who do not obey and accord with Heaven is like these.

Confucius said: "(The true gentleman) fears the mandate of Heaven; he fears great men; and he fears the words of the sage."<sup>17</sup> It is not from the Way of the sacrifices to the state altars, to the ancestral temples, to the hills and streams, or



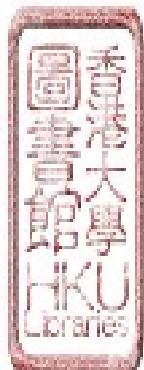
to the spirits and ghosts that there is no disaster and no blight. These come from failure to make offerings to Heaven, and failure to follow the divinations. (These) caused the ox ox to injure its mouth,<sup>18</sup> and the mice to eat its horns,<sup>19</sup> or to eat the ox.<sup>20</sup> Once it said they ate it and it died,<sup>20</sup> once they ate it and it lived,<sup>21</sup> and once they did not eat it but it died of itself.<sup>22</sup> Once they changed it and divined on it, and the ox died,<sup>22</sup> and once they divined on it and the mice ate its horns.<sup>23</sup> There are profound, slight, light and heavy mistakes, and there are limited and extensive of disasters. This cannot but be examined. If there are<sup>24</sup> abnormalities in the Suburban Sacrifice, they are responded to by disaster. The incidence (of disaster also) responds to the failure to carry out (the sacrifice).<sup>25</sup> From this we can see that it can be feared. It is only Heaven that can act on Its own and carry out executions. There were more than thirty occasions (in the Spring and Autumn Annals) when ministers assassinated their rulers, or sons committed patricide.<sup>26</sup> From this we can see that it is only the mandate of Heaven which is to be feared.<sup>27</sup> Over fifty states were lost and none of them served that which (should have been) feared. How much more so is failure to fear great men! When was there ever the destruction of the ruler by a great man who acted on his own in punishing? (Duke) Hsüan of Lu disregarded the words of the sages; and he caused disaster by changing the ancient and



altering the constant.<sup>28</sup> Is it possible to be careless about the words of the sages? These three fears point in different directions, but have the same application. Thus the sage puts them together, and at the same (time) said that they could be feared.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting tsu (組) for t'ien (天). (Yü Yüeh).
2. Substituting t'ien (天) for fu (父). (Su Yü).
3. cf. Ku-liang Commentary, Chuang 3.3. The wording of the preceding four sentences differs only slightly.
4. In Chou times the position of gateman was filled by people who had suffered the punishment of cutting out of the tongue (see KYC, Hsiang 29.4). Here it probably represents all people who had suffered one of the five mutilating punishments.
5. Substituting kao (斬) for te (殺). (Su Yü).
6. The following section has been removed to CCFL 68.
7. See CCFL 4, p.9-10 (ff.39).
8. cf. Ku-liang Commentary, Chuang 1.2. The wording of the preceding three sentences differs only slightly.
9. Removing chih (之) to follow chuan (傳). (Lu Wen-chao). See CCFL 5, p.2-4.
10. Substituting an (安) for an (安). See CCFL 3, ff.25, and CCFL 6, ff.102. KYC says that Kuo Tso was sent by his ruler, but it may be that he "acted on his own" in agreeing to the terms of the treaty.
11. See KYC, Yin 5.5.
12. See CCFL 6, p.5 (ff.27,32), and p.10 (ff.85). He has been deposed by the king in BC 696, but he was illegally reinstated in BC 688.
13. See CCFL 4, p.8 (ff.32).



14. SA, Ting 13.5. In this entry for BC 497, SA indicates Chao Yang's rebellion. KYC explains that it was not actually a rebellion, and that Chao Yang was using the armour of Chin-yang to equip his troops in a campaign to drive out Hsün Yen (荀彥) and Shih Chi-she (史子奢) (who are recorded as having rebelled in the next entry, Ting 13.6). KYC's comments on the situation follow SA, Ting 13.7, in which his return is recorded. It explains that although it was a good thing that these two evil men were expelled, Chao Yang was incorrect because he has not received his ruler's orders to act.

15. After carrying out the Ti (禘) Sacrifice in BC 652 (Hsi 8.4) Duke Hsi of Lu brought in his duchess. KYC explains that she was supposed to have been a concubine, but that she was taken as wife because she had arrived before the woman who was supposed to have been the duchess. The wording of SA was thought to be indicating disapproval by the omission of her surname.

16. When Duke Huan of Lu and his duchess went to Ch'i in BC 694 (Huan 18.1), SA omits the connective chi (及) between them. KYC explains that it did so to censure her for subsequently causing her husband's death (see KYC, Min 1.2).

17. Analects 16.8, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.313).

18. BC 606 (Hsüan 3.1).

19. BC 584 (Ch'eng 7.1).

20. BC 495 (Ting 15.2).

21. BC 494 (Ai 1.3).

22. BC 606 (Hsüan 3.2).

23. BC 584 (Ch'eng 7.2).

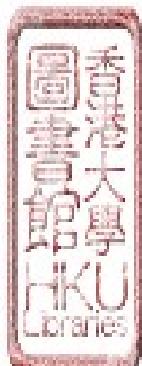
24. Substituting yu (有) for yu (猶). (Su Yu).

25. Su Yu feels that there has been an error in the copying of these two sentences.

26. Deleting the following six words. (Lu Wen-chao).

27. Deleting ta jen (大人). (Lu Wen-chao).

28. There were a number of crimes associated with the accession



of Duke Hsüan of Lu. His elder brother the crown prince had been murdered in BC 609 (Wen 18.6) shortly after the death of their father, Duke Wen (Wen 18.1). The followed year he cemented relations with Ch'i by marrying a daughter of the ruling house (Hsüan 1.3) while still in mourning, and by presenting Ch'i with territory (Hsüan 1.8). The problems with the sacrificial oxen which are mentioned above (ff.17 & 21), occurred shortly thereafter.

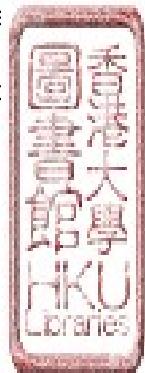
29. Inserting yù (與) at the end of the sentence. (Lu Wen-chao).



CCFL 71:"The Conduct of the Suburban Sacrifice"

Your servant, the Commandant of Justice, (Chang) T'ang (張湯)<sup>1</sup> risked death to say: 'I, (Chang) T'ang have received the order to make inquiries about the conduct of the Suburban Sacrifice of the former Prime Minister of Chiao-hsi (膠西), (Tung) Chung-shu.'

"Your servant (Tung) Chung-shu replied saying: 'I have heard that in ancient times, there was nothing in the ritual of the Son of Heaven which was more important than the Suburban Sacrifice. The Suburban Sacrifice was always on the first hsin (辛) (day) of the first month of the year. Thus it was given precedence over the one hundred spirits and occurred in the very earliest position. According to ritual, during the three years of mourning, there are no sacrifices, but it is given precedence because they do not dare to do away with the Suburban Sacrifice. The Suburban Sacrifice is more important than the ancestral temple, (for) Heaven is more honourable than man. The "King's Orders" says: "(The horns of) the ox for the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth are (like) cocoons or chestnuts; (the horns of the sacrificial) ox for the ancestral temple are four inches (long); and (the horns of the sacrificial) ox of guests are one foot (long).'<sup>2</sup> This is to say that the growth of virtue is good while the growth of the sacrificial beast is small. The (Kung-yang Commentary to the) Spring and Autumn Annals says:



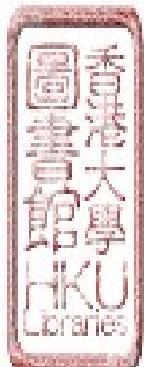
"When Lu sacrificed to the Duke of Chou ... it used a white bull."<sup>3</sup> Its colour was white in order to honour purity. "The royal sacrificial beasts are in the Ti for three months."<sup>4</sup> In sacrificial beasts, fatness and purity are honoured, but there is no desire for great (size). Generally, the Way of rearing sacrificial beasts is to give attention to fatness and purity and nothing more. When colts and calves are not yet able to assimilate hay or grain, nothing is better than that they be fed by their mothers.'

"At this point your servant, (Chang) T'ang attentively questioned (Tung) Chung-shu: 'Was it not against ritual when Lu sacrificed to the Duke of Chou using a white bull?'

"Your servant (Tung) Chung-shu replied saying: 'It was in accord with ritual.'

"Your servant (Chang) T'ang inquired: 'The Son of Heaven of the Chou (Dynasty) used a bay bull, and "for the various dukes, it was not of a single colour."<sup>5</sup> Since the Duke of Chou was (one of the) various dukes, how could it be correct to use a sacrificial beast of a single colour?'

"Your servant (Tung) Chung-shu replied saying: 'When King Wu (of Chou) died and King Ch'eng established, (the latter) v

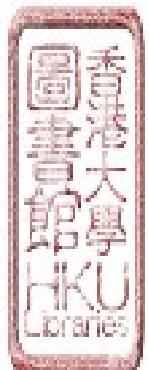


(still) in swaddling clothes.<sup>6</sup> The Duke of Chou continued the rule of (Kings) Wen and Wu, completing the virtue of (those) two sages. His virtue reached Heaven and Earth, and his benefit covered (all within) the four seas. Therefore King Ch'eng considered him wise and honoured him. The Book of Songs says: "No virtue unrewarded."<sup>7</sup> Therefore King Ch'eng allowed the sacrifice to the Duke of Chou to be a white bull. On the one hand it was not the same colour as that of the Son of Heaven, and on the other, it differed from the feudal lords. I, (Tung) Chung-shu am stupid, but I consider it to be a ritual which is a reward for virtue.'

"Your servant (Chang) T'ang questioned (Tung) Chung-shu: 'The Son of Heaven sacrifices to Heaven, and the feudal lords sacrifice to Earth. Why is it that Lu (could) carry out the Suburban Sacrifice?'"<sup>8</sup>

"Your servant, (Tung) Chung-shu replied saying: 'The Duke of Chou taught King Ch'eng, and subsequently, King Ch'eng attained sagely merit. Nothing is greater than this. The Duke of Chou was a sage, and he sacrificed to the Way of Heaven. Therefore King Ch'eng allowed Lu to carry out the Suburban Sacrifice.'

"Your servant (Chang) T'ang questioned (Tung) Chung-shu:



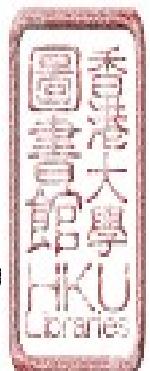
'In sacrificing to the Duke of Chou, Lu used a white bull.

What did they use for the Suburban Sacrifice?'

"Your servant, (Tung) Chung-shu replied saying: 'Lu used a bull which was completely bay in colour for the Suburban Sacrifice. In colour, the Chou (Dynasty) favoured red. Because Lu conducted the Suburban Sacrifice on the order of the Son of Heaven, they used a bya (bull).'

"Your servant, (Chang) T'ang questioned (Tung) Chung-shu: 'In sacrifices in the ancestral temple, sometimes they used tame ducks for wild ducks. Tame ducks are not wild ducks. May they, or may they not be used?'

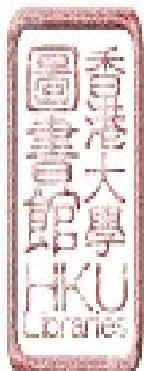
"(Tung) Chung-shu replied saying: 'Tame ducks are not wild ducks, and wild ducks are not tame ducks. I have heard that whenever Confucius entered the royal ancestral temple he (demonstrated) the greatest of caution by asking about everything. His majesty personally fasts and cleanses himself in order to continue the ancestral temple with the greatest of respect and attentiveness. How could he use a wild duck for a tame duck, or a tame duck for a wild duck? The names and the realities do not correspond. Would it not also be unacceptable (to use them) to continue the royal ancestral temple. Your servant (Tung) Chung-shu is stupid, but he considers it to be incorrect.'



(Now) that I am old and weak, it has been granted that my bones withdraw to a rustic lane. His majesty has then favoured me by sending (one of the) nine ministers to question me about the affairs of the court. But I am stupid and rustic and many times unable to receive your brilliant edict and submit a great reply. I, (Tung) Chung-shu risk death to make (this) report."

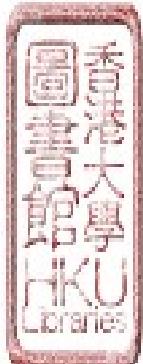
FOOTNOTES:

1. Chang T'ang was Commandant of Justice BC 126-121, and Grand Censor BC 121-115 (when he committed suicide).
2. Li-chi, "Wang Chih" (王制).
3. KYC, Wen 13.5. Most editions have sheng (牲) for mu (犧).
- r. KYC, Hsüan 3.3. The present resction has yü (犧) before ti (犧). The Ti was a special enclosure for the rearing of sacrificial animals.
5. KYC, Wen 13.5 says that "(for) the Duke of Chou a white bull is used; for the Duke of Lu a Bay Bull is used; and for the various (other) dukes, it is not of a single colour."
6. It is agreed that the Duke of Chou acted as regent, but there is much controversy over the actual age of the king at his accession. Legge (Classics III, p.357) follows the school which believed him to have been thirteen.
7. Songs 3.3.2.6, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.514).
8. Reversing the order of chi chiao (祭郊). (Lu Wen-chao).



CCFL 72:**"Making Presentations"**

In all making of presentations, the Son of Heaven uses sacrificial wine;<sup>1</sup> Dukes and Marquises use jade; the ministers use sheep; and the nobles use wild geese. Wild geese have a similarity to elders. When the elders are above the people, they must have the easy accord of precedence and they must have the natural control of sequence. Therefore the noble makes (wild geese) his presentation. Sheep have horns but do not use them. Being prepared but not using it is like one who loves humanity. When captured they do not cry out, and when being killed they do not bleat. (This) is like one who would die for righteousness. When feeding from their mothers, lambs must kneel down in order to receive it. (This) is as though they understand ritual. Is it not so that the word 'sheep' is similar to "auspicious"?<sup>2</sup> Therefore a minister makes the lamb his presentation. Jade is similar to the gentleman.<sup>3</sup> "Confucius said," 'For a man who "does not ask, 'What of this?' 'What of this?' I can do nothing.'"<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he who conceals a disease will not obtain good medicine, and he who is ashamed to ask questions is abandoned by the sage. (The latter) consider that when there is achievement at a distance, disaster is close at hand, and he is not friendly (to such people). Jade is the acme of purity, and it does not conceal its imperfections. If there is a flaw within, it is certain to be visible without.



Therefore the gentleman does not hide his shortcomings. If he does not know, he asks, and if he is unable, he learns. (This) is taken from jade, and a gentleman is comparable to jade.

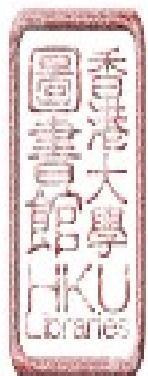
Jade is glossy and untainted; he is humane and of the greatest purity. It is simple and it does not cut; he is righteous and he does no harm. It is firm but not over-hard; gentle,<sup>5</sup> but not over-soft. When you look at it, it seems ordinary, and when you examine it, it appears to be (common) stone;<sup>6</sup> but when you scratch it it does not mark.<sup>7</sup> It is of the purest white and unfouled, like the complete virtue (of the gentleman).<sup>8</sup> Therefore Dukes and Marquises make it their presentation.

Sacrificial wine is like the sage. His simple humanity and purity have the nobility of wisdom. Accumulated in his person is the most virtuous of names,<sup>9</sup> and demonstrated in his actions is the acme of generosity. He accumulates the goodness of the Yang, and his fragrance reaches Heaven. Similarly, the sacrificial wine takes the fragrance of the one hundred herbs, (using) only the tips of them.<sup>10</sup> These are blended together and direct the fragrant vapoured sacrificial wine to Heaven.<sup>11</sup> (Thus) there is no difference in their purity, and (the wine) is the same as the sage. Therefore the Son of Heaven makes it his presentation. Thus each give according to their responsibility. When we examine the meaning of their presentations, we can see their responsibilities.



FOOTNOTES:

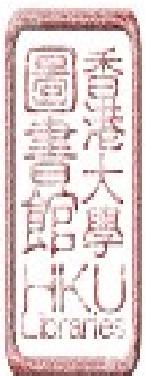
1. Taking ch'ang (長) to be a variant of ch'ang (鬯). (Ling Shu).
2. Hsiang (羣). The phonetic is the same as the word used here for 'sheep' (yang - 羊).
3. Adding yü (于) after ssu (収). (Huang Chen).
4. Analects 15.15. (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.299). The present rescription has an i (已) before i (矣). As noted by the quotation marks, the present rescription also lacks jen erh (人而).
5. Substituting wen (溫) for kuo (過). (Su Yü).
6. Deleting chuang ju shih (壯壯石). (Su Yü).
7. Deleting tsung (從) and substituting nao (撓) for jao (繞). (Yü Yueh).
8. Deleting yt (玉) (Su Yü), and adding te (德) before che (哲). (Lu Wen-chao).
9. Substituting chi (稚) for tse (子). (Su Yü).
10. Substituting ts'ao (臥) for hsiang (翫), and hsiang (翫) for hsin (心). (Tai Wang - 戴望).
11. Changing t'ien tzu (天子) to read yt t'ien (子天). (Ch'ien T'ang).



CCFL 73:"In Praise of Mountains and Streams"<sup>1</sup>

As for mountains, (there are) peaks, summits, precipices, and cliffs. When there is no landslide for a long time, they resemble the humane man or the determined knight. Confucius said, 'It is in the mountains and the streams that the spirits are established.'<sup>2</sup> (It is in the mountains) that treasures are stored, that utensils are of use, and that crooked and straight are united. From the large can be made palaces, mansions, terraces and pavilions; and from the small can be made boats, chariots, ridge-poles and paddles.<sup>3</sup> None of the large do not fit, and none of the small are not suitable. If you grasp an axe, then you chop; and if you grasp a scythe, you reap.<sup>4</sup> Living men stand (on them), wild beasts hide (among them), and dead people are (buried) in (them). Many are their merits, but they do not speak of them. This is why they are comparable to a true gentleman. In the accumulation of earth to complete a mountain there is no deficiency. In the completion of its height, there is no harm; and in the completion of its size, there is no loss. Its top is small, but its base is huge. It prolongs the great peace, and latter generations do not (have to) move back and forth. It is the meaning of 'mountain' alone that it exists in solitary majesty. The Book of Songs says:

"Towering is the Southern Mountain,  
And massive are its rocks.  
Majestic are you, (Grand) Tutor Yin,  
And the people all look to you."<sup>5</sup>



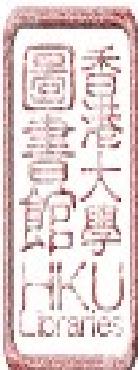
This refers to it.

As for water, it springs forth, splashing and gushing. Day and night it does not cease, thus resembling the strong. It fills in holes and then carries on, thus resembling the up-holder of justice.<sup>6</sup> It accords with the minute, and in going downwards it does not neglect the smallest fissure, thus resembling a judge. In according with gorges and valleys, it is not led astray, and in advancing ten thousand li, its arrival is inevitable, thus resembling the determined.<sup>7</sup> When it is dammed up it becomes clear, thus resembling one who understands the Mandate.<sup>8</sup> You enter it dirty and come out clean, thus it resembles one who changes (others) for the good. It goes to and enters a valley which is eight thousand feet (in depth) without fear, thus resembling the courageous. All things are troubled by fire, and it is water alone which can vanquish it, thus it resembles the martial. All who gain it live, while all who lose it die, thus it resembles the virtuous. "Standing by the river, Confucius said, 'It passes on like this, never ceasing, day or night.'"<sup>9</sup> This refers to it.

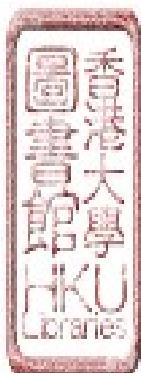
FOOTNOTES:

1. See Analects 6.21, (Legge, Classics I, p.192), on which this chapter is clearly based.

2. Does not occur in the present rescentration of the Classics. Lu Wen-chao thinks that the word 'streams' is a scribal erro

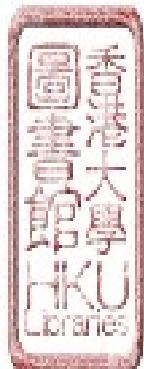


3. Substituting fou chi (父替) for fu she (浮瀉). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. Substituting ch'ih (兮) for che (哲). (Lu Wen-chao).
5. Songs 2.7.1, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.309).
6. cf. Mencius 4.2.18.2, (Legge, Classics II, p.324).
7. Substituting chih (兮) for chih (兮). (Su Yü).
8. Substituting chih (兮) for shan (山) and deleting neng (能). (Sun I-jang).
9. Analects 9.16, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.222). The present recension lacks the initial k'ung (孔).



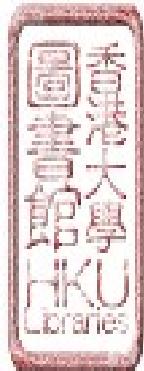
CCFL 74:"Seeking Rain"

If there is drought in the spring, rain is sought by ordering that on 'water days',<sup>1</sup> the county seats pray at the state altars of the mountains and streams, and householders sacrifice at the doors. There is no chopping of famous trees, and there is no pruning of the mountain forests. Shamanesses are exposed to the sun and emaciated<sup>2</sup> people are assembled. On the eighthday, an altar which is eight feet square and which has four passageways is built outside the eastern gate of the cities. (Around it) are set up eight (banners of) green silk. Its spirit is Kung Kung (# I ),<sup>3</sup> and he is sacrificed to with eight live fish and water. Prepare fine wine and dried meat. Select as a prayer that which was the (most) beneficial according to the pure judgment of the shamanesses. Pray and fast for three days, and wear green clothing. First bow twice, then kneel and plead. After pleading, bow twice again, and arising pray, saying: 'Munificent Heaven created the five grains in order to nurture man. Now the five grains are suffering from a drought, and I fear they will not mature. Reverently I bring forward the fine wine and the dried meat, and bowing twice, I ask rain that rain produce an abundance of water.'<sup>4</sup> Next offer the sacrifice and pray. On a chia or an i day,<sup>4</sup> (commence) the construction of a large green dragon which is eighty feet long and occupies the centre, and the construction

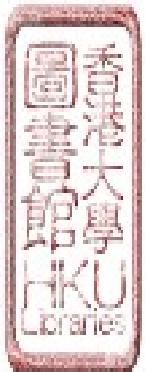


of seven small dragons which are forty feet long. They are to the east; all face east; and they are eight feet apart. Eight young boys all fast for three days, and dressed in green clothing, dance for them. The Field Superintendent also fasts for three days, and wearing green clothing, stands by them. Dig through the altar, connecting it to the moat which is outside the gate. Take five frogs and place them in the middle of the altar in a pond which is eight feet square and one foot deep.<sup>5</sup> Prepare fine wine and dried meat, and pray and fast for three days. Wear green clothing, and bow, kneel, plead, and pray as before. Take three year old roosters and three year old boars and make burnt offerings of them under the spirit coverings of the four passageways. Order the people to close the southern gates of the cities and towns, placing water on the outside, and to open the northern gates of the cities and towns. Prepare an old boar and place it outside the northern gate. Place another boar in the middle of the market, and when the sound of the drums is heard, burn the tails of both boars. Take a dead man's bones and bury them; open the mountain pools; and collect firewood and burn it. Open the barricades on roads and bridges, and clear obstructions from the waterways.<sup>6</sup> If you are favoured by obtaining rain, repay it with a suckling pig and a sufficiency of wine, salt, millet and riches. Make a continuous mat out of rushes.

In summer, rain is sought by ordering that on 'water days'



in the county seats, the householders sacrifice at the hearth. There is to be no construction work, or changing of fires, or deepening of wells. Expose a cauldron to the sun on the altar, and a mortar and pestle to the sun in the main thoroughfare. On the seventh day, an altar which is seven feet square and which has four passageways is built outside the southern gate of the cities. (Around it) are set up seven (banners of) red silk. Its spirit is Ch'ih-yu (𠵼尤)<sup>7</sup>, and he is sacrificed to with seven red roosters and water. Prepare fine wine, and dried meat. Pray and fast for three days, then wearing red clothing, bow, kneel, plead and pray as detailed for the spring. On a ping or ting day,<sup>8</sup> (commence) the construction of a large red dragon which is seventy feet long and occupies the centre, and the construction of six small dragons which are thirty-five feet long. They are to the south; all face south; and they are seven feet apart. Seven stalwarts fast for three days, and dressed in red clothing, dance for them. The Superintendent of the Minister of Works also fasts for three days, and wearing red clothing, stands by them. Dig through the altar, connecting it to the moat which is outside the gate. Take five frogs and place them in the middle of the town altar in the pond which is seven feet square and one foot deep. Prepare wine and dried meat; pray and fast; and wearing red clothing, bow kneel, plead, and pray as before. Take three year old roosters and boars, and make burnt offering of them under the spirit coverings of the four passageways. Open the Yin and



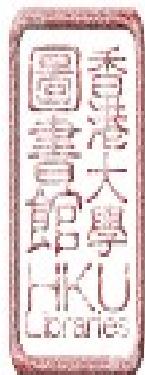
close the Yang as for the spring.

In the last month of summer, pray to the mountains and hills to relieve it. Order that in the county seats, they united to move the market outside the southern gates of the cities on the tenth day. On the fifth day prohibit men, and do not allow them to enter the market. Householders are to sacrifice in the centre of the hall. There is to be no construction work, and shamanesses are assembled at the side of the market where they are covered over. An altar with four passageways is constructed in the centre, and (around it) are set up five (banners of) yellow silk. Its spirit is the God of Agriculture, and he is sacrificed to with five (bowls of) congee, and water. Prepare fine wine and dried meat;<sup>9</sup> pray and fast for three days; and wearing yellow clothing, (do) everything as for the spring sacrifice. On a wu or chi day,<sup>10</sup> (commence) the construction of a large yellow dragon which is fifty feet long and occupies the centre, and the construction of four small dragons which are twenty-five feet long. They are to the south; all face south; and they are five feet apart. Five married men fast for three days, and wearing yellow clothing dance for them. Five old men also fast for three days, and wearing yellow clothing, stand by them. Again connect the centre of the altar to the moat outside the gates. The frog pond is five feet square and one foot deep. The remainder is as before.



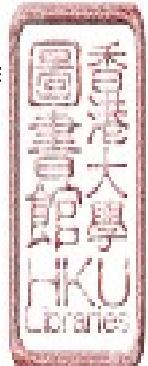
In autumn, expose the shamanesses and the emaciated to the sun. On the ninth day, do not allow the conduct of anything to do with fire, and do not cook in metal implements. Householders are to sacrifice at the gate. An altar which is nine feet square and which has four passageways is built outside and to the west of the cities. (Around it) are set up nine (banners of) white silk. Its spirit is Shao-hao (少昊),<sup>11</sup> and he is sacrificed to with nine T'ung wood fished and water. Prepare fine wine and dried meat, and wear white clothing. The remainder is the same as spring. On a keng or a hsin day<sup>12</sup> (commence) construction of a large dragon which is ninety feet long, and construction of eight small dragons which are forty-five feet long. They are to the west; all face west; and they are nine feet apart. Nine single men fast for three days, and wearing white clothing, dance for them. The Master of the Horse also fasts for three days, and wearing white clothing, stands by them. The frog pond is nine feet square and one foot deep. The remainder is as before.

In winter perform the dragon dance, and on the sixth day, pray to famous mountains to relieve it. Householders sacrifice at the well. There is to be no blocking up of water. An altar which is six feet square and which has four passageways is constructed outside the north gate of the city. (Around it) are set up six (banners of) black silk. Its spirit is



Hsüan-ming (玄冥),<sup>13</sup> and he is sacrificed to with six black puppies and water. Prepare fine wine; pray and sacrifice for three days; and wearing black clothing, conduct the prayer and ritual as for spring. On a jen or a kuei day, (commence) the construction of a large black dragon which is sixty feet long and occupies the centre, and the construction of five small dragons which are thirty feet long. They are to the north; all face north; and they are six feet apart. Six old men all fast for three days, and wearing black clothing, dance for them. The Commandant also fasts for three days, and wearing black clothing stands by them. The frog pond (is six feet square, and one foot deep. The remainder)<sup>14</sup> is the same as spring.

In each of the four seasons, (action is commenced) on a 'water day'. In construction of the dragons, it is imperative that clean earth be used, and that while making them, they are covered over. When the dragon is completed, it is uncovered and in each of the four seasons, this is (done) on keng-tu day.<sup>15</sup> The officials and the people, the husbands and wives, all stay in pairs. In general, it is the basic principle in the seeking of rain that the husband should wish to be hidden away, and that the woman should wish to be harmonious and happy.



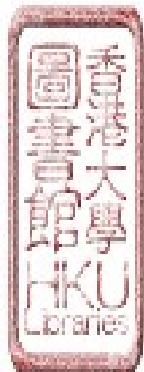
FOOTNOTES:

1. A day beginning with either of the last two of the Heavenly steams, jen and kuei. Each would occur once every ten days.
2. Substituting wang (旺) for she (舍). (Su Yü). cf. Li-chi, "T'an Kung Hsia" (棟弓下).
3. A spirit with the face of a man and the body of a snake.
4. The first two of the Heavenly stems. They correspond to the element 'wood'.
5. Deleting the following five words. (Su Yü).
6. Placing pu hsing che (不行者) at the end of the phrase. (Su Yü).
7. A legendary figure who is supposed to have been a feudal lord at the end of the reign of Yen-ti, but who became a rebel in the time of Huang-ti. Kao-tzu sacrificed to Ch'ih-yu when he became Lord of P'ei in BC 209.
8. The third and the fourth of the Heavenly stems. They correspond to the element 'fire'.
9. Deleting ling ke wei (令客為). (Lu Wen-chao).
10. The fifth and sixth of the Heavenly stems. They correspond to the element 'earth'.
11. Shao-hao succeeded Huang-ti as the ruler of China in legendary, high antiquity.
12. The seventh and eighth of the Heavenly stems. They correspond to the element 'metal'.
13. A water spirit.
14. Following Lu Wen-chao in adding the bracketed section.
15. The thirty-seventh day of the sexagenary cycle. It is the seventh of the twelve 'metal days' in the cycle, and the first to occur in the second half of it. Metal, of course, engenders water.



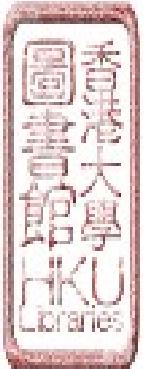
CCFL 75:**"Stopping Rain"**

If there is too much rain, order the county seats to block off the waterways, to cut off the roads, to cover the wells, and to prohibit women and not allow them to enter the market, on an 'earth' day. Order the counties, townships, and villages to sweep up beneath their altars. In the county seats, more than three of the Assistant Magistrates, Prefects, and Superintendents, and one shaman are selected. In the townships, the Superintendent selects more than three clerks and one shaman. In the villages, it is more than three of the teachers and elders and one shaman. All fast for three days, and each wears the colour of the season. A suckling pig is prepared with a sufficiency of millet, salt, fine wine, and riches. There is a sacrifice at the altar, beating of the drums, and on the third day, there is the prayer. First bow twice, then kneel and plead. On completion of the pleading, arise and pray saying, 'Alas! Heaven has engendered the five grains in order to nurture mankind. Now, there has been a great excess of rain for a long time, and the five grains are not at peace. Reverently we bring forward the fat sacrificial animal and the fine wine, and ask with them that the spirit of the altar favour us by stopping the rain, and removing that which is causing the people hardship, so that the Yin will not destroy the Yang. It is not in accord with Heaven that the Yin destroy the Yang. It is the constant



intention of Heaven that mankind be benefited. Mankind wishes that the rain be stopped and has dared to announce it at the altar.' There are drums, but no singing, and when the end is reached, they stop. In general, it is the basic principle of stopping rain that women wish to be hidden and covered, and that the husbands should wish to be harmonious and happy. Open the Yang and close the Yin. Cover water, and set fire. Decorate the altar with ten turns of red silk. Wear red clothing and a red head-dress. (After) three days, stop.<sup>1</sup>

"In the twenty-first year, the (intercalary) eighth month began with chia-shen. On ping-wu,<sup>2</sup> the Prime Minister of Chiang-tu, (Tung) Chung-shu, makes (this) announcement to the Palace Military Commandant and the Prefect of the Capital. It has been overcast and rainy for an exceedingly long time, and I fear that the five grains will be injured. It is urgent that the rain be stopped. The ritual for the stopping of rain is to do away with the Yin and promote the Yang. Inform the seventeen counties, the eighty townships<sup>3</sup> and the officials of below one thousand bushel (rank) in the capitals that those with wives at their postings should all send their wives home. Women and children must not go to the market, and the well in the market must not be visited. It must be covered, and no water allowed to run. Drum and use a sacrificial beast at the altar, and pray saying, 'Because there has been too much rain, the five grains are not at peace. Reverently we bring forward the



fat sacrificial beast thereby asking the spirit of the altar that the spirit of the altar favour us by stopping the rain, and removing that which is causing the people hardship, so that the Yin will not destroy the Yang. It is not in accord with Heaven that the Yin destroy the Yang. It is the constant will of Heaven to benefit. The people wish that the rain be stopped, and have dared to announce it.' They drum and use a sacrificial beast at the altar. All this is done together on the day hsin-hai.<sup>4</sup> When the order arrives, commence immediately. At the county altars, the Magistrate selects from the Assistant Magistrate, the Commandant, or the Senior Official. At the altars of each of the cities and towns, it is the Superintendent. In the villages, the clerk, the teacher, and the men of the village all come out to the bottom of the altar where they take the afternoon meal and rest. After three days they stop. If, before the three days is up, the sky becomes quite clear, it (may) also be stopped."

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting san jih (Ξ Θ) for yen (𠂇). (Sung I-jang).
2. The two calendar reforms which occurred in the reign of Wu-ti have combined with scribal error to make this combination of dating symbols patently impossible. Dubs (CHS II, p.121-122) concludes that the use of "reign periods" did not come into use until BC 114 or 113, well after Wu-ti came to the throne. The main calendar reform, was, of course in BC 104. Since both early histories post-date these changes, both could be subject to error caused by the required re-



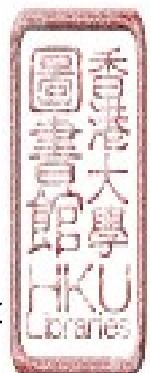
alignments. The problem, then, is to decide which one (or more) of the dating figures here is incorrect.

The most striking feature of the date here is that the usually omitted first day of the month is given, chia-shen (although this has been corrected from an earlier scribal error by Lu Wen-chao). Unless there were two "eighth months" in the year, this procedure would normally be unnecessary. Unfortunately for this line of reasoning the intercalary months were appended after the twelfth month of the pre-BC 104 calendar (or after the ninth month of the post BC 104 calendar). Because an eight might well be a scribal error for a nine, we might suspect this to be the error if all other facts fit. We do indeed find an intercalary ninth month beginning with the day chia-shen in the period in question, but because it falls in BC 134 (Yüan-kuang 1), we are again in trouble.

Shih-chi (17/19b) clearly shows that King Fei was infeudated in Chiang-tu in BC 153 and that he died in the twenty-sixth year of his reign (SC 17/28b-29a, and SC59/3a), Yüan-shuo 1 (BC 128). The day given for his infeudation, however, does not occur in either of the possible third months of the fourth year of the reign of Ching-ti. It does occur in the third month of the third year of his reign, however, giving us 28 July, BC 154. Han-shu, on the other hand is ambiguous as to the year (and date) in which King Fei was invested. It says simply that he was moved to Chiang-tu two years after he was infeudated as king of Ju-nan (居南), and the latter occurred (both SC and HS concur) on May 13, BC 155. This leaves both BC 154 and 153 possible. On two occasions, however, Han-shu insists that King Fei died in the twenty-seventh year of his reign (HS14/14b and HS53/5b). Because both histories agree that this was BC 128, he must have been infeudated, in BC 154. The twenty-first year of King Fei's reign, then, would be BC 134 (Yüan-kuang 1).

The firm dating of this memorial, then, depends on three assumptions:

- 1) That Lu Wen-chao's restoration of a certain scribal error is correct;
- 2) That the recording of the first day of the month does indicate that it was an intercalary month (or its predecessor), and that the eight here is a scribal error for a nine; and,
- 3) That Shih-chi is in error three times (although the second two follow naturally from the first), and that Han-shu



(which was compiled almost two centuries later) is correct.

On these, then the memorial can be dated to 11 November, BC 134.

3. Substituting yu (有) for li (離). (Su Yü).

4. The forty-eighth day of the sexagenary cycle, and the tenth of the 'metal days'. It is also the fifth consecutive day after the date of this missive.

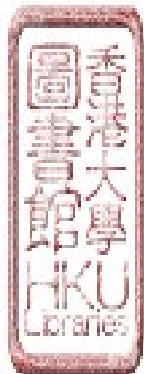


CCFL 76:"The Meaning of Sacrifice"

The creation of the foodstuffs (which are) the five grains, is the means by which Heaven makes gifts to mankind. They are the means by which the four seasons are completed in the ancestral temple. We receive the gift, and offer it in sacrifice. This is the acme of respect in the ancestral temple.<sup>1</sup> It is fitting that it be sacrificed.<sup>2</sup> It is the most generous of the sacrifices of the ancestral temple. In the spring, a full sacrificial platter is offered up; in the summer, a full sacrificial goblet is offered up; in the autumn a full sacrificial basket is offered up; and in the winter, a full sacrificial chalice is offered up. The sacrificial platter is full of leeks, for they are the first to be created by the spring; the sacrificial goblet is full of wheat,<sup>3</sup> for it is the first to be harvested<sup>4</sup> in summer; the sacrificial basket is full of millet, for it is the first to be completed by autumn; and the chalice is full of rice, for it is the last to be matured by the winter. (Leeks are) the first to be created (by spring, and the sacrifice) is called the Tz'u (筭),<sup>5</sup> thus approving of (spring's) control (ssu - 築). (Wheat is) the first to be harvested (in summer, and the sacrifice) is called the Yüeh (月), thus honouring (summer's) economy (yüeh - 月).<sup>6</sup> (Millet is) the first to be completed (in autumn, and the sacrifice) is called the Ch'ang (長). Ch'ang means 'sweet' (kan - 甘).<sup>7</sup> (Rice is) the last



to be matured (by the winter, and the sacrifice) is called the Ch'eng (烝). Ch'eng means 'multitudinous' (chung - 宰).<sup>8</sup> We take that which the four seasons receive from Heaven and offer it up in the four sacrifices.<sup>9</sup> This both honours the gift of Heaven and is reverential to the ancestral temple. When Confucius received his ruler's gift, he sacrificed it.<sup>10</sup> How much more so the receipt of Heaven's gifts! In one year, Heaven's gifts reach us on four occasions. When they reach us, we offer them up (in sacrifice). This is how there are four sacrifices a year in the ancestral temple. Thus the true gentleman does not eat the new before he has sacrificed it. It is imperative that when Heaven's gift is newly arrived,<sup>11</sup> it be sacrificed before (anyone) dares to eat of it. (This is done in order to) be reverential to Heaven, and respectful to the ancestral temple. Reverence to Heaven is greatly righteous, and respect to the ancestral temple is highly proper. (These) are things to which the sage is attentive. He does not crave<sup>12</sup> quantity, but wishes for purity; he does not crave frequency, but wishes for reverence. The sacrifices of a true gentleman are conducted by him personally. (Thus) he transmits his whole-hearted sincerity, and completes the Way of respect and purity, thereby uniting with the acme of reverence. Therefore the spirits accept his offering. If they accept it like this, it can be said that he is able to sacrifice. To sacrifice (chi - 祀) is to illuminate (ch'a - 瞽). Thus it refers to skill at



reaching the spirits. To be skilled and to reach that which cannot be seen or heard, then, is referred to as 'to illuminate'. We consider it to be the name that receives the offering, thus we are not insubstantial in our sacrifices.

What place is not<sup>13</sup> illuminated (by them)! Is (not) to sacrifice (also) to say 'to join' (chi - 緊)? After sacrificing (the true gentleman) is able to perceive the imperceptible. He who perceives the imperceptible may afterwards understand the Mandate of Heaven, and the spirits. After understanding the Mandate of Heaven and the spirits, he will be clear about the meaning of sacrifice. After he is clear about the meaning of sacrifice, he will understand and give importance to the conduct of the sacrifice. "Confucius said, 'If I am not at the sacrifice, it is as though I did not sacrifice (at all).

When I sacrifice to the spirits, it is as though the spirits were present."<sup>14</sup> He gave importance to the conduct of sacrifice as though he were serving the living. Therefore the sage is in awe of and does not dare to deceive the spirits. He believes in them but is not solely dependant on them. He serves them, but does not solely rely on them. He relies on their fairness, for they reward the virtuous. He rejoices in their lack of selfishness, for they give good fortune to mankind.

This is to be seen in the Book of Songs (where it) says:

"Ah you gentlemen,  
Do not always take your ease!  
Quietly fulfill the responsibilities of your  
positions,



"Loving fairness and justice.  
Hearing of it, the spirits  
Will aid you with great good fortune."<sup>15</sup>

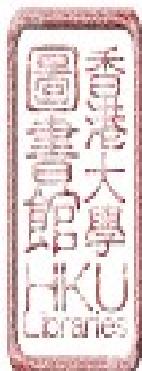
Those who were fair and just, gained good fortune, and those who were unjust did not gain good fortune. This is its law, and from the Book of Songs we make laws for the world. How can they not be called laws! Its phraseology is just and important. It says things twice for it wishes mankind to understand its meaning. But mankind still does not understand! How can we be so forgetful! Confucius said: 'Alas! The repetitiveness of the important phrases of the book cannot but be examined. It is certain that they contain goodness.'<sup>16</sup> This refers to it.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting chih (至) for hsing (牲). (Lu Wen-chao).
2. Deleting yü (矣). (Su Yü).
3. Substituting mai (麥) for feng (豐). (Su Yü).
4. Reversing the order of shou ch'u (受初). (Ch'ien T'ang).
5. This and the following conform with KYC Huan 8.1. In KYC, ch'eng (蒸) is given its variant, ch'enq (烝).
6. Substituting ch'u shou (初受) for hsia yüeh (夏約). (Reversing the order of the substituted characters as suggested by Yu Yüeh in order to conform with ff.4 above.) SPPY has yüeh (約). Deleting ch'u (初). (Su Yü). This translation suggests the substitution of yüeh (約) for shou (受).
7. The bottom of the word ch'ang (鬯), chih (至), originally meant 'sweet', and it was closely related to kan. (See L. Weiger, Chinese Characters, p.185).



8. The word for 'winter sacrifice' has also meant 'multitudes' since very early times. (See Songs 3.3.6, where the variant ch'enq (烝) is used.)
9. Substituting ssu (四) for shang (上). (Su Yü).
10. See Analects 10.13, (Legge, Classics I, p.234).
11. Removing the hsin (新) to precede chih (至). (Ch'ien T'ang).
12. Su Yü feels that there has been the loss of a word before pu (不). This translation suggests the addition of t'an (豈) after it.
13. Substituting pu (不) for k'e (可). (Su Yü).
14. Analects 3.12, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.159). In the present rescentration there is no k'ung (孔), and the second sentence precedes the first. It has been left undisturbed in translation.
15. Songs 2.6.3.5, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.366). The present rescentration has wu (無) for wu (毋), and ching (清) for ching (清) .



CCFL 77:**"Accord with the Way of Heaven"**

To accord with the Way of Heaven in order to nourish the body is called the Way. Heaven has the 'two means' and thus completes the 'two centres'.<sup>1</sup> The year establishes its centres and uses them endlessly. This is the reason<sup>2</sup> that the centre of the north acts in conjunction with the Yin, and things first begin to move below. The centre of the south acts in conjunction with the Yang, and things are first nurtured above.<sup>3</sup> If that which moved below did not gain the mean of the east, it could not create. This is the middle of spring. If that which was nurtured above did not gain the mean of the west, it could not be completed. This is the middle of autumn. Thus the good and the evil of the year are located in the 'two means', and the origins of the 'two centres' turns to and follows their actions. This is the reason that the east produces and the west completes. The mean of the east sends forth that which the north has started, and the mean of the west completes that which was nurtured by the south.<sup>4</sup> If the arising does not reach the location of the mean, it cannot come forth, and if the nurturing<sup>4</sup>does not reach the mean, it cannot be completed. If it is completed at a mean, it must be created of a mean; and if it begins at a centre, it must stop at a centre. Centres are the places where the world begins and ends, while means are the places where the world comes forth and is completed. There



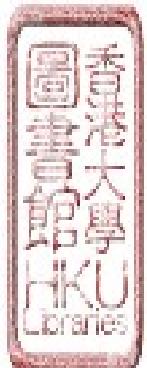
is no virtue greater than a mean, and there is no Way more correct than a centre. The centre is the good and penetrating regulator of the world, and that which is maintained by the sage. The Book of Songs says:

"Neither hard nor soft,  
Gently, he spread his government."<sup>5</sup>

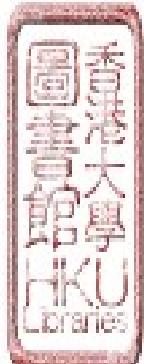
Is this not a reference to the centres and the means! Therefore he who is able to use the centres and the means to regulate the world has a great and flourishing virtue. He who is able to use the centres and the means to nourish himself has a life-span which is long and fortunate. The way of man and woman is patterned after the Yin and Yang. The aura of the Yang arises in the north and flourishes when it reaches the south. At its most flourishing, it unites with the Yin. The aura of the Yin arises in the middle of summer and flourishes when it reaches the middle of winter. At its most flourishing, it unites the Yang. If there is no flourishing, there is no union. This is why they flourish together in the six month,<sup>6</sup> and then, at the end of the year, unite again. It is from this that the seasons of Heaven and Earth make a constant.<sup>7</sup> This is the reason that precedence is given to the internals of the law.<sup>8</sup> In nourishing the body in order to complete its maleness, you do not marry unless you are robust and masculine. If the Yin is not at its most flourishing, you do not meet it. This is the reason that when the body is skilled and intelligent it is difficult to cause its decline, and when it is strong, long



life is certain. This is the Way of Heaven and Earth. The aura of Heaven first causes masculinity to flourish, and then displays it.<sup>9</sup> Therefore its essence is robust. The aura of Earth causes femininity to flourish and then transforms it. Therefore its transformations are good. This is the reason, in the meetings of the Yin and Yang, that in the winter they unite in the north, and things move below, while in the summer, they meet in the south, and things move above. The major movements of (both) above and below, occur after the solstice. If it is cold, then the frost splits the ground, and if it is hot, then the sand is scorched and the rocks are burned. The essences of the auras (may) become (even) this (severe). As for the transformations of Heaven and Earth, the aura of spring gives birth, and the one hundred things all emerge; the aura of summer nourishes, and the one hundred things all grow; the aura of autumn kills, and the one hundred things all die; and the aura of winter collects, and the one hundred things are all stored away. Thus it is only the auras of Heaven and Earth which are of the essence.<sup>10</sup> They are formless as they emerge and disappear, but there is nothing which does not respond to them. This is the ultimate of truth. The true gentleman patterns himself on that which they honour. The Yin and the Yang of Heaven and Earth act as male and female; and the male and female of mankind act as Yin and Yang. For Yin and Yang



we may also say male and female; and for male and female we may also say Yin and Yang. It is a constant of Heaven and Earth that when the centre of the east is reached,<sup>11</sup> that which was produced (in spring) is greatly nourished; and that when the centre of the west is reached, that which was nourished is greatly completed. It is imperative that the four arisings of the year occur at a centre,<sup>12</sup> and it is imperative that that which is done by the centre be completed at the mean. Therefore we say that the means are essential. The means are the rectifiers of Heaven and Earth,<sup>13</sup> and the balancer of the Yin and the Yang. Its aura is of the greatest goodness, and it is the producer of things. If we distinguish between the means, it may be considered that we have greatly gained the service of Heaven and Earth. Although the Way of Heaven and Earth has that which is not of the mean, it is certain that when it is returned to the mean its action will be meritorious. Although It has that which is not of the centre, it is certain that when it is stopped at a centre, there will be no error in its actions. This is why the action of the Yang begins at the centre of the north and stops at the centre of the south. The action of the Yin begins at the centre of the south and stops at the centre of the north. The Ways of the Yin and the Yang differ in arriving at their (respective) peaks, but they are same in stopping at a centre. They both must (also) begin to rise at a centre. The centre is the great ultimate of Heaven.

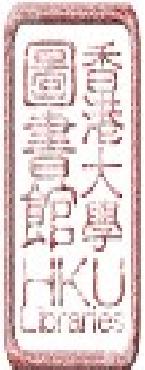


and Earth, and is that on which the sun and moon rise and fall.

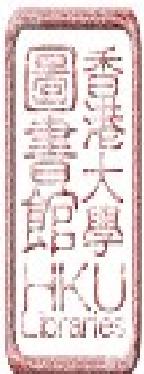
It is the rule of Heaven and Earth that the extremities of long and short do not exceed the centre. (That which is of) the mean combines with (that which is) not of the mean, and (that which is of) the centre combines with (that which is) not of the centre, and the seasons use them. Completely, they are taken as meritorious. This is the reason that it is the Way of Heaven and Earth that there is nothing that is not seasonal. This conforms with the Way of Heaven and regulates the rules of Heaven.<sup>14</sup>

The Yang is Heaven's generosity, while the Yin is Heaven's harshness. The centre is Heaven's activator, while the mean is Heaven's achiever. Nothing is better than the mean in initiating the Way of Heaven and Earth.<sup>15</sup> This is the reason that

when things are born they honour their auras and welcome and nourish them. Mencius said: "I am good at nourishing my vast aura."<sup>16</sup> This is to say that actions must accord<sup>17</sup> with propriety, and the mind (must) be pleased with itself. It is the intention that it always be the Yang which causes birth. Kung-sun (Ni-tzu) (公孫尼子) nurtured the aura saying that it is stored within.<sup>18</sup> \* If it is too substantial, then the aura cannot penetrate, but if it is too insubstantial the aura is insufficient. If heat is victorious, then the aura ...., and if the cold triumphs then the aura...<sup>19</sup> If it is too energetic, then the aura will not go in, but if it is too idle, the the arrival of the aura is muted. If there is anger, then the



aura is high, but if there is joy, then the aura is scattered. If there is sorrow, then the aura is violent, but if there is fear, then the aura is subdued. All ten of these are (that which) harm the auras, and all are caused by not being of the centre or of the mean. Therefore, if the true gentleman becomes angry, he turns it to the centre and makes himself happy by means of harmony. If he is joyful, then he turns it to the centre and restrains it by means of correctness. If he is sorrowful, he turns it to the centre, and by means of thought moderates it. If he is afraid, he turns it to the centre, and by means of the essences is realistic about it.\* Thus it is that the centre and the mean cannot but be returned to. Therefore it is the Way of the true gentleman that when the auras arrive, they are caused to flourish and to ascend. All auras follow the mind, for the mind is the ruler of the aura. How could it act and the aura not follow! This is the reason that those of the Way in the world all say that the mind is the basis of internals. Therefore the reason why the humane man has great longevity is that without, he is not covetous, and within he is pure. His mind is balanced and harmonious, never losing centrality and correctness. He takes the good of Heaven and Earth in order to nourish his body. Thus he is both long (lived) and (well) controlled. The reason why the crane is long-lived is that it does not repress the auras inside. This



is the reason that he eats (that which is) not congealed.<sup>20</sup>

The reason why the ape is long-lived is that it is good at drawing in the fineness (of the auras). This is the reason that its aura is scattered four times. The auras of Heaven are always displayed below in the Earth. This is the reason that those of the Way also draw in the auras in their feet.

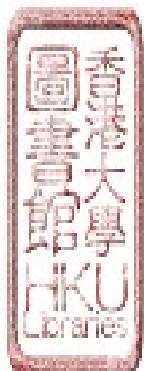
The auras of Heaven are always moving and never stagnate. This is the reason that those of the Way also do not repress the auras.

If the auras are not controlled, then even if they are full, they must be empty.<sup>21</sup> This is the reason that the true gentleman nourishes and harmonizes them; regulates and controls them.<sup>22</sup> He does away with the multitude of excesses and takes from the myriad harmonies. High terraces have an excess of Yang and broad palaces have an excess of Yin, thus they

keep the harmony of Heaven and Earth at a distance. Therefore the sage does not make them.<sup>23</sup> He does nothing more than accord with what is correct. As a rule, man is eight feet (in height);

thus four feet is his centre. Kung is the centre note, and sweetness is the centre flavour.<sup>24</sup> Four feet is the centre measurement. Thus, in the rituals of the three kings, the flavour sweetness was favoured, and the note kung was esteemed.

They placed themselves so as to constantly imbue themselves with the Way of Heaven and Earth. Their Ways were of the same order, and they were controlled by a single aura. To pattern after Heaven, then, is to pattern after the controller of man.

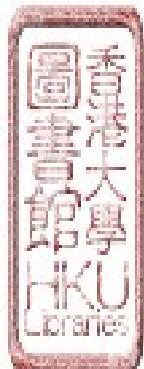


It is the Way of Heaven that when autumn and winter come near, the Yin arrives, and when spring and summer come near, the Yin goes. This is the reason that men of old greeted the women when the frost fell<sup>25</sup> and stopped the killing when the ice melted.<sup>26</sup> These are both close to the Yin and distant from the Yang.<sup>27</sup> If the auras of Heaven have not reached (the point where they are) flourishing and full, the Yin and the Yang do not meet. This is why the true gentleman loves the auras deeply and is attentive to them when taking his pleasure in the side-room.<sup>28</sup>

Thus he embodies Heaven. The auras are not injured by penetrating when they are flourishing, they are injured by being untimely or by abandoning Heaven. Not coming and going with the Yin and Yang is called being untimely. Throwing off restraint is one's desires and paying no attention to the numbers of Heaven, is called abandoning Heaven. In controlling himself, the true gentleman does not dare to oppose Heaven. Therefore a young male takes pleasure in the side-room once in six<sup>29</sup> days. Someone in middle years doubles (the interval of) the young male; someone in the beginning of decline doubles (the internal of the person of) middle years; someone in mid-decline doubles (the interval of the person in) the beginning of decline; and those in great decline take the days of the new male as months. This is the same internal that Heaven and Earth have. This is the general outline. Thus it is essential that the interval (be such that) if they are not flourishing to their utmost, they do not meet. They are separated



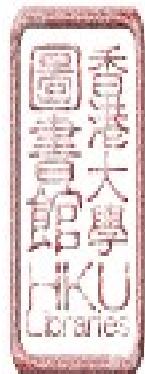
in the spring and apart in the summer. Thus it can be said that they are not distant from the numbers of Heaven and Earth. The people all understand and love their food and clothing, and they do not love the auras of Heaven. (Yet) the auras are more important to mankind than are his food and clothing. If food and clothing are exhausted there is still time, but if the auras are exhausted, the end is established.<sup>30</sup> Therefore the emphasis in nourishing the living is on loving the auras. The auras are completed by following the spirits, and the spirits follow thought and emerge. (That) which is located in the mind is called thought. If thought is too energetic the spirits are disturbed, and if the spirits are disturbed, the auras are too few. If the auras are too few, it will be difficult (to exist) for a long time. Therefore the true gentleman limits his desires and stops evil in order to pacify his thoughts, and he pacifies his thoughts in order to calm the spirits. He calms the spirits in order to nourish the auras. When the auras are many and controlled, then the most important in the nourishing of the body has been attained. The ancient knights of the Way had words which say: 'If you are about to wish to be without insult, then firmly guard the one virtue.' This says that when the spirits do not depart from form, then the auras become greatly numerous within and repress hunger and cold. Harmony and happiness are the external bounty of life, while essence and spirits are the internal beneficence of



creation. External bounty is not as good as internal beneficence. How much more so external injury! Anger, sorrow, grief and hatred are injurious to life. Harmony, happiness, joy and gladness are the nourishers of life.<sup>31</sup> The true gentleman is careful about small things and is without great defeat. His actions are upright and his fame is flourishing. His aura and his thoughts are harmonious and balanced, and he dwells in happiness. It can be said that he nourishes life. Of all the nourishers of life, none is more essential than the auras.<sup>32</sup> This is why he wears grass cloth in the spring, dwells in the quiet shade in the summer, avoids the killing winds of autumn, and shuns the heavy damp of winter.<sup>33</sup> (Thus) he completes their balance. In clothing, he wishes always to be cold,<sup>34</sup> and for food, he wishes always to be hungry. For his person, he wishes always to be hard-working and never idle for long.<sup>35</sup> All things of Heaven and Earth are raised up by their bounty and given birth, or are pressed down by their ascendancy and die. Such are the changes of the four seasons. Therefore, when the 'water' aura of winter is added to the spring in the east, 'wood' is created. It was raised up by its bounty. When ('wood'), the creation of spring reaches 'metal' in the west, it dies. It was pressed down by its ascendancy. When ('fire') which is created by 'wood' reaches 'metal', ('metal') dies; and when ('water') which is created by 'metal' reaches 'fire', ('fire') dies. That which is created by spring cannot



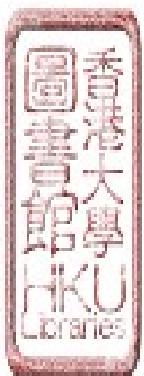
(exist) past summer. Such is the way of Heaven. The fragrant flavours of drink and food each occur in one season, and have that which they overcome and that which they do not overcome. This principle cannot but be examined. The auras of the four seasons are not the same, and each aura has that which is suitable (to it). The primes of the things in which that which is suitable is located succeed (each other). We see (what) has succeeded in coming into its prime, and we are successively nourished by it. Those things which are in their prime at the same time (may) be eaten together, for all of them are suitable to it. Therefore, Shepherd's Purse (chi - 聽) is in its prime in the winter, and the Sow-thistle<sup>36</sup> is mature in the summer. From this can be seen that which is suitable to eat in winter and in summer. The aura of winter is 'water' and the taste of Shepherd's Purse is sweet. That which is raised up by the aura 'water' and comes into its prime, is sweet and overcomes the cold. Is not Shepherd's Purse (chi - 聽) to say 'overcome' (chi - 滅)! It is to overcome great floods. The aura of summer is 'fire', and the taste of Sow-thistle is bitter. That which is raised up by the aura 'fire' and becomes mature, is bitter and overcomes the heat. Heaven says nothing, yet Its meaning (is shown) in things. When there is a thing which is not created or does not die at the same time as most things, it must undergo profound scrutiny, for it is the means by which



Heaven speaks to man. Therefore, when Shepherd's Purse is mature it is called sweet; when Sow-thistle is mature it is called bitter; and when the true gentleman examines the maturation of things he is called attentive.<sup>37</sup> Thus when it comes to the time when Shepherd's Purse may not be eaten, he keeps all sweet things at a distance, until the (time at which the) Sow-thistle becomes mature arrives. It is Heaven alone which causes the succession of the primes. It is the true gentleman alone who causes the succession of...<sup>38</sup> They are what is suitable to winter and summer. In spring and autumn eat<sup>39</sup> a mixture of (that which is) harmonious, but in winter and summer eat (that which is successively fitting. Thus you will constantly<sup>40</sup> obtain the prime of Heaven and Earth and the harmony of the four seasons. The general principles in the selecting of flavours is that each follow the prime of the season and are not distant from Heaven. Therefore at the time when the one hundred things come greatly forth, the myriad things are all born and a certain thing alone dies. This is the potable announcing the suitability of its taste to mankind, and the uneatable saying that weeds should be killed and their harms done away with without waiting for autumn. At the time when things greatly wither, the myriad things all die, and a certain thing alone comes forth. It is beneficial to eat that which may be eaten. In order to benefit mankind, Heaven creates it alone (for him). That which cannot be eaten is cultivated



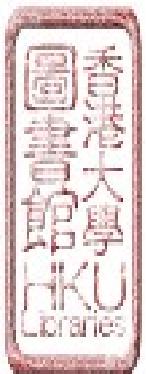
along with<sup>41</sup> it. Heaven took pity<sup>42</sup> and engendered winter wheat which matures in the middle of the year. The true gentleman examines the differences between things in order to find Heaven's intentions. Much may be perceived. This is the reason that male and female embody its abundance; the fragrant flavours take from its victories; and the dwelling place completes its harmony. Exertion and ease are in correct proportions; cold and warmth do not miss (that which is) suitable; hunger and surfeit do not exceed a balance; likes and dislikes are regulated; deportment accords with nature;<sup>43</sup> joy and anger stop at a mean; and sorrow and fear are reverted to correctness. When these centres and means are constantly present in the individual, it can be said that he has attained the bounty of Heaven and Earth. He who attains the bounty of Heaven and Earth has a life-span which is drawn out and long. He who does not attain the bounty of Heaven and Earth has a life-span which is damaged and short. The substance of the length or shortness is what mankind receives from Heaven. Thus life-span has shortness or length, and there are successes and failures in nourishment. When we reach the end, all must conform to this, and there are no exceptions.<sup>44</sup> Therefore life-span (shou - 生) is similar to the word 'conform' (ch'ou 遵). Although the people of the world are multitudinous, each cannot but conform to that which gave him birth and his long-



evity (accords) to his personal actions. Those whose personal actions are of a Way which may be prolonged have a life-span which conforms by being long. Likewise, those who personal actions are of a Way which may not be prolonged, have a life-span which conforms by not being long. The circumstances of long or not long conforms, in each (case), to what was done during their lives. Now and later, the cause cannot be overcome. Therefore we say that life-span is 'to conform'. Thus the personal actions of a man add to or subtract from his longevity. (It has been said that) when the personal actions are idle and the life-span is long, it has been decreed that it be added to, or that when the personal actions have been industrious and the life-span is short, it has been decreed that it be subtracted from.<sup>45</sup> This is using the addition or subtraction decreed by Heaven to confuse the successes and failures of mankind, and is greatly misleading. If Heaven makes (his life) long and he harms it, then the length is subtracted from, and if Heaven makes (his life) short and he nurtures it, the shortness is added to. Thus addition and subtraction are all up to mankind. Mankind is the continuation of Heaven! If (Heaven) puts forth the basic substance and mankind does not continue it, how can he stand alone!

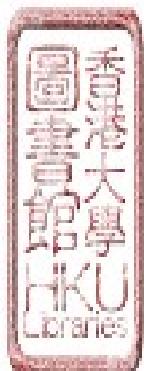
FOOTNOTES:

1. Yu Yüeh thinks that the "two means" were the vernal and autumnal equinoxes, and that the "two centres" were the summer

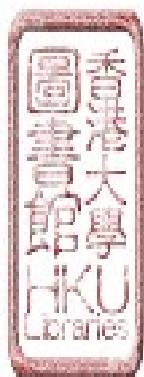


and winter solstices.

2. Inserting ku (ㄎ) after shih (ㄕ). (Su Yü).
3. Substituting wu (ㄨ) for yang (ㄢ) and yang (ㄢ) for mei (ㄞ). (Su Yü).
4. Deleting ch'ang (長). (Yü Yueh).
5. Songs 4.3.4.4, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.641). The present rescentration has fu (ㄉ) for pu (ㄈ). Tso Chuan (Chao 20, Addendum 7) quotes these lines with the same wording as CCFL.
6. Substituting liu (六) for shih (+). (Ch'ien T'ang).
7. Substituting chih (ㄔ) for chiu (ㄔ). (Sy Yü).
8. Su Yü feels that there is a mistake in or characters missing from this sentence.
9. Deleting the first ching (\*). (Su Yü).
10. Deleting erh (ㄦ). (Lu Wen-chao).
11. Deleting sheng (生). (Yü Yueh).
12. Deleting yeh (ㄝ). (Su Yü).
13. Inserting ti (ㄊ) after t'ien (ㄊ). (Chao Hsi-ming - 趙熙明).
14. Deleting che (ㄔ). (Su Yü).
15. Inserting mo (ㄡ) before mei (ㄞ). (Su Yü).
16. Mencius 2.1.2.11. (cf. Legge, Classics II, p.189).
17. Substituting chung (ㄔ) for chung (ㄔ). (Su Yü).
18. Su Yü includes this sentence although Lu Wen-cho deletes it as a later addition. Kung-sun Ni-tzu is said to have been one of Confucius' disciples (HS30/28b), but SC does not mention him. Su Yü agrees with Sun I-jang that the following text down to the point marked by the asterisk (\*) belongs to Kung-sun Ni-tzu's writings.
19. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that there has been a word lost from each of these phrases.
20. Inserting pu (ㄈ) before ping (\*). (Su Yü).



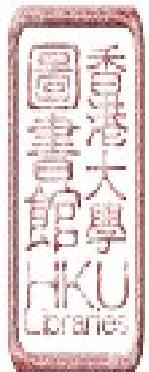
21. Inserting ch'i (氣) after kou (口) and substituting pi (屁) for pu (屁). (Lu Wen-chao).
22. Substituting chih (止) for fa (法). (Su Yu).
23. SPPY lacks sheng (聲).
24. Kung (宮) was the first note of the pentatonic scale. Both the note and the taste correspond to the element 'earth'.
25. These words, shuang chiang (霜降), also represent one of the twenty-four solar terms (usually falls on October 23).
26. Substituting chih (止) for nei (內). (Su Yu).
27. Inserting chu (俱) before yuan (遠). (Lu Wen-chao).
28. Inserting chin (臣) before yu (於). (Lu Wen-chao).
29. Substituting liu (六) for shih (+). (Ch'ien T'ang-hsieh - 錢唐學).
30. Inserting chin (臣) after ch'i (氣). (Ch'ien T'ang).
31. Substituting huan hsi (歡喜) for ch'tian shan (若言). (Su Yu).
32. The following section has been removed to this point from CCFL 78. (Su Yu).
33. Substituting shih (食) for t'a (茶). (Lu Wen-chao).
34. Substituting li (離) for piao (漂). (Lu Wen-chao).
35. Deleting chu to (俱多). (Su Yu).
36. Substituting t'u (荼) for chieh (芥) throughout. (Su Yu).
37. Placing ch'eng (成) before the erh (而). (Su Yu).
38. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that there is text missing from this point.
39. Substituting shih (食) for wu (勿). (Su Yu).
40. Substituting ch'ang (章) for tang (湯). (Sun I-jang).
41. Substituting ping (並) for i (益). (Su Yu).
42. Deleting the following four words of the text. (Lu Wen-chao)



43. Deleting ming (冥). (Su Yu).

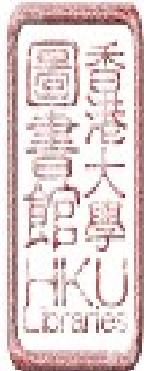
44. Substituting yeh (也) for the first chih (之) and shuai (率) for tsu (卒). (Sun I-jang).

45. Su Yu thinks that the word tuan (團) is mistaken, but suggests no alternative. This translation suggests the substitution of the word lao (老) in order to conform with the inner logic of the passage.

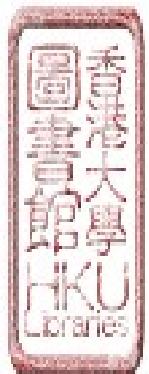


CCFL 78:**"The Actions of Heaven and Earth"**

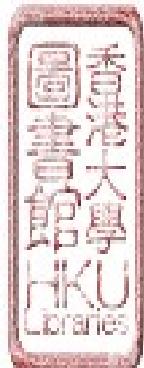
The actions of Heaven and Earth are good.<sup>1</sup> Thus Heaven raises Its position and sends down gifts; hides Its form and shows Its brilliance; orders the constellations and accumulates the multitude of essences;<sup>2</sup> and completes the Yin and Yang, and lets fall the frost and dew. Raising Its position is the means by which It is honoured; sending down gifts is the means by which It is humane; hiding Its form is the means by which It is spiritual showing Its brilliance is the means by which It is illuminated; ordering the constellations is the means by which It gives sequence; accumulating the multitude of essences<sup>2</sup> is the means by which It is enduring; completing the Yin and Yang is the means by which It fills out the year; and letting fall the frost and the dew is the means by which It kills and creates. The behaviour of he who acts as the ruler of men is patterned after Heaven. Therefore he honours with noble rank and (his ) officials...<sup>3</sup> ... the state is the means by which he is humane. Living deeply away in secret places and not showing his person is the means by which he is spiritual. Engaging the wise and employing the able in overseeing and hearing from the four directions is the means by which he is illuminating. Differentiating between wise and foolish in evaluating ability and conferring noble rank is the means by which he gives sequence. Bringing the wise close to his person to act as his advisors is the means by which he is enduring.



Giving order to first and last when he examines the realities of merits is the means by which he completes the world. Promoting those who have merit and dismissing those without merit is the means by which he rewards and punishes. Thus Heaven maintains Its Way and is the controller of the ten thousand things while the ruler maintains his constancy and is the controller of one state. Heaven cannot but be enduring while the ruler cannot but be firm. If Heaven is not enduring, then the constellations become disordered in their tracks. If the ruler is not firm, then evil officials disorder his administration. If the stars are disordered, then Heaven is lost, and if the officials cause disorder, then the ruler is lost. Therefore Heaven exerts itself in causing its auras to be enduring, while he who acts as ruler exerts himself in making his government firm. After they are enduring and firm, (respectively), the Way of the Yang is regulated and decreed. Earth demeans its position and sends up its auras; exposes its form and manifests its feelings; receives its dead and gives forth its living; and completes its affairs and returns its merit (to Heaven). Demeaning its position is the means by which it serves Heaven; sending up its auras is the means by which it nourishes the Yang; exposing its form is the means by which it is loyal; manifesting its feelings is the means by which it is trustworthy; receiving its dead is the means by which it stores away endings;

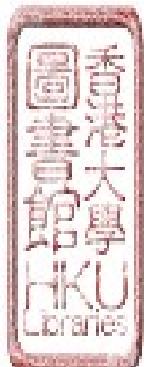


giving forth its living is the means by which it helps to illuminate; completing its affairs is the means by which it helps transformations; and returning its merit (to Heaven) is the means by which it causes righteousness. The behaviour of those who act as the officials for mankind is patterned after Earth. Therefore entering early and retiring late in accepting their duties and making replies is the means by which they serve the noble. Serving (the ruler) food and drink and attending to him in illness and distress is the means by which they cause him to be nourished. Submitting themselves and devoting their lives, and serving without acting on their own is the means by which they are loyal. Exhausting their limited intelligence and showing their feelings without concealing their mistakes is the means by which they are trustworthy. Submitting to restriction and (even) dying for their country, never begrudging their lives, is the means by which they relieve distress. Pushing forward (their ruler's) glory and praising his goodness is the means by which they help illumination. Displaying benevolence when in receipt of orders and supplementing and completing their ruler is the means by which they aid transformations. Returning the virtue to the ruler when merit is achieved or when an affair is completed is the means by which they cause righteousness. Thus Earth illuminates its principles and is the mother of the ten thousand



things, while the officials illuminate their duties and are the stewards of a state. A mother cannot but be trustworthy, and a steward cannot but be loyal. If the mother is not trustworthy, then the roots of the grass and trees are harmed, and if the steward is not loyal, then traitorous officials will endanger his ruler. If the roots are harmed, then the branches and leaves are lost, and if the ruler is endangered, the state is lost. Therefore, Earth exerts itself in exposing its form, while those who act as the officials for mankind exert themselves in manifesting their feelings.

The ruler of a state is similar to the heart in the body. He lives hidden in the deep palaces, just as the heart is hidden in the breast. His great nobility is invincible just as the spirituality of the heart is peerless. In employing people in promoting his knights, he raises up the clear and intelligent and pushes down the heavily stupid, just as the body honours the eyes and demands the feet. There is no favouritism in the engaging of the myriad officials just as the four limbs each has its jurisdiction. Within, there are the four assistants just as the heart has the liver, the lungs, the spleen and the kidneys. Without, there are the one hundred officials, just as the heart has the body and the openings. He associates with the sage and brings the wise near, just as the spirits assemble in the heart. Superior and inferior continue and accord with

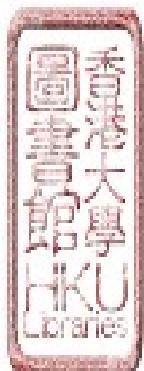


each other, just as the limbs and the body make use of each other. Benevolence is shown and kindness is displayed, just as the basic aura flows through the skin, hair, and pores. The common people all attain their (proper) places, just as the body is untroubled when the constitution is at peace. Non-action causes the great peace just as the spiritual auras, of themselves, penetrate to the depths. Yellow dragons and phoenix arrive just as the spirits cause the arrival of the Jade Lady<sup>4</sup> and the flowering of the Chih plant (芝).<sup>5</sup> The ruler is brilliant and the officials conceal their (own) merit, just as the heart is spiritual and the body completes it.<sup>6</sup> The officials are wise and the ruler conceals his (own) benevolence, just as the heart attains peace from the stillness of the body. If superior is disordered, then inferior receives the calamity just as the hands and feet are injured when the perceptions are not sharp. If the officials are disloyal, then the ruler is destroyed, just as the heart dies when the body acts without discretion. This is the reason that the property of the ruler and official is like the heart and the body. The heart cannot but be firm (chien - 健), while the ruler cannot but be wise (hsien - 賢). The body cannot but accord, while the official cannot but be loyal. The strength of the body is the means by which the heart is completed. The merit of the official is the means by which the ruler is at peace.



FOOTNOTES:

1. Su Yü has removed the section which follows to CCFL 77 and replaced it with the final section of this chapter.
2. Substituting chi chung (兮 真) for chin chih (近 真). (Su Yü).
3. Agreeing with the commentators that the last part of this sentence and the first part of the following one have been lost.
4. One of the immortals.
5. A mythical plant which was thought to change anyone who ate of it into an immortal.
6. Inserting an erh (而) after the shen (神). (Su Yü).



CCFL 79:**"That Which Creates Awe and Virtue"**

Heaven has harmony, has virtue, has balance, and has awe. It has the intention that they receive each other, and It has the principle that they be enacted in government. This cannot but be investigated. Spring is Heaven's harmony; summer is Heaven's virtue; autumn is Heaven's balance; and winter is Heaven's awe. In the order of Heaven, harmony must precede virtue and balance must precede awe. Thus it can be seen that if there is no harmony, then there cannot be the virtue of rewards, and if there is no balance, there cannot be the awe of punishments. It may also be seen that virtue is produced by harmony, and awe is produced by balance. If there is no harmony there is no virtue, and if there is no balance, there is no awe. This is the Way of Heaven. The discerning (can) see it from this. Although we have cause to be content and happy, we must first harmonize our minds and seek what is proper before we send forth rewards to establish its virtue. Although we have cause for discontent and anger, we must first balance our minds and seek what is just before we send forth punishments and establish its awe.<sup>1</sup> That which is able to be constantly like this is called the virtue of Heaven. He who carries out the virtue of Heaven is called a sage. He who is the ruler of men dwells in the position of utmost virtue, and holding the power of life or death, transforms the people. The people follow the ruler



just as the grass and trees respond to the four seasons. Joy and anger are cold and heat, while awe and virtue are summer and winter. Winter and summer are associated with awe and virtue, while cold and heat are matched by joy and anger. At the (proper) times for joy and anger, they should be released, just as heat and cold ought to come out at the (proper) season. The principle is the same. When there should be joy and there is no joy, it is like it not being hot when it should be hot. When there should be anger and there is no anger, it is like it not being cold when it should be cold. When there should be virtue and there is no virtue, it is like it not being summer when it should be summer. When there should be awe and there is no awe, it is like it not being winter when it should be winter. Joy, anger, virtue and awe cannot but be shown at the right place any more than cold, heat, winter and summer cannot but come out at the right time. Therefore we are attentive to the origins of good and evil. ...how could it result in this?<sup>2</sup> In selecting the good, the Spring and Autumn Annals does not neglect the small, and in arranging the bad, it does not neglect the large. (That which) cannot be mentioned is not (totally) hidden, and the guilty are not ignored. ...by means of right and wrong.<sup>3</sup> It rectifies principles by means of praise and blame. In the incidence of joy or anger and in the occasion of awe and virtue, there are none which are not proper. It may be considered that the response to this is nothing more than cold, heat, summer and



winter, not being unseasonable. Therefore we say that the sage is the equal of Heaven.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting cheng (正) for cheng (貳). (Ch'ien T'ang).
2. Agreeing with Su Yü that the beginning of this sentence has been lost.
3. Agreeing with the commentators that two words have been lost from the beginning of this sentence.

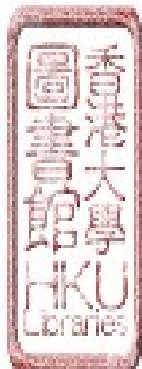


CCFL 80:**"Following the Action of Heaven"**

The auras of the Yin and Yang are in Heaven above, (but) they are also in man. Those in man are love, hate, joy and anger, while those in Heaven are warmth, clarity, cold, and heat. In coming out, going in, rising, falling, going to the left, going to the right, coming forwards, or going backwards, their action is balance and they do not stop. There is never anything which detains or hinders them. It is also proper that those which are in man act without being repressed, just like the regular movement of the four seasons. The restraint and release of joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure are what Heaven decreed to be the nature of man. As the (proper) time approaches they wish to come out. Their responses are also the responses of Heaven. They are no different from warmth, clarity, cold and heat when (each) approaches its (proper) season and wishes to come out. If virtue is held back waiting for spring and summer, or if punishments are restrained waiting for autumn and winter, this has the name of according with the four seasons, but in reality it is a transgression against the constants of Heaven and Earth. Heaven is also in man. How can he detain the auras of Heaven, causing them to be repressed and unable to complete their actions correctly? This is the reason that...<sup>1</sup> Heaven causes the grains to decay in the yin (寅) (month),<sup>2</sup> but causes the wheat to sprout in the autumn. (Thus)



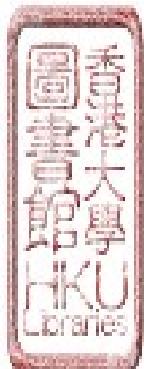
it announces the abolishment of filth and gives continuance in dearth. It is the means by which It completes achievement, and it gives continuance in dearth in order to aid man. The creation of Heaven has a great constant.<sup>3</sup> When there is that which harms achievement, it is abolished and destroyed.<sup>4</sup> When action is urgent it never waits for the (proper) season. It is the will of Heaven, and the sage continues it, making it his government.<sup>5</sup> Thus in the spring he cultivates humanity and seeks for goodness, and in autumn he cultivates righteousness and seeks out evil. In winter he cultivates punishments and brings clarity, and in summer he cultivates virtue and brings generosity. These are the means by which he accords with Heaven and Earth and embodies the Yin and Yang. Thus when he is seeking for goodness and sees evil, he does not tolerate it, and when he is seeking out evil and sees goodness he makes immediate use of it. When he is bringing clarity and sees great goodness, he again immediately raises it up, and when he is bringing generosity and sees great evil, once again he immediately does away with it. Thus he patterns himself on Heaven.<sup>6</sup> When it is the season of birth there is death, and when it is the season of death there is birth. Thus his purpose accords with Heaven and Earth, and his celerity imitates the Yin and Yang. Therefore, there is no repression of that which is fitting for the affairs of man. It is both generous to man and in accord with Heaven. The Ways of Heaven and man co-operate. This is termed the maintenance of



of the mean. Heaven does not give birth to man in the spring and kill man in the autumn. When he ought to be born, he is born, and when he ought to die he dies. It is not imperative that the creation and killing of things wait for the four seasons.<sup>7</sup> As for that which is controlled by man, how can a principle which ought to have been put into practise be detained for a long time, and make it necessary to wait for the four seasons! This is called obstruction and is not of the mean. Man has joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure, just as Heaven has spring, summer, autumn and winter. Joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure wish to come out at the (proper) time just as spring, summer, autumn and winter wish to come out at the (proper) season. Both are natural auras of Heaven.<sup>8</sup> Their correctness in acting directly without repression is identical. Heaven completes the year with one revolution of these four, and the ruler of men never experiences more than this number four.<sup>9</sup> Their principles cannot, however, wait for each other. Moreover, Heaven is not direct in wishing to benefit man. (It does so by) wishing to benefit the grains. If It does not wait for the seasons in doing away with filth, how much more so the filth of people!<sup>10</sup>

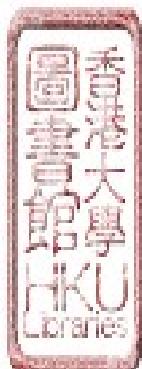
#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that text is missing from this point.
2. The yin month usually falls in late January or early February.



of the solar calendar. From the rise of the Ch'in until 104 BC it was the fourth month of the lunar calendar. After that it was the first.

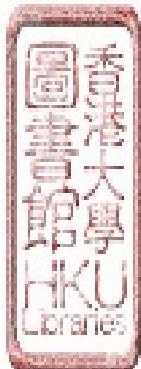
3. Deleting the following six words. (Su Yü).
4. Substituting che (ㄔ) for yeh (ㄜ), and chih (ㄔ) for che (ㄔ). (Su Yü).
5. Inserting wei (ㄭ) after i (ㄩ). (Su Yü).
6. Deleting both ti (ㄊ), (Su Yü), and chih (ㄔ). (Lu Wen-chao).
7. Deleting chih i (ㄔ ㄩ) and replacing it with sheng wu chih pi (ㄕ ㄤ ㄔ ㄝ). (Su Yü).
8. Inserting tzu (ㄉ) before jan (ㄢ). (Su Yü).
9. Inserting che (ㄔ) after ssu (ㄕ). (Su Yü).
10. Deleting jen (ㄐ) and inserting min (ㄎ) after k'uang (ㄎㄤ). (Su Yü). Su Yü places the three following paragraphs together in CCFL 81.



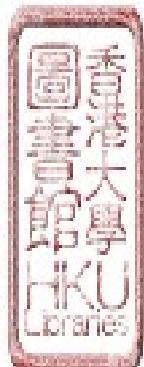
CCFL 81:

"Heaven and Earth; Yin and Yang"

Heaven, Earth, Yin, Yang, wood, fire, earth, metal, water and man make ten and Heaven's number is complete. Therefore numbers reach ten and then stop, and books come to an end at ten. Both are taken from this. What of the sage?<sup>1</sup> His nobility arises from Heaven and, on reaching man, is completed. (That which is) outside the completion is termed things. When the beginnings of nobility are enumerated,<sup>2</sup> things are not among them. From this we can see that man surpasses the ten thousand things and is the noblest in the world. Below, man is senior to the ten thousand things, while above, he forms a triad with Heaven and Earth. Therefore the reasons for order and disorder, and the auras of movement or peace, accord or discord, subtract from or add to the changes of the Yin and Yang and activate (all) within the four seas. The difficulty in knowing things is like (knowing) the spirits. It is impossible to say that it is not true. When you throw something at mud it moves, (but if you throw it) at firm (ground) it does not move and it is impossible for them to influence each other.<sup>3</sup> If it is thrown into mud they influence each other for a short distance, and if it is thrown into water they influence each other for an even greater distance. Looking at it from this (point of view, we can see that) the more liquid things are, the more easily are they moved and activated. Now



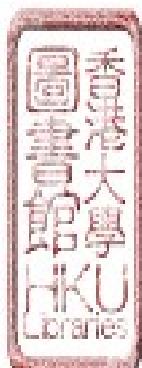
the liquid in which the auras transform is not simply water. Thus the ruler of men moves it endlessly.<sup>4</sup> This is the reason that the auras of order and disorder are constantly uncontrollably mixed together with the transformation of Heaven and Earth. If the world is ordered, then the people are harmonious, and if (the ruler's) will is balanced, then the auras are correct. Thus the transformations of Heaven and Earth are refined and the goodness of the ten thousand things arises. If the world is disordered, then the people are bad, and if the will (of the ruler) is dissolute, the auras are discordant. Thus the transformations of Heaven are injured, ...<sup>5</sup> auras engender calamities and harms arise. This is the reason that the virtue of (good) government of the world enriches the grass and trees and its benefits flow to (all with) the four seas. (This) achievement surpasses<sup>6</sup> the spirits. That which is caused to occur by disordering the world are equally catholic. Both follow the transformations of Heaven and Earth in order to complete or destroy things. They avail themselves of the substance of the Yin and Yang in order to carry out their actions. Therefore when the action is evil, they cause man's strength to commit errors, cause achievement to be injured, and names become mistaken of themselves.<sup>7</sup> The space between Heaven and Earth has the auras of the Yin and Yang. They constantly imbue mankind, just as water constantly imbues fish. The difference



between it and water is merely (the difference between that which) can be seen and (that which) cannot be seen. It is motionless. Thus man's living between Heaven and Earth is the same as the fish depending on water. They are unseparated like auras and mud in water. Water is to the auras as mud is to water. Thus the space between Heaven and Earth seems empty but is full, and man is constantly imbued in the midst of this motionless (substance). Thus the auras of order and disorder flow through it and mix with it. Therefore the human auras are harmonious and the transformations of Heaven and Earth are good. If they are mixed with evil the flavour is destroyed.<sup>8</sup> This is a thing which is easily seen.<sup>9</sup> If we deduce from the analogies of things which are easily seen, the circumstances of the difficult (to see) can be attained. The auras of order and disorder and the dispositions of evil and just are mixed with the transformations of Heaven and Earth. They are created of the transformations and, turning back, become mixed. Transformation is connected with movement. The Spring and Autumn Annals deals with the Way of the affairs of the world. If it records that Heaven...<sup>10</sup> ...being complete or incomplete is the responsibility of the king. The Book of Songs says:

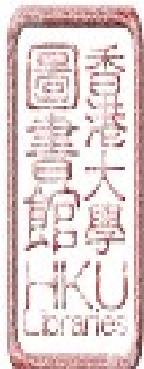
"It is difficult to rely on Heaven,  
And it is not easy to be king."<sup>11</sup>

This refers to it. The king cannot but know Heaven. Knowing



Heaven is what is difficult for the poet. Heaven's intention is difficult to see, and Its Way is difficult to follow.

Therefore understanding where the Yin and Yang enter and exit, are empty and substantial is the means by which we see Heaven's intention. Being discriminating about the beginning and end of the five elements, their harmony and discord, their small and large, and their broad and narrow, is the means by which we see the Way of Heaven. Heaven's intention is humane<sup>12</sup> and Its Way is righteousness. He who acts as the ruler of men gives and takes away, creates and kills, all when it is righteous (to do so), just like the four seasons. In ranking officials and arranging secretaries, it is imperative that it be according to their ability, just like the five elements. Love of humanity, hate for perversity, employment of virtue, and the keeping of punishments at a distance is just like the Yin and Yang. This refers to the ability to be the equal of Heaven. As for Heaven, Its way is superior to the ten thousand things; while the king is superior to mankind. The greatness of the ruler of men is that he forms a triad with Heaven and Earth. The division between good and evil is the principle of the Yin and Yang. The display of joy or anger is comparable to cold and heat. The affairs of the administration are the righteousness of the five elements. Thus (the ruler) is senior in the space between Heaven and Earth and he moves<sup>13</sup> (all) within the four



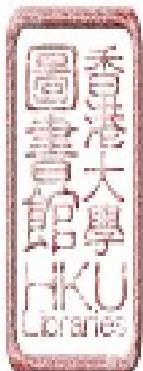
seas. He combines the auras of the Yin and Yang, and is mixed together with Heaven and Earth. This is the reason that it is a saying of man that the king forms a triad with Heaven and Earth. If he forms a triad with Heaven and Earth, then this is a transformation. How could it be the essences of Heaven and Earth alone! The king forms a triad (with them) and is mingled with them. If he creates order, then just auras mingle with the transformations of Heaven and Earth. If he creates disorder, then evil auras mingle with the transformations of Heaven and Earth. Alike increase each other and unlike decrease from each other. This is the way of Heaven.<sup>14</sup> There can be no doubt about it.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Yü Yüeh thinks that 'sage' should read 'mankind'.
2. Substituting shu (舒) for t'ou (头). (Yü Yüeh).
3. Following Sun I-jang's reconstructions.
4. Substituting yu (育) for chung (忠). (Su Yü).
5. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that a word is missing at this point.
6. Su Yü follows Chang Hui-yen's (張惠言) suggestion that the last three paragraphs of CCFL 80 be appended at this point. The first two words of the first paragraph have been deleted. Again following the suggestion of Chang Hui-yen, Su Yü removes the remainder of this paragraph to form the last paragraph of CCFL 82.
7. Su Yü feels that there is a mistake in this sentence.

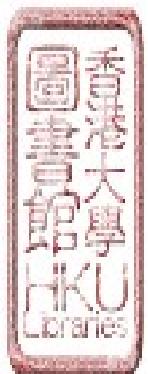


8. Su Yü feels that the word 'flavour' is mistaken.
9. Inserting chien (見) after i (易). (Chao Hsi-ming).
10. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that there is text missing from this point.
11. Songs 3.2.1.1, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.432). The present rescentration has ch'en (憲) for ch'en (憲).
12. Substituting jen (仁) for ju (居). (Ch'ien T'ang).
13. Continuing with the final paragraph of this chapter.
14. Inserting t'ien (天) before chih (之). (Su Yü).



CCFL 82:**"The Way of Heaven Gives"**

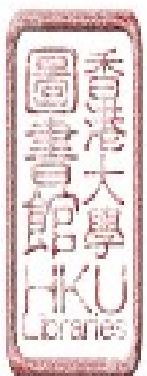
The Way of Heaven gives; the way of Earth transforms; and the Way of man is righteous. The sage sees beginnings and knows the end (result). This is the acme of refinement. He takes a single (thing) and the response is ten thousand. This is the control of analogies. He who activates a beginning does not know how to pacify its results. He who receives the commencement is unable to refuse the completion. Profit is the beginning of banditry, and recklessness is the commencement of disorder. If you receive the commencement of disorder or activatesthe beginning of banditry, your wish to pacify the people will be impossible to attain. Therefore, the true gentleman does not speak if it is contrary to propriety, and he does not act if it is contrary to propriety. If he is without propriety in his enjoyment of beauty, then there is instability, and if he is without propriety in eating and drinking, there is contention. If there is instability and contention, then there is disorder. Propriety regulates the feelings and prevents disorder. The feelings of the people are unable to regulate their desires. If you cause them to be governed by propriety by causing their eyes to see correct beauty, their ears to hear correct sounds, their mouths to taste correct flavours, and their persons to enact the correct Way, this is not doing violence to their feelings. It is the means by which their feelings are pacified. Changes are termed feelings.



Although it is special and different, it is the nature of things to be thus. Therefore they are called internal.

Changes in the changes are termed external. Although the feelings are thus, this cannot be said of the nature. Therefore they are called external. Things affect the nature as though the spirits were not protecting (it). The gradual erosion of long standing practice is the subtlety of things. Man is not aware that they enter him and habits are forgotten. It is a constant action as though it were the nature. This cannot but be examined. If sincerity understands frivolous thought, then planning will be successful; and if restraint wishes the actions to be in accord, then proper relationships are attained. When admonition contends with (excess) elegance, stillness becomes the position. When propriety and righteousness become the Way, culture is achieved.<sup>1</sup> This is the reason that the acme of honesty neglects things, and does not change with...<sup>2</sup> Personal generosity does not contend and does not yield to the vulgar.<sup>3</sup> (Thus) a multitude of violences are unable to penetrate, (like) the shell of a cicada in the midst of filth. That which holds the principle of attaining the gift of the Mandate, and moves with the ten thousand things without losing itself, is the mind of the sage.<sup>4</sup>

Names are the means by which things are differentiated. Those which are closely related are given importance. Those



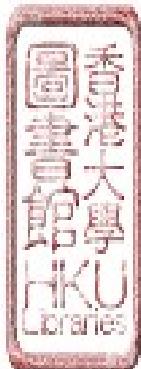
which are distantly related are treated lightly. Those which are honourable are ornamented. Those which are mean are plain. Those which are close are detailed. Those which are distant are generalized. When making phraseology cultured, reality is not obscured, and when illuminating reality, culture is not neglected. The minds of men follow this and are not rebellious. The meaning of names is that they connect ancient and modern without disorder. Male and female are similar to the Way. Mankind differentiates between the words propriety and righteousness. Names and appellations come from the affairs of man. That which is not in accord with the Way of Heaven is termed unrighteous. When we examine the separation between Heaven and man, and observe the difference between the Way and the Mandate we may understand the theory of propriety. We see that the good cannot be without love, and we see that that which is not good cannot be without hate. The action of love and hate cannot be firmly maintained. Therefore there is the Way of man. The Way of man is that from which man is happy and without disorder. It is repetitious without being oppressive. The ten thousand things are created bearing a name. The sage complies with their image and decrees (a name) for them. Thus they may be at ease for each has a meaning to follow. There: the rectification of names gives names meaning. Things have general name and a category name. Things (also) have a spec:



name. Thus this thing is not that thing.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, (among) the ten thousand things, that which acts but is formless is thought. That which has form and does not change is virtue. That which is happy and without disorder, and repetitious without being oppressive is the Way.

FOOTNOTES:

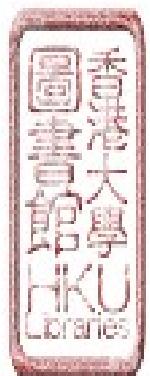
1. Substituting te (得) for te (德). (Chao Hsi-ming).
2. Agreeing with Lu Wen-chao that a word has been lost from this point.
3. Deleting i (々). (Lu Wen-chao).
4. The following paragraph is the second half of CCFL 81.
5. Substituting ssu (ㄕ) for ho (ㄻ), (Sun I-jang), and fu (ㄈ) for shih (ㄕ). (Chang Hui-yen).



PART I

SECTION III

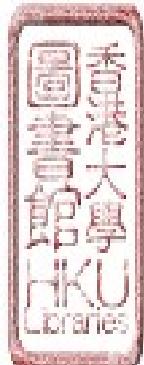
"OTHER SOURCES"



1: Ch'un-ch'iu Chüeh-shih

Introduction: The original of this work is listed as having existed in ten ch'tan in the bibliographical section of the dynastic histories down to the Sung, after which time it was apparently lost. The translation which is offered below is of the few cases which Ma Kuo-han (馬國翰) (1794-1857) recovered from various sources in the course of his immense project to piece together fragments of books which had been lost. His text of Ch'un-ch'iu Chüeh-shih (CCCS) was first published in his Yü-han Shan-fang Chi-i-shu (玉函山房輯佚書) in 1853. It is to be noted that there is no direct reference to Tung Chung-shu in cases three and five. These have been assumed to be his work by Ma Kuo-han. Of the two hundred and thirty-two cases which the book originally contained (HHS 78/14a), only the following eight remain.

Case 1 (from Tung Tien 69): In the time (of Tung Chung-shu) there was a doubtful case at law as follows: A, who was without a son, picked up a child, B, who had been abandoned by the side of the road, and brought him up as his own son. When B had grown up he killed a man and was charged with the crime, but A hid him. How ought (the case of) A be argued? Tung Chung-shu judged it saying: "A, who was without a son, saved B and,



although he was not his (own son) by birth, brought him up.

No one could replace him (as a son). The Book of Songs says:

'The ming-ling caterpillar has young,  
And the kuo-lo wasp rears them.'<sup>1</sup>

(According to) the Spring and Autumn Annals it is proper for the father to shield his son. A ought to have hidden B.

A proclamation stated that A was not guilty.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Songs 2.5.2.4, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.334).

Case 2 (from Tung Tien 69): There was another case as follows:

A had a son B whom he entreated C to (rear). Later, when B had grown up, it was C who had brought him up, and when A, in a drunken condition, spoke to B saying, "You are my son," B became angry and dealt him twenty blows. Because B was in actual fact his son, A did not calm his anger and personally accused (B) before the magistrate. Tung Chung-shu judged it saying: "(Although) B was A's (son) by birth, A had been unable to bring him up, and in entreating C (to do so) cut off the relationship. Although (B) beat A, he should not (be judged) guilty."

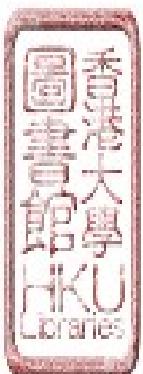
Case 3 (from K'ung Ying-ta's. (孔穎達) Cheng-i (政義) to



"T'an-kung Hsia" (檀 𩫑 ) of Li-chi): A was the wife of B who beat his mother. A saw B beating his mother and killed him. The Kung-yang (Commentary would) say that A's killing of her husband on behalf of her mother-in-law is similar to King Wu's killing of (King) Chou on behalf of Heaven.

Case 4 (from Pai-K'ung Liu-t'ieh (伯孔六帖) 26): While hunting, the ruler captured a fawn and made (one of his) nobles responsible for taking it back. On the way, the noble met (the fawn's) mother and it followed him bleating. This moved him and he released it. The ruler was furious, but the discussion of (the noble's) guilt had not been settled when the ruler fell ill. Fearing that he would die, he wished to appoint a guardian for his young (son). It was at this point that he realized that the noble had been humane. If he treated a mere fawn with kindness, how much more so a human being! Consequently he pardoned (the noble) and made him his son's tutor. How (ought) this to be debated?

(Tung) Chung-shu said: "A (true) ruler (destroys) neither the young nor the eggs of wild animals. It was not right for the noble not to admonish him when he was sent to take it back. However, he was moved by the mother's love when in mid-(journey) and although he was disobeying his ruler's order, it was permissible for him to give (the fawn) back."



Case 5 (from Pai-K'ung Liu-t'ieh 91): A, while acting as a guard on the armory, stole (some) cross-bows. At that time the bow-strings were (stored) in a different place. How ought he to be sentenced?

It was argued saying: "(The punishment for) entering (the residence of) the Master of the Horse without a pass is shaving of the head. It is the same for unauthorized entry into the place where weapons are stored. The important task of military preparation is the responsibility of picked troops. The component parts of the cross-bow<sup>1</sup> are stowed in different places. Theft of (one of them) is not as serious as theft of a (complete) weapon from the armory. (Confucius) said: 'How can a large chariot be made to go if there is no yoke-bar, or a small chariot if there is no collar-bar?'<sup>2</sup> A stole weapons from the armory. Should he be publicly executed?"

It was (also argued) saying: "Since bows (and bow-strings) were separately stowed, and he did not get bow-strings, they could not be called (complete) cross-bows. When an arrow is shot and it does not hit the mark, it is the same as having no arrow; and if it does not pierce, it is the same as having no arrow head. (However), the law states that whoever steals weapons worth one hundred cash on the frontier must be publicly executed."



FOOTNOTES:

1. The text here gives a list of six components of the cross-bow, two of which are the bow and the bow-string.
2. Analects 2.22, (cf. Legge, Classics I, p.153).

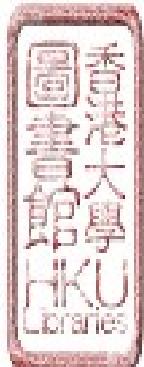
Case 6 (from TPYL 640): A's father B quarrelled with C and they fought. C stabbed at B with his sword. A immediately attacked C with a stick but accidentally injured (his father) B. How ought the case of A to be argued?

Some said: "(His is the crime of) beating his father and he ought to (be decapitated and) have his head displayed."

(Tung Chung-shu) argued (the case) saying: "I humbly submit that father and son are the closest of relations. Hearing of the fight, (A) could not but become alarmed and try to do his utmost to save him. It was not that in doing what he did he wished to harm his father. (A similar example of) proper conduct (is recorded in) the Spring and Autumn Annals. To cure his father's illness, (a son) administered medicine to his father, but it killed him. Confucius, (considering the son's) original intent, pardoned him and did not have him executed.<sup>1</sup> A is not guilty of what the law determines to be the beating of one's father, and ought not to be convicted."

FOOTNOTES:

1. KYC, Chao 18.5.



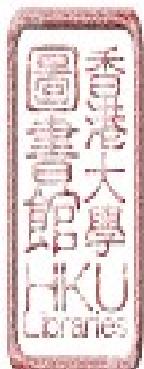
Case 7 (from TPYL 640): A's husband, B, when rowing a boat, encountered high winds at sea. The boat sank and his floating corpse disappeared and could not be buried. In four months A's mother C (again) gave A in marriage. How ought (this case) to be argued?

Some said: "A's husband is dead but not buried, (thus) the laws do not permit her (re)marriage. Because she became a man's wife illegally, she ought to (be executed and) have her body abandoned the market-place."

(Tung Chung-shu) argued (the case) saying: "I humbly submit that (this is similar to the example of) proper conduct in the Spring and Autumn Annals. It says that the wife (of the Duke of Lu). 'returned'<sup>1</sup> to Ch'i.<sup>2</sup> This is to say that (when a woman's) husband is dead and she has no sons, it is in accordance with the Way to remarry. When a wife has not behaved in an independent and licentious manner, and is obedient and proper, her (re)marriage is (termed) a 'return'. A was also given in marriage by an elder and was without licentious intent. (This) is not a (case of) illegal marriage. It is clear, in deciding this case, that both are without guilt and ought not to be convicted."

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. There is a play on the word kuei (鬼) here. Its basic meaning is "marriage of a woman", but even in Ch'un-ch'iu



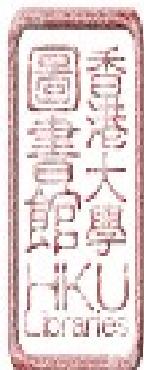
times it had also come to mean "return". In its first occurrence, it means only "return", but in its second appearance, it means both.

2. It is not clear which case in SA that this refers to.

Case 8 (from I-wen Lei-chi (藝文類聚) 85): (When) Emperor Wu was dealing with the barbarian tribes beyond (his borders), the people lost their livelihood. Tung Chung-shu spoke to the Emperor saying: "The Spring and Autumn Annals does not record other grains. Only when there was a failure of the wheat was it recorded. We can see from this that the sage, (Confucius), considered wheat to be the most important of the five grains."<sup>1</sup>

FOOTNOTES:

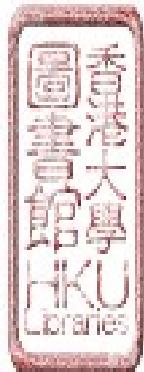
1. With a few minor differences this passage is the same as the opening section of Tung Chung-shu's memorial recorded in HS24A/16a.



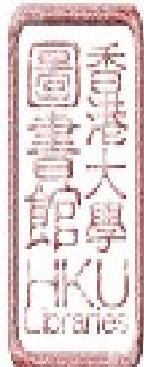
2: (Hsi-ching Tsa-chi 5/5b-8a:)

In the seventh month of the first year of Yuan-kuang,<sup>1</sup> there was a fall of hail in the capital. Pao Ch'ang<sup>2</sup> questioned Tung Chung-shu saying: "What is hail? What aura causes it?"

(Tung) Chung-shu (replied) saying: "The Yin aura co-operates with the Yang aura. The Yin and Yang split the auras of Heaven and Earth in half. Day and night the harmonious auras rotate, never resting. When the Yang virtue is in operation, the harmonious auras are all Yang. These are established in the ssu month.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it is called the month of the true Yang. When the virtue of the Yin is operating, the harmonious auras are all Yin. These are established in the hai month.<sup>4</sup> Therefore it is called the month of the true Yin. In the tenth month, although the Yin is operating, the Yin does not stand alone. In this month, the pure Yin is troubled if there is no Yang. Therefore it is called the Yang month. This is what the poets called: "The sun and moon are at the resting of the Yang."<sup>5</sup> In the fourth month, although the Yang is operating, the Yang does not exist alone. In this month, the pure Yang is troubled if there is no Yin. Likewise then, it is called the Yin month. After the end of the tenth month, the Yang aura is first engendered below the ground. Gradually it



flows and spreads. Therefore it is said to grow. (Meanwhile), the Yin aura becomes quiescent. Therefore it is said to disperse. Day and night (the Yang) multiplies, until the fourth month when the pure Yang is in operation. After the end of the fourth month, the Yin aura is first engendered in Heaven above. Gradually it flows and spreads. Therefore it is said to grow. (Meanwhile), the Yang aura becomes quiescent. Therefore it is said to disperse. Day and night (the Yin) multiplies, until the tenth month when the pure Yin is in operation. In the second month and the eighth month, the Yin and Yang are even, without excess or deficiency. Thus their exchange is without error or evil. If, in their movement up and down they act against each other, then there is vapour and steam, and wind, rain, clouds, fog, thunder, lightning, snow and hail are engendered by them. If the auras clash above, it creates rain, and if they clash below, it creates fog. Wind is its sound, clouds are its aura, thunder is the sound of them clashing together, and lightning is the flash of their striking each other. When the two auras first arise, it is as though they exist, as though they do not; as though they are substantial, as though they are insubstantial; as though they are square, and as though they are round. When they collect and joint together, their texture is somewhat heavy. Therefore the rain avails itself of the (resulting) emptiness and falls. If there is much wind, then the union is rapid. Therefore the rain is heavy and (the drops



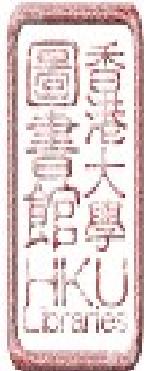
are) far apart. If there is little wind, the union is slow. Therefore the rain is fine and (the drops are) close together. If it is a cold month, then the rain freezes aloft. Its texture is still light and fine, but following the wind (the particles) join together, thus becoming snow. There is a high and low of coldness. If it is warm above and cold below, then above they combine into heavy rain, while below this freezes into ice. Such is sleet. Hail is of the (same) class as sleet. When the Yin aura suddenly ascends, there is rain which freezes and forms into hail. In times of great peace, the wind makes the branches whistle. (The branches) simply break through their coverings and open their buds. The rain does not break the earth. It simply enriches the leaves and moistens the stalks. Thunder does not frighten mankind. Its commands simply open up man's intelligence. Lightning does not confuse the eyes. It merely proclaims brilliance. Fog does not reduce visibility. It merely makes a covering tranquility all-pervasive. Snow does not block up the twigs. It merely exterminates harms and evils. When there are clouds, the five coloured make a felicitation, while the three coloured are auspicious. If there is dew, then when it contacts the taste it creates sweetness, and when it contacts moisture it makes fertility. Thus when a sage is present, the Yin and Yang are in harmony, and the wind and rain are seasonal. When the government is excessively remiss, the Yin and Yang are not in accord.



The wind blows off roofs and the rain floods the rivers, snow reaches the eyes of the cattle, and hail kills the donkeys and horses. These are all the evil omens of the Yin and Yang doing violence to one another and creating foul discord.

(Pao) Ch'ang (replied) saying: "If in the fourth month there is no Yin, and in the tenth month there is no Yang, how do you explain, 'the Yin does not stand alone' and 'the Yang does not exist alone'?"

(Tung) Chung-shu (replied) saying: "Although the Yin and the Yang are different, what they depend on is a single aura. When the Yang is operating, then the aura is Yang, and when the Yin is operating, then the aura is Yin. Although the seasons of the Yin and Yang are different and dual, the medium is always present. It is like a cauldron of water which has not yet been placed on the fire. It is pure Yin. When we place it on the fire and it becomes extremely hot, it is pure Yang. If it is pure Yang, then there is no Yin. If we let the fire go out the water becomes cold and it is again Yin. If it is pure Yin, then there is no Yang, but when we place it on the fire and the water becomes hot it is again Yang. Thus established in the ssu month is the pure Yang, but this is not that there will be no repetition of the Yin. When the Yang forces are operating, however, the Yang aura is simply at its acme. (At



this time) the gradual withering of the Shepherd's Purse is destruction by the Yin. Established in the hai month is the pure Yin, but this is not that there will be no repetition of the Yang. When the Yin forces are operating, however, the Yin aura is simply at its acme. (At this time) the growing first sprouting of the Shepherd's Purse is promotion by the Yang. Obvious cases are the T'ing-li plant<sup>6</sup> which dies at the height of summer, and the K'uan-tung plant<sup>7</sup> which flourishes in the most severe cold. Water is the acme of Yin, yet there are hot springs, while fire is the acme of Yang, yet there are cold ashes.<sup>8</sup> Thus do we know that the Yin cannot be without Yang, and the Yang cannot be completely without Yin."

(Pao) Ch'ang (replied) saying: "Why is it that in winter the rain is certain to be warm, while in summer the rain is certain to be cold?"

(Tung Chung-shu replied) saying: "In winter, the aura is exceedingly cold, and the Yang aura increases from above. Therefore men obtain its warmth, while rising vapour becomes snow. In summer, the aura is exceedingly warm, and the Yin aura comes up from below. Therefore men obtain its coolness and rising vapour becomes rain."



(Pao) Ch'ang (replied) saying: "Rain is a flourishing of the Yin and Yang together, but the fourth month is pure Yang and the tenth month is pure Yin. This being the case, when the two auras do not clash, then is there no rain?"

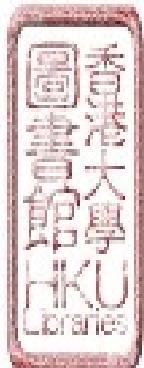
(Tung Chung-shu replied) saying: "Although it is true that pure Yang and pure Yin are in the fourth month and the tenth month (respectively), it is only on one day in the month."

(Pao) Ch'ang (replied) saying: "What is the day in the month?"

(Tung Chung-shu replied) saying: "Pure Yang is in operation on the day before the summer solstice, while pure Yin is in operation on the day before the winter solstice. At early dawn on the summer solstice and on the winter solstice (respectively) they are the true auras."

(Pao) Ch'ang (replied) saying: "Is there no rain on the day before (the solstice)?"

(Tung Chung-shu replied) saying: "If there is (even) a little, then it is an evil omen. In the midst of harmonious auras there (can) be a disastrous discord spontaneously engendered which is able to cause the Yin and Yang to change their regularity, and warmth and coolness to lose their order."

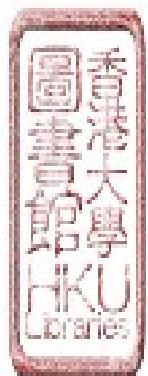


(Pao) Ch'ang (replied) saying: "Is the aura of disastrous discord always present?"

(Tung Chung-shu replied) saying: "No, it is merely engendered from time to time. It is similar to the four limbs and five organs of man. Occasionally (one) among them is reached by disease, and then all of the four limbs and five organs are ill." (Pao) Ch'ang hesitated, and then, turning his back to the wall, bowed in salute and retired.

FOOTNOTES:

1. August-September BC 134.
2. He is mentioned in neither SC nor HS, but K'ang Yu-wei, in his Ch'un-ch'iu Tung-shih Hstieh (春秋董氏彙), 7/2a, lists him as a student of Tung Chung-shu.
3. Until BC 104, the ssu month was the seventh in the lunar calendar. Thereafter it was the fourth. It usually fell in May and June of the solar calendar.
4. Until BC 104, the hai month was the first in the lunar calendar. Thereafter it was the tenth. It usually fell in November and December of the solar calendar.
5. Songs 2.9.1, (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.265).
6. The draba nemorosa.
7. The Coltsfoot, petasites japonicus.
8. Taking 耀 to be a corruption of yao 耀.



3.

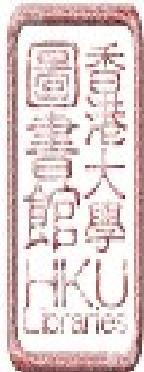
T'ai-p'ing Yd-lan

Note: Dots indicate text dropped from the present rescentration of CCFL, while italics mark changes from the wording of it or text which does not occur in it.

1. TPYL 1/10b - The Ch'unq-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Heaven has ten beginnings... Heaven is a beginning; Earth is a beginning; Yang is a beginning; Yin is a beginning; water is a beginning; earth is a beginning; man is a beginning; metal is a beginning; wood is a beginning; and fire is a beginning. Altogether there are ten beginnings. ... Heaven also has the auras of joy and anger, and a heart which is mournful or happy, thus duplicating man. When we unite them into categories, Heaven and man are a unity. Spring is the aura of happiness. Therefore it gives birth. Autumn is the aura of anger. Therefore it destroys. Summer is the aura of pleasure. Therefore it nurtures. Winter is the aura of sadness. Therefore it stores away. Both Heaven and man have all four."

Comment: The discussion of the "ten beginnings" is from CCFL 24. The order of the mention of the beginnings has been altered in transcription. The remainder is from CCFL 49.

2. TPYL 9/4a - The Ch'unq-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If this benevolence reaches metal and stones, then a cool wind will emerge ... If the king is without propriety with his ministers, and if his person is without respect, then wood will not be pliable and there will be violent winds in summer. Wind is the aur-



wood, and its note is chiao. Thus the response to it...."

Comment: The first sentence is from CCFL 60, and the remainder is from CCFL 64.

3. TPYL 10/5a - (Two short excerpts from Hsi-ching Tsa-chi in II above.

4. TPYL 12/7b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If this benevolence reaches things, ... will accord with mankind and a sweet dew will descend."

Comment: From CCFL 60.

5. TPYL 13/6b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If the king's words are not harmonious below, then metal will not be malleable, and there will be much rolling of thunder in autumn.

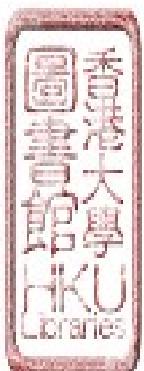
Thunder claps are the aura of metal, and their note is shang. Thus the response ... is thunder claps."

Comment: from CCFL 64.

6. TPYL 15/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The clear among the auras are the essences, while the clear among men are the wise. Control the body, thus becoming wise. Accumulate essences, making it the Way."

Comment: from CCFL 22.

7. TPYL 17/4a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The four season



are ... the four selections of Heaven. ... Spring is the selection of the lesser Yang; summer is the selection of the greater Yang; autumn is the selection of the lesser Yin; and winter is the selection of the greater Yin. ... The action of the four seasons is the Way of father and son; and the will of Heaven and Earth is the righteousness of ruler and minister. The principle of Yin and Yang is the law of the sage."

Comment: The discussion of the "selections" is from CCFL 24, while the remainder is from CCFL 44.

8. TPYL 19/24b(2) - (i) The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The spring is the aura of happiness. Therefore it gives birth."

Comment: from CCFL 49 (previously quoted in 1. above).

- (ii) It also says: "Spring is similar to saying wriggling. ... It has the appearance of joy and pleasure."

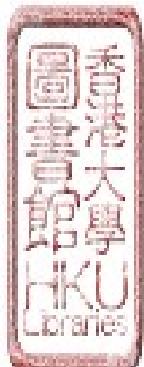
Comment: from CCFL 44.

9. TPYL 21/4b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Summer is the aura of pleasure. Therefore it nurtures."

Comment: from CCFL 49 (previously quoted in 1. above.)

10. TPYL 24/5a(2) - (i) The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The word for autumn is similar to that for waterfall. ... It has a sad and mournful appearance."

Comment: from CCFL 44 (unlike 8 (ii) above, the wording is intact).



- (ii) It also says: "Autumn is the aura of anger."

Comment: from CCFL 49 (previously quoted in 1. above).

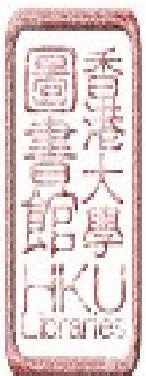
11. TPYL 26/6a(2) - (i) The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The winter aura is sadness. Therefore it stores away."

Comment: from CCFL 49 (quoted previously in 1. above).

- (ii) It also says: "If wood has changes, then (the plants) wither in the spring and flourish in the winter. ... This (is caused by) forced labour and public work occurring (too) frequently, and taxes and levies being repetitive."

Comment: from CCFL 63

12. TPYL 35/9a - Tung Chung-shu said: "If there is drought in the Spring, rain is sought by ordering by ordering that on 'water days' the county seats order the people to pray at the ... altar..., and householders sacrifice at the windows. There is no chopping of famous trees, and there is no pruning of the mountain forests. Shameness are exposed to the sun and emaciated people are assembled. On the eighth day, an altar which is eight feet square and which has four passageways is built outside the eastern gates of the cities. (Around it) are set up eight (banners of) green silk. Its spirit is Kung-kung, and he is sacrificed to with eight... fish. ... In summer, rain is sought by again... on 'water days', the householders sacrifice



at the hearth. There is to be no land reclamation, ..., or deepening of wells. Expose a cauldron and an earthenware pot to the sun..., and a pestle and mortar to the sun in the street. On the seventh day, an altar which is seven feet square and which has four passageways is built outside the southern gate of the cities. (Around it) are set up seven (banners of) red silk. Its spirit is Ch'ih-yu, and he is sacrificed to with seven red roosters. ... In general, in the great ritual of the seeking of rain, the husband should wish to be hidden away, and the woman should wish to be harmonious and happy.

Comment: from CCFL 74.

13. TPYL 37/4b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Heaven has ten beginnings... Of these earth is one beginning."

Comment: from CCFL 24 (previously quoted in 1. above).

14. TPYL 76/3b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "He whose virtue ranks with Heaven and Earth is called imperial sovereign, and Heaven aids him and treats him as son. His name is called Son of Heaven."

Comment: from CCFL 23.

15. TPYL 77/2b - In reply to the question, Tung Chung-shu said: "The three sovereigns are the three forces. The five emperors are the five constants. The three kings are the three illuminators. The five overlords are the five peaks."

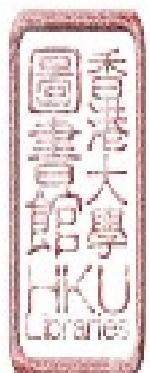


Comment: This quotation does not appear in either the HS or the CCFL. It is possible that it was once included in one of the lost chapters of the CCFL. There is much disagreement as to the composition of the "three sovereigns", but all sources agree that they were the rulers of China in legendary antiquity. It is most probable that the reference here is to the mythical rulers, T'ien-huang (天皇), Ti-huang (地皇) and Jen-huang (人皇). The "three forces" were Heaven, Earth, and man. Again the composition of the "five emperors" was subject to controversy. SC lists them as Huang-ti (黄帝), Chuan-hsti (蟄蟄), Ti-ku (帝堯), T'ang-yao (唐堯) and Yü-shun (虞舜). It is also uncertain what the "five constants" were. It is possible that they were, the righteousness of the father, the love of the mother, the friendliness of the elder brother, the respect of the younger brother, and the filial piety of the son. They could also have been, humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trust, or even the five elements. The "three kings" were the founding kings of the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties, Kings Yü, T'ang, and Wen, respectively. The "three illuminators" (san ming - 三明) is not a standard compound, but it is probable that the reference here is to the sun, moon, and stars. The identity of the "five overlords" is again in doubt. Hsün Tzu lists them as Duke Huan of Ch'i, Duke Wen of Chin, King Chuang of Ch'u, King Ho-lü of Wu, and King Kou-chien of Wu. The "five peaks" were, T'ai-shan (泰山) in the east (in present Shantung), Hua-shan (华山) in the west (in present Shensi), Huo-shan (霍山) in the south (in present Anhwei), Heng-shan (恒山) in the north (in present Shansi), and Sung-shan (嵩山) in the centre (in present Honan).

16. TPYL 174/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Broad palaces have an excess of Yin, thus they keep the harmony of Heaven and Earth at a distance. Therefore the sage does not make them."

Comment: from CCFL 77.

17. TPYL 345/1a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "This is the means by which ritual flourished. ... When the single-edged blade is on the right, the symbol is the white tiger."

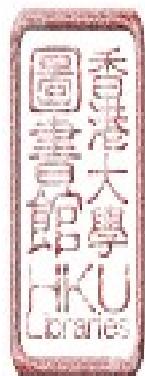


Comment: from CCFL 14.

18. TPYL 356/1a - In "The Symbols for Rules Governing Apparel", the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "One who takes armour and repulses his enemies is indeed not honoured by men."

Comment: from CCFL 14.

19. TPYL 360/2b - Also the (Ch'un-ch'iu) Fan-lu says: "Only man ... matches Heaven and Earth. Man has three hundred and sixty joints, thus matching Heaven's number. The shape of his body and his bones and flesh match the generosity of Earth. Above, the perceptions of his ears and eyes are the image of the sun and moon. The openings of the body and the arrangement of the pulse are images of the rivers and valleys. The sorrow, pleasure, joy and anger of the mind are of a kind with the spiritual auras. ... Thus the three hundred and sixty-six lesser joints duplicate the number of days and the twelve major joints duplicate the number of the four seasons. Inside, there are the five organs which duplicate the number of the ... elements, and outside, there are the four limbs which duplicate the number of the four seasons. Sometimes he looks and sometimes he closes his eyes\*, thus duplicating day and night. Sometimes he is yielding and sometimes he is firm, thus duplicating winter and summer. Sometimes he is sorrowful, and sometimes he is happy, thus duplicating the Yin and Yang."



Comment: from CCFL 56. Note\*: TPYL has quite obviously miscopied ch'en ( 春 ) for ming ( 明 ).

20. TPYL 402/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The clear among auras are the spirits, while the clear among men are the wise. (Thus he who) cultivates himself makes the selection of the spirits his treasure, and (he who) governs the state makes accumulation of the wise his Way."

Comment: from CCFL 22. (This same passage was misquoted differently in 6. above.)

21. TPYL 467/2b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The word for spring is similar to that for wriggling. ... Wriggling is the appearance of joy and pleasure."

Comment: from CCFL 44. (Previously quoted in 8(ii) above.)

22. TPYL 525/6a(2) - (i) The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "What is the Grand Sacrifice for Rain? It is a sacrifice (held in time) of drought. An opponent (might argue) saying: 'In a severe drought, then they held the Grand Sacrifice for Rain in which they pleaded for rain, (but when) there was severe flooding, they beat drums and there was an execution at the altar. The actions of Heaven and Earth are caused by the Yin and Yang. (But) in some (cases) they pleaded, and in others they showed anger. Why?'

(It would) reply that in a great drought, the Yang has



the Yin. When the Yang destroys the Yin, the honourable has destroyed the mean, and this is indeed righteous. Even though (the drought) is of great severity, they worshipfully pray and nothing more. They did not dare to increase on it. But when there is severe flooding, the Yin has destroyed the Yang. When the Yin destroys the Yang, the mean has overcome the honourable. ... Therefore they beat the drums, held an execution, (used) vermillion silk, and acted in a threatening manner."

Comment: from CCFL 5.

- (ii) It also says: "In ancient times there were four sacrifices in a year. ... (They) accord with what is produced and matured by the four seasons in making sacrifice to one's predecessors and to one's parents. ... 'in the spring it is called Tz'u.' ... In the Tz'u, onions are (offered as) food at the beginning of the first month. ... 'In the summer it is called the Yüeh.' In the Yüeh, steamed biscuits (are offered) in the fourth month. ... 'In the autumn it is called the Ch'ang.' ... In the Ch'ang, the taste of millet (is offered as) food in the seventh month. ... 'In winter it is called the Cheng.' In the Cheng, the first rice is brought in in the tenth month."

Comment: from CCFL 68. This is a rearrangement of the CCFL version.

23. TPYL 527/3b(2) - (i) The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The



king performs one sacrifice a year in the suburbs. ... Heaven is the ruler of the one hundred spirits, and that which is most honoured by the king."

Comment: from CCFL 66.

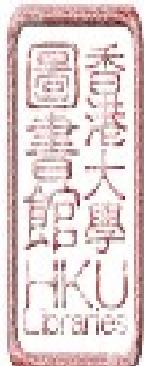
- (ii) It also says: "(According to the) righteousness of the Spring and Autumn Annals, when there is great mourning in the state, the sacrifices of the ancestral temple are stopped, but the Suburban Sacrifice is not stopped. They do not stop the Suburban Sacrifice because they do not presume to use mourning for one's parents to abrogate the ritual of the service of Heaven."

Comment: from CCFL 67.

24. TPYL 627/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If wood changes, then (the plants) will wither in the spring, and flourish in the winter. In autumn there will be floods, and in spring there will be much rain. Thus when forced labour and public work occur (too) frequently, and when taxes and levies are repetitious, the common people will be impoverished. They will rebel against or abandon (the state), and in the roads there will be many starving people. The one who saves them will reduce forced labour and public work, lessen taxes and levies, open the granaries, and relieve the hardships."

Comment: from CCFL 63. (Previously quoted in 11(ii) above.)

25. TPYL 684/5b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "When the



crown is on the head, the symbol is the black hat-brim. ... The appearance of the black hat-brim is the most strict and awe-inspiring. Its symbol is at the back, (yet)... (it) turns back and dwells on the head. (This means that) warfare is present, but is not used."

Comment: from CCFL 14.

26. TPYL 680/8a(2) - (Two legal cases, translated as cases six and seven of CCCS above.)

27. TPYL 687/3b - In the book "Stopping Rain", Tung Chung-shu says: "He who conducts the ceremony (wears) a red cap. Discussing it from this we know that what is worn as a crown is not shown."

Comment: The wearing of a red cap is mentioned in CCFL 75, but this passage has been lost from the text.

28. TPYL 702/3b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Summon rain with a dragon; drive away heat with a fan."

Comment: Conforms with CCFL 74, but has been lost from the text.

29. TPYL 718/6a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "(King) Ch tortured the Marquis of Kuei's daughter and took her ring."

Comment: from CCFL 6.

30. TPYL 743/4a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "(If) the



ruler of men is fond of battles, ... and covets cities and town,  
... then the people will become ill with ... coughs."

Comment: from CCFL 60.

31. TPYL 743/6a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "(If) the ruler of men treats the ancestral temple lightly, ... and obstructs Heaven's seasons, ... the people will become ill with superous swelling."

Comment: from CCFL 60.

32. TPYL 757/2b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "In summer, rain is sought by ... exposing a cauldron to the sun in the main thoroughfare for ten days.

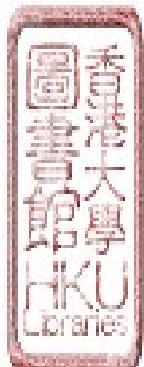
Comment: from CCFL 74. (Previously quoted in 12. above.)

33. TPYL 762/4a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "In summer, rain is sought by ... exposing a pestle and mortar to the sun in the street for ten days."

Comment: from CCFL 74. (Previously quoted in 12. above).

34. TPYL 813/6a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Heating stone to take metal ... is not man's ... idea. ... The origin of ... good and bad luck ... are also not intended by mankind.

Comment: from CCFL 65.



35. TPYL 823/4a - Tung Chung-shu said: "When (King) Yü of (the Hsia dynasty) was overseeing the plowing, he would bow from the carriage if there were five couples, and he would descend when he passed a town of ten houses. When looking at a mountain, he would look up, and when looking at a valley, he would look down."

Comment: Possibly from a lost chapter of CCFL.

36. TPYL 837/2b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If metal opposes earth, the five grains are injured. ... If earth opposes metal, the five grains will not be completed."

Comment: from CCFL 62, from which the word "injured" has been deleted (Su Yü), in order to accommodate the following two words (which this text does not have).

37. TPYL 839/1b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "When rice grows in the wilderness ... there will be a deficiency of grain in the bars. ... All are strange and ... wonderful. They are not what mankind intended."

Comment: from CCFL 65.

38. TPYL 872/2a(2) - (i) The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The king is the beginning of mankind. If the king is correct, then the original vapours are harmonious, wind and rain are seasonal, lucky stars appear, and a yellow dragon will descend."

Comment: from CCFL 6.



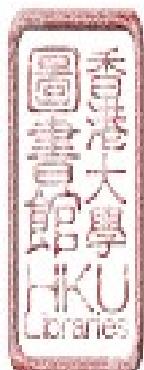
- (ii) It also says: "When the regulation of the Five Emperors and the Three Kings had the world, they did not presume to have the intention to (differentiate between) the ruler and the people. The tax was one part in ten. (The people) were taught to love and encouraged to be loyal. They respected the aged, treated relatives as relatives, and honoured the honourable. They did not steal the people's time, taking only three days of corvee labour a year. In the homes of the people there was a sufficiency for all, and there was no evil of grief or wrath. ... Because of ... Heaven sent down a sweet dew, vermillion grass grew, sweet springs burst forth, the wind and rain were seasonal, bounteous crops flourished, and phoenix and unicorns roamed in the outskirts."

Comment: from CCFL 6.

39. TPYL 872/6a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If this benevolence of the king reaches metal and stones, then a cool wind will emerge."

Comment: from CCFL 60. (Previously quoted in 2. above.)

40. TPYL 873/6b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The business of agriculture is encouraged by the ruler, the people's time is not stolen, the people are used for no more than three days in a year, and taxes are exacted at one part in ten. Scholars of the classics are promoted. ... The gates are opened and the barriers are pushed out. If this benevolence reaches



the grass and trees, then ... vermilion grass will grow."

Comments: from CCFL 60.

41. TPYL 876/11a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If the king's words are not harmonious, ... will not be malleable, and there will be much rolling of thunder in autumn. Thunder claps are the aura of metal, and their note is shang. Thus the response..."

Comment: from CCFL 64. (Previously quoted in 5. above.)

42. TPYL 877/6a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If wood has changes, then ... in spring there will be much rain. The reason for this is forced labour and public work occurring (too) frequently, and taxes and levies being repetitious."

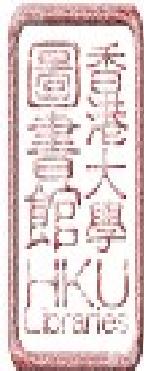
Comment: from CCFL 63. (Previously quoted in 11(ii) and 24. above.)

43. TPYL 879/3a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If water opposes earth, there will be a severe drought."

Comment: from CCFL 62.

44. TPYL 883/6b - In "Harmony With and Obstruction of the Five Elements", Tung Chung-shu says: "(If) the ruler of men treats the ancestral temple lightly, and does not pray ... then ghosts will cry in the night."

Comment: from CCFL 60. (Previously quoted in 31. above.)



45. TPYL 902/4a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "In all making of presentations, ... the ministers use sheep. ... When drinking from their mothers, lambs must kneel down ... (This) is as though they understand ritual. The word 'sheep' is ... 'auspicious'. Therefore ... (they) make it their gift."

Comment: from CCFL 72.

46. TPYL 910/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The ape is big and black like a monkey, and its fore-arms are long. The reason why it has long life is that it is good at drawing in the auras."

Comment: similar to CCFL 77.

47. TPYL 915/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If this benevolence reaches the feathered creatures, then ... phoenix will hover."

Comment: from CCFL 60.

48. TPYL 917/1b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "In all making of presentations, ... the nobles use wild geese. ... (they) have a similarity to elders. ... (they) are above the people, but they must ... have precedence. ... Wild geese have (good) order of sequence. Therefore ... (they) make it their gift."

Comment: from CCFL 72.



49. TPYL 919/7a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "Chang T'ang ... made enquiries of ... (Tung) Chung-shu ... saying: 'In sacrifices in the ancestral temple, sometimes they used tame ducks for wild ducks. ... Is it permissible or not?'"

Tung Chung-shu) replied saying: 'Tame ducks are not wild ducks, and wild ducks are not tame ducks. ... (I) am stupid, but I consider it to be incorrect.'"

Comment: from CCFL 71.

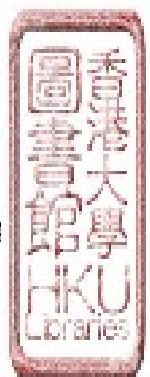
50. TPYL 952/2a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If wood has changes, then (the plants) wither in spring and flourish in winter. ... forced labour ... Purity, constancy, skill, and valour cannot control it."

Comment: from CCFL 63. (Previously quoted more correctly in 11(ii), 24, and 42. above.) TPYL continues as though the following entry were also from CCFL, but it concerns a proposal made by an official of the Northern Wei Dynasty (AD 386-534).

51. TPYL 956/4a - In the book, "Seeking Rain", Tung Chung-shu says: "In autumn, ... with nine (measure word) T'ung wood fish."

Comment: from CCFL 74.

52. TPYL 965/1b - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "If you take a date and inlaid gold and show it to a child, it is certain



that he will take the date and not take the gold. ... Therefore, to mankind, the smaller they are, the easier things are to understand."

Comment: from CCFL 31.

53. TPYL 980/4a - The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu says: "The Shepherd's Purse is in its prime in ... The aura of winter is 'water' and the taste of Shepherd's Purse is sweet. It is raised up by the aura 'water'... Therefore in its prime it is sweet and it overcomes the cold. Shepherd's Purse ... says 'relieve'. It is the means by which we are relieved from great flood."

Comment: from CCFL 77.



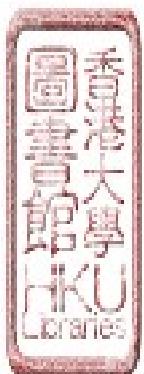
- 4: "A Discussion of Disasters" (Yen-t'ieh Lun: 54:)

The (Grand) Censor said: "One cannot sacrifice together with a shamaness and one cannot talk to each individual Confucian. (The latter) believes in the past and doubts the present (while the former) thinks others wrong and themselves right. Now, those who follow the ancient connect it to the present, and those who speak of the distant unite it to the near. (They say that) the sun and the moon are in the sky, but that the proof is in man. The incidence of disasters and anomalous occurrences, the length of lifespan, the changes of Yin and Yang, the ordering of the four seasons (into) water, fire, metal, and wood, the response of omens of good and evil fortune, the influence of ghosts and spirits, the good fortune from sacrifices, the paths of the sun and moon, and the regulation of the stars, are the result of obscure teachings. On what basis were they begun? When they do not know they are silent. Thus there is not the slightest disorder.

The literati (replied) saying: "In the beginning, the Prime Minister of Chiang-tu, Master Tung (Chung-shu) expanded the theories on the Yin and Yang and the mutual succession of the four seasons. The father causes birth, the son nourishes, the mother rears, and the son buries. Therefore the spring



produces humanity, the summer causes virtue to grow, the autumn completes virtue, and the winter stores away propriety. This is the sequence of the four seasons, and that which the sage takes as a pattern. Punishments cannot be used to complete (moral) suasion. Therefore (the sage) makes broadcast (his)moral teachings. When speaking of the far it must be verified in the near. Therefore you act in accordance with sincere forgiveness, as though the punishment were directed against one's own self and as though the hard labour were given to one's own self. How, then, could one bear to kill one's child, thereby serving the useless, corrupting the dependable and causing it to reach everywhere! Now, the men of Yu"eh love shell-fish<sup>1</sup> and oysters while looking down on the greater animals,<sup>2</sup> and a commoner takes pleasure in (music which) clatters while thinking strange the Shao and Hu.<sup>3</sup> Therefore those who do not know scents will take fragrances for miasma, and those who do not know the Way will simply make disorder out of good words. Mankind is without a set lifespan. Everyone takes their fate from the good or evil (of their actions). I Ao (堯 故) did not attain (the proper time of) his death because of his skill and power;<sup>4</sup> and because of his greed and violence, the Earl of Chih (智 伯) caused his own death.<sup>5</sup> The evidence of a disaster from Heaven, and the response of a lucky omen are like the expected return of a gift. Each come



according to its category. Therefore Heaven helps those who love to do good with good fortune. Such are auspicious omens.

The Book of Changes says:

'From Heaven there is protection for him.  
Auspicious omens all benefit (him).'<sup>6</sup>

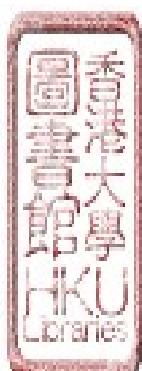
Heaven repays those who love to do evil with calamity. Such are supernatural misfortunes. The (Kung-yang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals) says: 'In response to this there was a disaster from Heaven.'<sup>7</sup> (Kings) Wen and Wu of Chou honoured wisdom and accepted admonition. They were not remiss in respecting warnings.<sup>8</sup> Purifying their virtue they increased in goodness, and the spirits made gifts (to them). The Book of Songs says:

'Good fortune comes down abundantly.  
Good fortune comes down prodigiously.'<sup>9</sup>

The sun is Yang, and the path of the Yang is brilliant. The moon is Yin, and the path of the Yin is obscure. This is what is meant (when we say that) the ruler is honourable while the minister is mean. Therefore the Yang is first to flourish above, while the multitudes of the category of the Yin rest below.

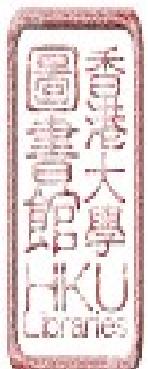
When the moon is seen in the sky, oysters thrive in the streams.

Therefore, if the ministers do not act as ministers, then the Yin and Yang are not in harmony, and there are (malevolent) changes in the sun and moon. When government and education are not balanced, the wet and dry (seasons) are not timely, and Ming and T'e insects<sup>10</sup> are engendered. These are the responses of



disaster and anomalous occurrence. The four seasons are replaced in order, and man makes a pattern of their achievements. The stars are arranged in the heavens, and man copies their actions. The constant stars<sup>11</sup> are like the (Three) Dukes and the (Nine) Ministers, while the myriad stars are like the multitude of (common) people. When the arranged stars<sup>11</sup> are correct, the myriad stars are regulated, but if the constant stars<sup>11</sup> are disordered, the myriad stars fall."

The (Grand) Censor said: "The words of the literati are of the category, positive and negative. The five destroyers replace and engender one another. The Book of Changes is clear about the Yin and Yang, while the Book of History is lengthy about the five elements. The spring causes birth, while the summer causes growth. Therefore fire is engendered at yin (寅) by wood.<sup>12</sup> It belongs to the Yang. Autumn causes birth, while winter causes death. Therefore water is engendered at shen (申) by metal.<sup>13</sup> It belongs to the Yin. During the four seasons, the five elements alternately rise, and fall. Yin and Yang are of different categories, and water and fire are not the same instrument. When metal obtains earth it is completed, but when it obtains fire, it dies. Metal is engendered at ssu (巳).<sup>14</sup> What are the theories and what are the words for this to be so?"



The literati (replied) saying: "Weapons are vicious instruments.

'When armour is strong and weapons sharp,  
They are calamitous to the world.  
When it is the mother who controls the child,  
There can be growth for a long time.  
When the sage copies this,  
He represses arms, not exposing them.'<sup>15</sup>

The Book of Songs says:

'Causing the recall of shield and spear,  
The encasing of bow and arrow,  
I seek the greatest of virtue,  
To spread to these (nations of) Hsia.'<sup>16</sup>

In an age of decline it is not thus. They oppose the Way of Heaven in order to make glad their violent hearts. Blood flows from the corpses that they (might) contend for territory. They imprison the rulers of men and extinguish the sacrifices of man. They murder the children of men as though they were cutting off the grass or trees. The mutilated shoulder (their belongings) and scatter on the roads. (The ruler) had given what he personally hated to others. This is why his state was destroyed and he personally received calamity. Such was the King of Ch'in."

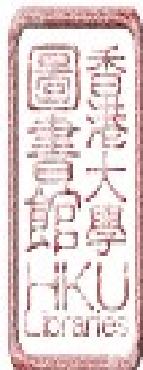
The (Grand) Censor said: "Metal is engendered at ssu, and there is a slight increase in punishments. Therefore the shepherd's purse and wheat die in summer. The Book of Changes says:



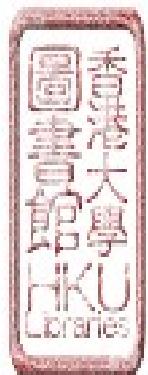
'When you walk on frost  
Firm ice is arriving.'<sup>17</sup>

In autumn, at the first descent of frost, the grass and (the leaves of) the trees fall. It combines with winter and they carry out the killing, and all things are finally stored away. Spring and summer give birth and growth. Thus they benefit the practice of humanity. Autumn and winter kill and store away. Thus they benefit the giving of punishment. Therefore if it is not the season for it and you plant, then even if there is birth, there is no maturation. To practise virtue in autumn and winter is referred to as opposing the Way of Heaven. The 'Yüeh-ling' (月令) (says that) when the cold winds arrive, the killing auras are active, the cricket cries, and the clothing of furs is completed.<sup>18</sup> The Son of Heaven puts the lesser punishments into practice, and commences the Chulou (獄月) (Sacrifice),<sup>19</sup> in order to accord with the orders of Heaven. The literati treat the four seasons the same, unite the Yin and Yang, exalt virtue, and do away with punishment. If it were thus, the birds of prey would not be bloodthirsty, and the wild beasts would not plunder. In autumn there would be no Sou (兦) and Hsien (獮) (hunts), and in winter there would be no T'ien (畋) and Shou (狩) (hunts)."<sup>20</sup>

The literati (replied) saying: "It is the Way of Heaven to love birth and to hate death; to love rewards and to hate

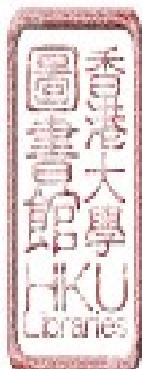


punishments. Therefore It causes Yang to occupy the substantial spreading the gift of virtue, and Yin to occupy the insubstantial acting as an assistant to the Yang. Yang is positive while Yin is negative. The junior cannot supercede the senior. This is why Heaven demeans winter and honours spring; extends the Yang and contracts the Yin. Therefore the king, in facing south and receiving the world, is turning his back on the Yin while facing towards the Yang. He causes virtue to be advanced and punishments to be retreated. If frost and snow arrive late, the five grains will still mature, but if there is hail and mist in the summer, the ten thousand things will all be injured. Looking at it from this (point of view), the use of severe punishment to govern the state is like using autumn and winter to mature the five grains. Therefore laws and commandments are tools for controlling evil. They are not a wind which brings (good) government. This is why, in ancient times, enlightened kings caused their moral suasion to flourish, and were slow to use punishments and reprimands. (The latter are so loosely sketched that) the boat swallowing fish escapes the net, yet punishments and investigations (are applied) to (those causes) beyond the mark (of proper behaviour). When its extremities are brought back, none of the people will transgress against the prohibitions."



FOOTNOTES:

1. Substituting lo (犧) for lei (斂). (Chang Chih-hsiang - 張之慶).
2. The ox, the sheep, and the pig. Normally the compound, t'ai-lao (太牢) refers to the sacrificial ox alone.
3. The music of the Emperors Sun and T'ang respectively.
4. Substituting ch'iao (孝) for kung (功). (Chang Tun-jen - 張敦仁). I Ao was a legendary archer of great skill who died before his time. (cf. Analects 14.6; Legge, Classics I, p.277). The given name, Ao, seems to have been recorded nowhere else but here.
5. The Earl of Chih was one of the most powerful nobles in Chin in the early fifth century BC (cf. TCF Ai 23.2,3; and 27.5). SC 79/18b says that insatiable greed caus
6. Changes, "ta-yu" (太有). (cf. Wilhelm, p.62)..
7. KYC, Hsüan 15.2.
8. Understanding tai (太) to be a loan word for tai (泰). (Yang Shu-ta - 楊樹達).
9. Songs 4.1(i).9. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.579).
10. Two types of crop-destroying insect.
11. Alternate methods of referring to the twenty-eight constellations.
12. Third of the twelve branches. This corresponded to the first month of the Chinese calendar (the first month of spring) after BC 104. (It usually fell in January and February of the Western calendar).
13. Ninth of the twelve branches. This corresponded to the seventh month (the first month of autumn) of the Chinese calendar after 104 BC. (It usually fell in July and August of the Western calendar).
14. Sixth of the twelve branches. This corresponded to the fourth month of the Chinese calendar (the first month of summer after 104 BC. (It usually fell in May and June of the Western calendar). The Grand Censor is pointing out the contradiction between the growth associated with summer, and the weapons associated with metal.



15. Yang Shu-ta implies that this may have been an early poem by pointing out that every eighth word rhymed according to the T'ang pronunciation. It is to be noted that it bears marked resemblance to some sections of the Tao-te Ching (cf. TTC 28, 31, 52).

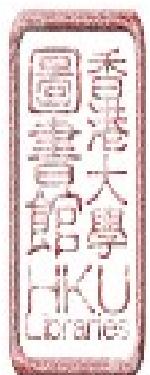
16. Songs 4.1(i).8. (cf. Legge, Classics IV, p.578).

17. Changes, "K'un" (☷). (cf. Wilhelm, p.13).

18. The sixth chapter of the Li-chi. This sentence and the following sum up part of the section on the first month of autumn in this chapter but so little of them is an actual quotation that such punctuation here seems unnecessary.

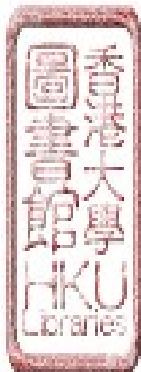
19. Substituting lou (𦵯) for liu (留). (Chang Chih-hsiang). It was the sacrifice of wild animals with which the Han Emperors celebrated the beginning of autumn.

20. There was much controversy over the names of the seasonal hunts. According to KYC, Huan 4.1, the T'ien was the spring hunt, the Sou was the autumn hunt, and the Shou was the winter hunt. TC alone of the three commentaries mentions the Hsien. (cf. CCFL 35, ff.3.)



PART II

"DISCUSSION"



Tung Chung-shu I: "His Life"

In the first of the two articles in which he discusses the chronology of Tung Chung-shu, Shih Chih-mien (施之勉) points out that it is unlikely that the date of submission of Tung's famous replies can ever be settled for sure.<sup>1</sup> The same might well be said for the chronology of his entire life. The same two articles of Professor Shih outline both lucidly and well the extent to which scholars have disagreed over the centuries. This chapter follows closely Professor Shih's conclusions since his is the most recent and exhaustive discussion of the problem.

Most scholars have put Tung's birth early in the reign of Wen-ti, and all have him predeceasing Wu-ti. When we find, however, that Pan Ku says that Tung saw the reigns of four generations (HS94B/23a), and that there is good evidence that he died during the reign of Wu-ti,<sup>2</sup> we are forced to agree with Professor Shih that Tung was born early in the reign of Empress Lü. Again, with Professor Shih, we will hypothesize that he was born in BC 187 (Lü-hou 1). At the time of his birth, his home, Kuang-ch'uan, was part of the kingdom of Chao (趙), one of the six regions into which Chao was later divided by Wen-ti (HS14/3b).<sup>3</sup>

By the time Ching-ti came to the throne in BC 156, Tung



would already have become a master of the Kung-yang School of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Although later sources claim to trace the transmission of this school back to a disciple of Confucius,<sup>4</sup> the earliest reference we have to it in the early histories is associated with a Hu-mu Sheng (胡母生) of Ch'i. He and Tung Chung-shu are reported to have been the first to have transcribed it on to "bamboo and silk", and each is said to have formed a school named after their states of origin (HS88/3b). While it is entirely possible that the older Hu-mu Sheng was, in fact, the teacher of Tung, we have been left no hard evidence to support this. Since their names are closely associated in both the early accounts, it is unlikely that there were any important differences between the Schools of Ch'i and Chao. This would account for the facts that apart from the first Confucian Prime Minister in imperial China, Kung-sun Hung, no other personages of note are connected with the School of Ch'i,<sup>5</sup> and that all other students of the Kung-yang Commentary are intellectual descendants of Tung-Chung-shu.

Both Hu-mu Sheng and Tung Chung-shu were appointed as Erudites to the court of Ching-ti. We have been left no hard evidence as to the date of Tung's promotion, but we might tentatively set it in the years 150-148 BC. Tung is listed as having come from Kuang-ch'uan, and although we are told that it was a geopolitical entity caused by the division of Chao in the time of Wen-ti, it did not have a ruler until BC 155.



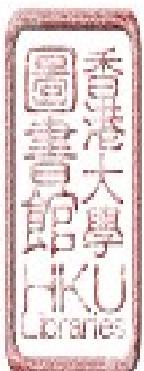
(HS14/15a), and continuous rule was not established until BC 148 (HS14/17b). This most tenuous of arguments reasons that he would not have become intellectually important enough to be noted until after his home had become firmly known as Kuang-ch'uan. This cannot be demonstrated to have happened prior to BC 155. Equally tenuous as an argument is the fact that the second half of Ching-ti's reign saw more than twice as many reports of disasters and anomalous occurrences than the first.<sup>6</sup> This is not to say that Tung Chung-shu's entrance into the central government would cause the fabrication of reports. It is merely that his teachings might well have caused a more intent watch to be kept. Since Kuang-ch'uan was founded in the time of Wen-ti, and because the reporting of disasters and anomalous occurrences had a history of hundreds of years, both of these points alone would most certainly be insufficient. Most scholars, however, have found it convenient to place Tung's appointment roughly in the middle of the reign of Ching-ti.

We come now to the problem around which the greatest controversy has raged. This is the date on which Tung Chung-shu submitted his replies to Wu-ti. At the root of the discussion, is the fact that there is contradictory evidence, which forces every historian into the position where he must ignore as



incorrect one or more pieces of the evidence. Unless it can be proved that the piece(s) of evidence which are disregarded are patently later forgeries, or at best mistakes, all evidence becomes suspect. All this is compounded by the general lack of hard evidence. We will present, then, what appears to be the most plausible sequence of events, and deal afterwards with the major opposing arguments.

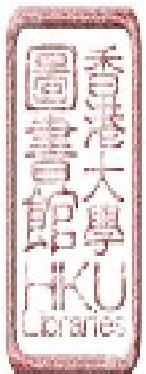
To begin with, we are forced to agree with the argument that because Tung Chung-shu was an erudite in the reign of Ching-ti, he must have been recommended as "good and virtuous" in BC 140 (chien-ydan 1). We disagree, however, that he gained preferment at this time. We are told that in the first levy, it was Chuang Chu (莊叔) alone who was favoured, and promoted to the rank of Gentleman of the Palace (HS64A/1a).<sup>7</sup> And in HS22/4a, we are given the following sequence of events: "When Wu-ti ascended the throne, he promoted and employed the outstanding, discussed the establishment of the Ming-t'ang, and regulated ritual and clothing, in order to cause the great peace to prosper. At the time, the Grand Empress Dowager favoured the words of Lao (-tzu) and the Yellow (Emperor), and was not fond of the Confucian arts. These affairs, then, were done away with. Later, Tung Chung-shu made a reply saying: ...".<sup>8</sup> Since it is a precis of the first of the three replies made by Tung which follows this quotation, all three must have been made after th



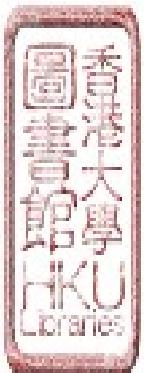
death of the Grand Empress Dowager Tou in BC 135 (HS6/4a).

Further evidence that Tung's memorials were submitted during the second levy of the "capable and good" which was held in BC 134 is provided in his memorials themselves. In his first memorial he mentions the fact that the Han had been established for over seventy years, and, in his second, he includes, in passing, the names of the two barbarian states, Yeh-lang (夷郎)<sup>9</sup> and K'ang-chü (羌渠).<sup>10</sup> Because the Han was considered to have been founded in BC 206, the seventy year mark could not have been passed until BC 136 (chien-yüan 5). Yeh-lang first came into contact with the Han during the south-western expeditions of BC 135 (HS95/2a, 2b, 3a), while K'ang-chü was mentioned in the same context in a proclamation issued by Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju which can be dated at about that time (HS57B/1b).<sup>11</sup> Again, the list of deeds which the emperor claims to have done in the proclamation given before Tung's second reply, could not have been accomplished in the short period of his reign which preceded the first levy in BC 140.<sup>12</sup> The fact that Tung was in the capital shortly after the proclamation of the second summons is attested to by the section attributed to him in Hsi-ching Tsa-chi.<sup>13</sup> Tung's success in the levy of BC 134 is recorded in the "Basic Annals of Wu-ti" (HS6/5b), but unfortunately, this piece of evidence is less reliable than might be desired.<sup>14</sup>

On of the major arguments which place Tung's replies in

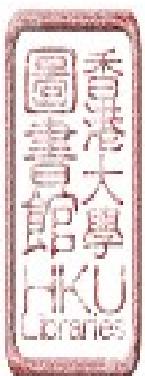


the earlier levy is that both of the early histories say that they were made "when the emperor came to the throne." We would reply that the word "when" is indefinite, and that nowhere does it say "immediately". More serious, however, are the arguments based on the major accomplishments attributed to Tung by Pan Ku towards the end of the latter's biography of him. Pan Ku says that Tung, 1) illuminated Confucianism, 2) did away with the one hundred schools, 3) established a government office for schools, and 4) recommended that the talented, the filial, and the incorrupt be recommended from the commanderies. The first of these presents no problems, and the second was done in response to a memorial by Kung-sun Hung in BC 124 (HS6/11b, HS88/3b-6a), long after the date of Tung's memorials. We know that the second was done while T'ien Fen was Prime Minister (HS88/3b) at his behest, but we have no precise date for this. Since he held this rank between 5 July, BC 135, and 7 May, BC 131 (HS19B/14b-15b), it is certainly possible that it occurred after Tung's memorials. The real problem is that in BC 135, there was the first imperial summons to the filial and incorrupt from the commanderies and kingdoms (HS6/4a). When we learn, however, that even by BC 128, this was a policy which had not been carried out (HS6/8b), it becomes possible to argue that Tung was urging the implementation rather than the inauguration. Another serious obstacle to the BC 134 dating is that the imperial questions listed in HS56 do not seem to



match those listed in HS6 for that date. We can only point out that it is extremely unlikely that the full text of any given edict (or memorial) is given at any point in Han Shu; that the demands made upon the historian to summarize have removed most of the points in common.

Immediately after his success in the "examination" of BC 134, Tung was posted to the southern kingdom of Chiang-tu<sup>15</sup> as Prime Minister. It was here, apparently, that he was first able to put into practice his theories on the causing and stopping of rain. We still have extant part of a proclamation he issued to two of his subordinates, dated November 11, BC 134, on the need for, and the means by which the current excess of rain should be stopped.<sup>16</sup> Because the examination had been held in the spring or summer of the same year, this must have been one of his first acts after taking up his appointment. We have no means of knowing how long it was that Tung held this post. Pan Ku tells us only that he was dismissed in mid-career, without explaining why. In recording one of Tung's dialogues with the king, however, he is perhaps giving us a hint. Liu Fei (劉非), King of Chiang-tu, was one of the more martial of the regional rulers of the day. At the age of fifteen he had helped put down the rebellion of BC 154, and even in the year of his death, he petitioned the throne for permission to attack the Hsiung-nu (HS53/4b, 5a). Tung's pacifist reply to his martial question could hardly



have pleased him.<sup>17</sup>

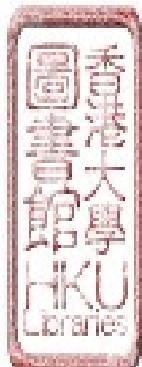
We will suppose, then, that he was dismissed in BC 133 or 132, and that he became a Gentleman of the Palace in BC 132 or 131. It was a rank he held until his conviction under law for an imprudent memorial. In order to date this accurately, it is necessary to digress for a time in order to establish the chronology of the official who caused his downfall, Chu-fu Yen.

In his biography (HS64A/16b-21a), we are told that Chu-fu Yen first tried to gain audience with the emperor in BC 134, but was unsuccessful. The date of his first audience with the emperor is unrecorded, but in the memorial which he submitted at that time, he was highly critical of attacks on Hsiung-nu territory. We must reason, therefore, that his first audience occurred after attacks had been mounted against them during the reign of Wu-ti. When we learn that the first (unsuccessful) foray to the edges of Hsiung-nu territory occurred in BC 133 (HS6/5a-6b), and the first successful attack occurred in the spring of BC 129 (HS6/7b-8a), we might reason that it was in the summer or autumn of BC 129 that he made his entrance into the central court. The emperor was so pleased with the memorial submitted at this time that Chu-fu Yen was immediately promoted to Palace Attendant, and within a year had been advanced four times to the rank of Gentleman of the Palace. During his career



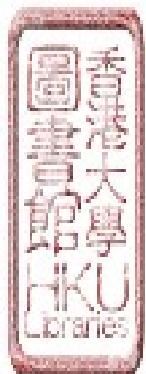
in the central government, Chu-fu Yen advocated the equal division of the fief of a feudal lord among his sons on his death. This was proclaimed in BC 127 (HS6/10b). His advice to transport potential trouble makers to Mou-ling was implemented in BC 127 (HS6/10b). The founding of Shuo-fang (朔方) Commandery, which he had proposed, occurred in BC 127 as well (HS6/10b). In addition he achieved merit in the establishment of the Empress Wei, and he exposed the wrong-doings of King Ting-kuo (定國) of Yen (燕). The former occurred in BC 128 (HS6/9b), while the latter committed suicide because of it in BC 127 (HS14/11a). So successful was his short career, that all the senior officials feared him, and he was able to solicit large sums of money as bribes. All this led to his appointment as Prime Minister to the state of Ch'i sometime in BC 127, and it was later in the year that his conduct of the government of that state caused the guilt-ridden king to commit suicide (HS 14/6a). Using this last as a pretext, his many political enemies attacked him and he was executed in the following year.<sup>18</sup>

Thus we can date Chu-fu Yen's entrance into the central administration at late BC 129 or early BC 128, his meteoric rise to BC 128 and early BC 127, his fall to late BC 127, and his death to BC 126. It is most likely, then, that his theft of Tung's memorials occurred sometime in BC 128, and that this was one of the several things that caused him to be feared.



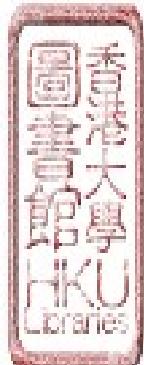
The arguments that this occurred at a much earlier date (the fires mentioned in Tung's memorial had occurred in BC 135), are thus answered by the fact that it was not until much later that Chu-fu Yen could have benefited by it. Tung Chung-shu was probably pardoned the following year, restored to his old rank as Gentleman of the Palace, and possibly as a condition to all this, moved, with his family, to Mou-ling in the transportation which occurred in that year.

For the next few years, his career seems to have been relatively placid, although, in the course of it he seems to have made a powerful enemy, the future Prime Minister, Kung-sun Hung. It is to be sure that well before this time, Tung Chung-shu had become a master of all five classics (HS88/23b).<sup>19</sup> It was at this time that Tung taught the scholars Wu-ch'iu Shou-wang (吳丘壽王) (HS64A/14a) and Hsia-hou Shih-ch'ang (夏侯始昌) (HS75/2a); the latter one of the key scholars in the rise of Han Confucianism. Towards the end of this, his last, period in the central court, Tung held public arguments before the emperor with Han Ying (韓英) and Chiang Kung (張良). With the first, a master of the Book of Songs and the Book of Changes, he was never successful; but with the latter, a master of the Book of Songs and the Ku-liang Commentary, but a stutterer, he always won (HS88/2a, and 23b). These discussions most probably took place in BC 123 after Kung-sun Hung had become Prime Minister.



In spite of the victory won for the Kung-yang School (of which Kung-sun Hugn was also a follower), Tung had aroused the enmity of the Prime Minister who had him posted as the Prime Minister of Chiao-hsi (交趾). Under the circumstances, this was tantamount to yet another sentence of death against Tung Chung-shu, for the King of Chiao-hsi was notorious. His biography (HS53/7a-8a) describes him as a tyrant, a poor administrator, a homosexual, and a king responsible for the deaths of many of his high officials. Although Pan Ku tells us that Tung got along well with this ruler, it is most probable that after a very short time indeed, Tung Chung-shu pleaded illness and retired. Although the dates of his appointment and retirement are highly conjectural, the pressure of previous and subsequent dateable events force us to hypothesize that his appointment and retirement occurred in the same year, BC 122.

His retirement from office did not, however, end his involvement in public events. On at least one occasion, an emissary was sent to consult him on "important questions". It was the Commandant of Justice, Chang T'ang (張良) who came to ask him about the Suburban Sacrifice in late BC 122 or early BC 121.<sup>20</sup> His final years in Mou-ling cannot have been happy ones. There, among the prominent failures and misfits of his day, this scholar of great erudition must have felt sadly neglected. In this town which waited for the emperor's death,

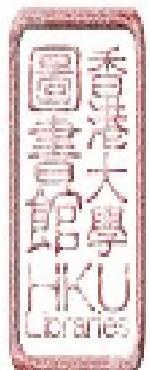


and while waiting for his own, Tung Chung-shu composed the last two pieces which have been left to us. The first was his melancholy fu, "Neglected Men of Worth". The second was a memorial to the throne in which he urged a number of economic reforms which were never carried out (HS24A/16a-17a).

However futile were the contents of his last memorial at the time, they serve us to establish the date of his death. In it he advocates the abolition of the government monopolies on salt and iron. His death, therefore, comes at some time after BC 117 when they were established.<sup>21</sup> At the end of Tung's memorial, the text continues, "After the death of Tung Chung-shu, expenditures became increasingly excessive, all under Heaven was wasted, and people again ate each other." (HS24A/17a). The only time after the establishment of the government monopolies on which people were recorded as having eaten each other was in BC 114 (HS6/18b). Thus it is probable that Tung died in BC 116 or 115 at the age of seventy-one or seventy-two. Although there is no early evidence to support it, Tung Chung-shu is thought to have been buried at Ha-mo Ling (哈莫陵) in Ch'ang-an.<sup>22</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Shih Chih-mien, "Tung Chung-shu Tui-ts'e Tsai Yüan-kuang Yüan-nien K'ao" (董仲舒奏鹽鐵論考), and, "Tung-tzu Nien-piao Ting-wu" (董子年譜亭語), in Han-



shih Pien-i (士彌聘敘), (Chung-yang Wen-wu Ku-ying She (中興文武勳誥), Taipei: 1954), p.12-15.

2. See below.
3. Kuang-ch'uan was close to present Shantung, 30 li east of Ts'ao-ch'iang (曹鄉), Hopei.
4. See Legge, Classics V, p.36-37
5. No other students of this school are listed in HS88.
6. HS5, 26 and 27 list six BC 156-149, and fourteen BC 148-142.
7. The early date of his promotion is confirmed by his appearance in BC 138 in this rank (HS6/3b).
8. The precis translated in I.3 above follows.
9. A barbarian state out of which the Han created a hsien. Its capital was 20 li east of present T'ung-tzu (統州), in Kueichou.
10. A Central Asian state thought to have been north of the northern border of present Sinkiang.
11. The proclamation was issued to one of the generals who was taking part in the south-western campaigns of BC 135.
12. He says that he had 1) personally plowed the crown land, 2) encouraged the filial and brotherly, 3) had been very active in state affairs, and 4) had taken pity on widows and orphans.
13. HTCT5/5b places him in the capital in August or September of BC 134.
14. The same phrase notes that Kung-sun Hung gained preferment at this time. However, his biography in both the early histories (SC112/1b, and HS58/1b) state that this occurred in BC 130. This leads to a further problem, for HS6 records no levy of the "capable and good" for that year. Furthermore, Kung-sun Hung's biography says that he was promoted to Left Prefect of the Capital within two years (SC112/2a), yet HS19B/16a shows this promotion to have occurred in the same year. One annotator of SC notes that one edition says that it was within one year, but this leaves us with two discrepancies at best. Although this has little more than peripheral relevance to the biography of Tung Chung-shu, the problem



has been outlined here to underline the potential unreliability of all data.

15. On the north shore of the Yang-tsü River, 46 li south-west of the present Chiang-tu h., in Kiangsu.

16. CCFL 75. We have disagreed on this date with Professor Shih. cf. CCFL 75, ff.2.

17. Although Pan Ku records royal approval of Tung's answer, it is entirely possible that this was a historiographical device to gloss over a setback in Tung's career.

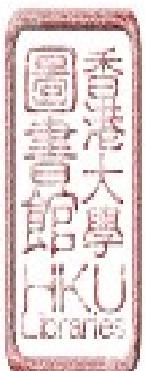
18. This can be fairly accurately dated as to the year, since he was attacked in BC 127, but not executed until Kung-sun became Grand Censor in BC 126 (HS19B/16b-17a).

19. He is the earliest of the five scholars whom Pan Ku lists as having been masters of all the five classics. Three of the remainder were pupils of Tung, while the fifth lived in the time of Wang Mang.

20. HS56, and CCFL 71 record Chang's rank as Commandant of Justice, the rank from which he was promoted in mid BC 121. Therefore it would be the closest date before this which was prior to the closest Suburban Sacrifice. We know that commencing in BC 133, Wu-ti performed this sacrifice at intervals of three years (SC28/20b). Thus it would have been prior to the sacrifice in the first month of BC 121 that he came.

21. N. L. Swan, Food and Money in Ancient China, p.63.

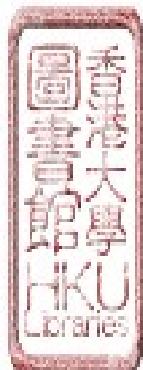
22. Tung Li-hsing (董力行), "Chi Tung Chung-shu Mu" (赤董忠書目), in Ming-jih Huang-hua Lu (明記黃花錄), (T'ien-jen-jen Co. (天人公司), Hong Kong: 1965), p.24-27.



Tung Chung-shu II: "Early Han Confucianism"

One of the main watersheds in the history of Chinese thought was certainly the prohibition on ownership of and the burning of those books which were not considered "useful" by Ch'in Shih-huang Ti in BC 213. The actual efficacy of this measure was probably not as extensive and damaging as traditional historians have suggested. It is entirely likely that the confusion and turmoil of the following decade contributed equally to the general destruction of scholarship which seems to have occurred during this period. Books did indeed remain intact, however; undiscovered by the government searchers, as well as hidden from them, both in material fact and in the minds of those elderly scholars who had become specialists of them. And of course by far the greatest loss to the learning of the era was the destruction of the imperial libraries on the fall of the dynasty.

Although the prohibition on ownership was not repealed until BC 191, in the middle of the inactive Hui-ti's reign, the evidence would indicate that the slow recovery of the Confucian Classics, as well as the writings of other schools, had begun considerably earlier. On the whole, however, the early Han court was a cultural wasteland, and little attention was given to literary pursuits. When the capital of Lu

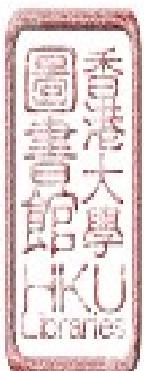


fell during the Han conquest, the victors condescended to find the chanting of the Confucian adepts at their rites moving, but it is implicit that they also found them useless. Kao-tzu, at an early date, quite graphically demonstrated his attitude by seizing the cap of an unfortunate Confucian who had had the misfortune to cross his path, and urinated into it. Later, however, it was to Confucianism that he turned when he wished to inject some order and propriety into his uncouth court. It was the court ritual devised by the Confucian, Shu-sun T'ung (叔誦), which first, so he said, made him feel like an emperor. Such Confucian successes during the early years of the Han were few and limited, and such scholars as Shu-sun T'ung who gained minor fame at this time remain unconnected in the lines of intellectual heredity given in the chapters of the two early histories which are devoted to a description of Confucianism. The ideology of the central court remained Taoist laissez-faire in name, and Legalist laissez-faire in fact until after the turn of the first century BC. Serious Confucian inroads into this situation, however, date back into the reign of Wen-ti (ruled BC 179-157). Both he and his successor, Ching-ti, appointed Confucians as Erudites, and Wen-ti even went so far as to despatch the Legalist Official Ch'ao Ts'o (趙高) to receive an incomplete version of the (New Text) Book of History from the aged and feeble master Fu Sheng (夫生).<sup>1</sup> The general intellectual tenor of these two reigns,



however, was that of a catholic interest in old writings combined with a general disapproval of things Legalist. Officially, however, Taoism reigned supreme in the central court almost up to the death of Wu-ti's widow, the powerful Grand Empress Tou (武), in BC 136. She had used her great political strength to come very close to causing the death of the Han founder of the Ch'i school of the Book of Songs, Yuan Ku-sheng (元 固生) during the reign of Ching-ti, and she personally defeated the ideological assault by the Lu school of the Book of Songs on the central court in the opening years of Wu-ti's rule. Elsewhere, however, and at an earlier date, three other centres of culture, not all of them Confucian, had developed. It is interesting to note that all occurred in the capitals of those kingdoms whose rulers were close enough to the central line of imperial succession to have been considered, in theory at least, as possible contenders for it. It is possible then, that the collection of scholarship which occurred in each was an attempt to establish a kind of cultural legitimacy for the rulers in question.

The first of these was the capital of Ch'u which was ruled by a younger brother of Kao-tsu, Liu Chiao (劉交). He had been enfeudated in BC 201, and although he died in the second year of the reign of Wen-ti, he was a possible contender for the throne which the Empress Lü had vacated on her death. He



was succeeded briefly by his son Liu Ying-k'o (劉英公), but his grandson, who ruled from BC 173 to 154, took part in the BC 154 rebellion against Ching-ti. He was killed, and the state reverted to the central government. Both Liu Chiao and his eldest son, Liu Ying-k'o were among the first students of the Lu school of the Book of Songs during the Han, and the fifth and sixth generation descendants of the former, Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, were of unparalleled importance in the Confucianism of the closing years of the Western Han. Liu Chiao, together with Shen Kung (申公) and two other students of note studied this school under Fou-ch'iu Po (伏丘伯) of Ch'i who had been a disciple of Hsun-tzu.<sup>2</sup> All three of his fellow students became officials in the court of Ch'u, and Shen Kung's importance in this early period is attested to by the fact that Pan Ku was able to list thirteen of his students (among them Liu Ying-k'o) as important.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was that the Lu school of the Book of Songs became the most powerful of the various Confucian schools during the first five reigns in the Han. It was from this position of strength that it was able to mount the first concerted ideological attack on the status quo of the central government immediately that Wu-ti came to the throne. First Wang Tsang (王桑), who had previously been tutor to Wu-ti when he was the crown prince, was appointed as Chief of Palace Attendants (one of the Nine Ministers), and shortly Chao Wan (趙萬) was appointed Grand Censor. Together



they had the court invite their teacher, Shen Kung, to come to the Han court for a discussion of the establishment of a Ming-t'ang, and together they memorialized a recommendation that the power of the Grand Empress Dowager Tou be curtailed. In this last they met with total defeat, and together they committed suicide. This stunning reverse seems to have marked the temporary eclipse of this school, for Pan Ku lists only three scholars in the next 'generation'. Discredited first by the rebellion of the third king of Ch'u (himself a student of the Book of Songs<sup>4</sup>), and later by this ill-considered political manoeuver, this Lu school did not again enjoy political importance until after the turn of the century. From its rise on the state of Ch'u through its attempt at central influence, however, it served notice to regional king and central politician alike, that Confucianism was at least a lever which, when astutely handled, could wrest power for its user.

The second cultural Mecca developed in the state of Huai-nan. Originally, it was a younger brother of Wen-ti, Liu Ch'ang (劉長), who had been infeudated here. Although his installment in the state occurred ten months later than that of Wen-ti in Tai (岱), his rebellion (and subsequent disinfeudation) in BC 174 might indicate that he, at least, thought himself the logical successor to the throne which Wen-ti filled

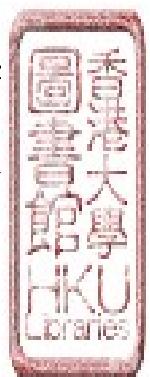


It was not his court, however, which became a focus of scholarship, but that of his son, Liu An (劉安), who was reinfeudated in the state a decade later.<sup>5</sup> Because Huai-nan was in the south,<sup>6</sup> and far removed from the Confucian north-east,<sup>7</sup> he was unable to collect much of the philosophical school with which we are dealing, and is thus of only passing interest to us here. It is to be noted, however, that the collection of material which his court made has survived to the present as the Huai-nan Tzu and is an excellent source for some forms of mediaeval Chinese thought. In BC 122 Liu An and his only surviving brother plotted revolt and, on its untimely discovery, committed suicide. In both Ch'u and Huai-nan, then, the Liu line used more violent means than the attempts at cultural superiority to gain imperial legitimacy.

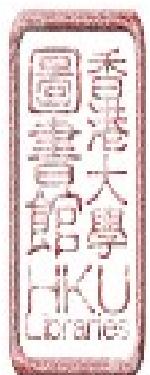
In the third, and perhaps most ideologically important case, however, the ruler in question had far clearer potential claims on the imperial throne, yet neither he nor any of his descendants indulged in civil war. Liu Te (劉徹), who was infeudated as king of Ho-chien (河間) <sup>8</sup> in BC 155, was the eldest son of Ching-ti who survived the reign, and his elder brother was the crown prince whose position was usurped by an infant Wu-ti in a distaff court intrigue. A diligent student in his youth, Liu Te instituted a system of rewards and emoluments soon after he came to his throne, which caused many old



books and scholars from several regions (particularly, apparently, those from "east of the mountains"<sup>9</sup>) to gather in his court. In this way his library was able to grow until it rivalled that of the central court, containing such Old Text classics as the following: Chou Kuan (周官)<sup>10</sup>, The Book of History, Li (禮),<sup>11</sup> Li-chi, Mencius, and Lao-tzu. In his court, he set up erudites of the Mao school of the Book of Songs and of the Tso-shih (Chuan) to the Spring and Autumn Annals. He was responsible, as well, for compiling a Classic of Music which had been recovered in fragments during the early years of the dynasty.<sup>12</sup> Although the Lu school of the Book of Songs had been made important in the state of Ch'u, and a certain degree of interest in Confucianism had been demonstrated at an earlier date by the central court, Liu Te's collections were the most extensive in Han China prior to the death of the Grand Empress Tou. The pressure of the literary superiority of the court of Ho-chien, then, was most certainly one of the forces which encouraged the court of Han Wu-ti to foster the general development of Confucianism as a whole. The fact that the Confucian literature of the Ho-chien libraries was exclusively of the Old Text School would have had a double effect on the scholarship of the imperial capital. Because of the sense of cultural competition which was implicit to the context, the central court would have been more likely to encourage the rival

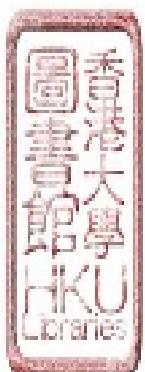


life is certain. This is the Way of Heaven and Earth. The aura of Heaven first causes masculinity to flourish, and then displays it.<sup>9</sup> Therefore its essence is robust. The aura of Earth causes femininity to flourish and then transforms it. Therefore its transformations are good. This is the reason, in the meetings of the Yin and Yang, that in the winter they unite in the north, and things move below, while in the summer, they meet in the south, and things move above. The major movements of (both) above and below, occur after the solstice. If it is cold, then the frost splits the ground, and if it is hot, then the sand is scorched and the rocks are burned. The essences of the auras (may) become (even) this (severe). As for the transformations of Heaven and Earth, the aura of spring gives birth, and the one hundred things all emerge; the aura of summer nourishes, and the one hundred things all grow; the aura of autumn kills, and the one hundred things all die; and the aura of winter collects, and the one hundred things are all stored away. Thus it is only the auras of Heaven and Earth which are of the essence.<sup>10</sup> They are formless as they emerge and disappear, but there is nothing which does not respond to them. This is the ultimate of truth. The true gentleman patterns himself on that which they honour. The Yin and the Yang of Heaven and Earth act as male and female; and the male and female of mankind act as Yin and Yang. For Yin and Yang,



did not precede the infamous incineration, it was a logical result of it. Thus the best teachers and most knowledgeable scholars, the most obvious focus of willing disciples, would have passed on the Classics and their commentaries of them verbally. It was not until the reign of Wen-ti that these again began to be written down. Meanwhile, the surviving Old Text copies would, most likely, have survived in the ho<sup>u</sup>es of those who did not understand them. These would not have emerged for use until the reign of Ching-ti, when Liu Te of Ho-chien offered rewards for their surrender. At this time, then, the Old Text Classics served merely as a pressure on the Han court to turn to the more scholarly New Text Schools for a knowledge of Confucianism. What, then, were the New Text Schools, and how did they come to prominence?

The Book of Changes alone, among the Confucian Classics, did not suffer from the fires of Ch'in, for, as a manual of divination, it was considered "useful". It is only the school, then, which was able to trace its filiation of masters all the way back to Confucius, and indeed, with the sole exception of the Lu school of the Book of Songs, it was the only school which could list filiation back beyond the Ch'in. Although the Book of Songs scholar, Han Ying (韓英), was an unfiliated teacher of a small New Text school of this classic, the vast majority of Former Han New Text scholars of this school are



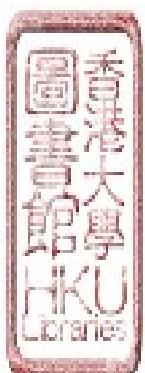
intellectual "descendants" of T'ien Ho (田何), who was the first Han master in the filiation descended directly from Confucius. No high officials were produced by this school until the period in which Confucianism flourished, following the death of Wu-ti, but a number of its students were appointed to medium rank. It is a conundrum, however, that in spite of the fact that the Book of Changes was not burned, and the fact that the mainstream of this school could trace its way back to the source, it was known as New Text. A rival Old Text school did surface, however, quite late in the dynasty in opposition to it. It is likely that the classic was copied in the New Text form at an early Han date, thus giving rise to this apparent contradiction. Down to the turn of the century at least, this school does not seem to have been affected by the Ch'i-Lu dichotomy which split some of the other New Text schools.

The first Han scholar of the New Text Book of History was the aged Fu Sheng who is mentioned above, and he is definitely of the Ch'i school in the New Text spectrum. This was one of the politically most successful schools of the dynasty, producing many high officials, and even in the time of Wu-ti, a Grand Censor. Less successful was the Lu school, which in this case alone was Old Text. It surfaced in the reign of Wu-ti under that descendant of Confucius, K'ung An-kuo. During the Western Han at least, its acolytes were considerably fewer than its New Text rival of Ch'i.



The classic with the greatest number of important schools was the Book of Songs, with three of the New Text and one of the old Text. The one which produced the greatest number of important students and the largest number of high officials was the Lu school which has been described above. In spite of its two early reverses it was highly successful after the death of Wu-ti. Next was the Ch'i school, which was founded by Yüan Ku-sheng who was an erudite during the reign of Ching-ti. It is probably from this scholar that Tung Chung-shu received instruction in this classic. The least of the New Text schools, and perhaps a sub-section to the Ch'i school, was the Han school of Han Ying from Yen. The fame of this school seems to stem from its founder, who was a favourite of Wu-ti, rather than from any of his "descendants". Finally, the Mao school of the Old Text version developed long in the isolation of Ho-chien, not to surface until relatively late in the Western Han.

What has now come to be known as the I-Li<sup>14</sup> was taught by Kao T'ang-sheng (高堂生) of Lu, but in spite of the founder's geographical origins, this seems to have been associated with the Ch'i side of the dichotomy. The situation of the Han transmission of writings on ritual, however, is extremely complex. Ritual was the forte of the Han Confucians, and, as we shall see it was on the basis of their intricate knowledge of it that the



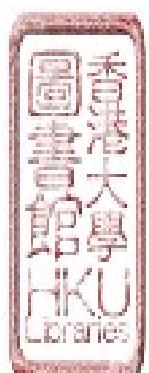
rode to power. There is strong evidence too, that much of the tradition on ritual had not, by the time of Wu-ti, been collected into separate and distinct classics. This seems to have been done, for the most part, after the turn of the century, for several of Tung Chung-shu's quotations are now extant in the Ta-tai Li-chi alone, and this work was not compiled until after his death.

Han Shu records no less than five commentaries to the Spring and Autumn Annals, but informs us that one had no teacher and another had no book. Of the three that remained the Kung Yang Commentary, whose earliest teachers were Hu-mu Sheng and Tung Chung-shu, was the most successful. Although it was called the Chao school, after the general locality in which the latter was born, there is no doubt that it was affiliated directly with the Ch'i. The rival Lu school, that of the Ku-liang Commentary, was founded by the same Shen Kung who was the early master of the Book of Songs. His only listed disciple, however, was unable to best Tung Chung-shu in debate before the emperor, Wu-ti, and for this reason, as well as the general eclipse of the schools of Lu at this time, never enjoyed overwhelming success. It may be argued that Lu defeated Ch'i in the BC 51 debates, but the political rewards were less than tangible. It is also to be noted that half of the last Former Han "generation" of Ku-liang scholars were also teachers of the Tso-chuan. Again,



the Old Text scholars of the latter commentary taught in isolation in Ho-chien until a relatively late date. And while they enjoyed great success at the end of the dynasty, they were of no importance to the history of early Han Confucianism.

During the reign of Han Wu-ti, only two Confucians of note were promoted to high rank. Kung-sun Hung, the first commoner to become Prime Minister in the Han, held the rank from BC 124 until his death in 121. Previously, from BC 126 to 124 he had been Grand Censor, and it was in this rank that he had engineered the establishment of disciples for the erudites, the main Confucian victory of the time. He had been a fellow student, with Tung-Chung-shu, of the Kung-yang Commentary, but his actions while in office, especially his treatment of Tung, were, in general, anything but praiseworthy. Likewise, Ni K'uan (倪寬) a student of both the New and Old Text Book of History, who was Grand Censor from BC 110 to 94, was blamed for having done nothing to correct abuses. Thus they were able to gain high rank, but unable to attain the esteem of their Confucian colleagues. The truth of the matter is that from the late BC 120's until the end of the reign, no official was able to do very much to curb the will of the emperor. Had he come to an earlier end, it is likely that the rapid growth of Confucianism which followed his death would have had an earlier beginning. It was his reign, however, which both fertilized



the seeds of Han Confucianism, and created the vacuum into which it was then able to spread.

FOOTNOTES:

1. It is important to remark that early historians have been anxious to point out that such important officials as Ch'ao Ts'o and Chia I were intimately associated with Confucianism. The former quite clearly had studied at a Legalist school in his youth, while the latter was a protege of a prominent Ch'in Legalist administrator, and was said to be a master of the one hundred schools. To be sure, both studied some Confucian texts, but neither can be said to have been a pure Confucian.
2. For good but in some ways incomplete charts of the intellectual "family trees" of the various Confucian schools of the Western Han, see T. S. Tjan, Po Hu T'ung, (E. J. Brill: Leyden, 1949), Tables 1-8, facing p.86.
3. It is important to remember that Pan Ku was able to list (in HS88) only those Confucian scholars who gained fame (either from personal political success, or from that of their intellectual "descendants").
4. He studied under Wei Meng (魏孟) who left the state prior to the rebellion.
5. Although Liu An's state was called Huai-nan, it was only one-third the size of the original fief. His two younger brothers were made kings of the other two portions.
6. Huai-nan is the present Shou (壽) h. in Anhwei.
7. Although the regional theory of the distribution of philosophies in mediaeval China had become less firm by the time of the Han Empire, it does seem that regional concentrations remained. Confucian and Moist thought were connected to Sung (and thus to the Shang line), Yin-yang theories to Ch'i, Legalist to Ch'in, and Taoist thought to Wu and Ch'u. (cf. Kuo Chan-po (郭湛汎), Chung-kuo Chung-ku Ssu-hsiang Shih (中國中古思想史), (Lung-men Bookstore: Hong Kong 1967), p.1-13). Thus Huai-nan, situated in what was once Wu, was most likely to receive the Taoist tradition. This is not to say that it did not receive some of the others as well.



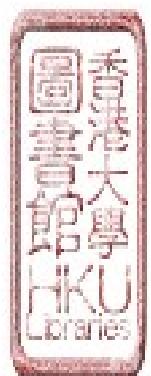
8. The capital of Ho-chien was 35 li S.W. of present Ho-chien h. in Hopei.
9. The Chan-kuo states of Ch'u, Ch'i, Yen, Han, Wei (晉侯) and Chao.
10. The Chou-li.
11. Thought to be the I-li.
12. The Yieh-chi is no longer extant, and its veracity was doubtful even in Han times.
13. HS says tenth generation, while SC says eleventh.
14. Referred to as the Li-ching in Han writings.



Tung Chung-shu III: "Historical Background"

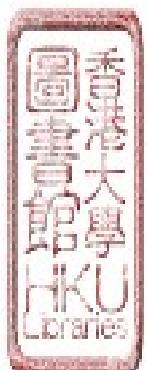
The Ch'in Empire, which rose out of the ashes of the Warring States Period, proved premature, and it was only the driving personality of its emperor, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, which allowed it its brief existence. Had its ruler been less of a megalomaniac and more able to delegate authority the dynasty may have been viable, but Legalism, the ruling ideology of the reign was perhaps too harsh, pragmatic, and even cynical for the cultural context of China. One man was simply unable to act effectively to fulfill all the requirements of ritual and power, and when he died, his empire fell prey to a decade of anarchy.

Out of this ensuing internecine disorder, and more by good luck than good judgment, Liu Pang arose to become Kao-tzu, first emperor of the Han.<sup>1</sup> Rude but shrewd, the political realities of the day forced him to avoid the major mistake of the dynasty he succeeded. Out of his most loyal followers he made kings and lords, and to them he granted fiefs of varying sizes. At first, the majority went to families which were not of the royal (Liu) line, but by the end of Kao-tzu's reign, there were more Liu kings than not. It was not until BC 125, well in to Wu-ti's reign, however, that the Liu family formed the majority of the lords.<sup>2</sup> Delegation of authority, however, did not end the dynasty's problems. The early Han



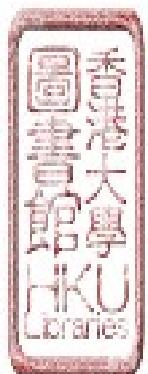
court, filled with military leaders of low beginnings, was a crude and disorderly place, and it was only the injection of Confucian ritual which gave it its first veneer of the pomp and circumstance of imperial power. Although the administrative form of the previous Legalist dynasty was continued, the ideology was succeeded by a laissez-faire Taoism, which was to cause serious economic problems for later reigns. But the country, both leaders and people, were tired of war, and the Han encountered no major problems until after the death of Kao-tzu.

Perversely, it was an act of petty revenge brought on by jealousy among the emperor's ladies which first endangered the dynasty. When Hui-ti, Kao-tzu's eldest son, learned that his mother, the Empress Liu had murdered his father's youngest concubine and her son, the King of Chao, by the foulest of means, he no longer took any interest in government, and died in apathy seven years after his accession. Meanwhile his mother became more and more active in the conduct of government, and on Hui-ti's death, usurped imperial powers for herself. During her eight year rule she insinuated into high office more and more of her family, and the number of non-Liu kings rose in number to equal the beginning maximum. On her death, however, forces loyal to the Lius defeated her faction and



invited the eldest of Kao-tzu's surviving sons to become emperor. Thus, in what was in effect the first restoration of the Han dynasty, Wen-ti came to the throne.

It was with Wen-ti's reign that the dynasty, previously having more than partially returned to feudalism, began its slow progress towards empire. Concurrently the court, hitherto a cultural wasteland, began to acquire a polish more suited to its political power. While the majority of the positions in the civil service continued to be the sinecure of the families of the generals who had helped to found the dynasty, men of letters began to find vacancies open to them. Preminent among them was the famous scholar Chia I, whose short and tragic career was noteworthy in that it occurred at all. It was during this reign that the Hsiung-nu attacks which were going to plague China under succeeding rulers again began, but the policies that were to alleviate their intensity were not initiated until the following reign. Although there was only one internal rebellion under Wen-ti, the problem of the power of regional kingdoms was not successfully attacked. It is true that the policy of dividing kingdoms among all surviving sons was inaugurated, but this did nothing to prevent the disastrous civil war which occurred early in the following reign. Again, Wen-ti's highly acclaimed economy led to the accumulation of private fortunes, and this alone was to lead to later trouble. The imperial coffers, deprived of higher revenues by reduction



in taxation, and cut off from some of the lucrative industries of the regional kingdoms, was unable to stand the strain of the many problems with which it was faced. Among these were the Hsiung-nu, a burgeoning bureaucracy, and internal security. While it has been argued that Wen-ti was in a special position because he had been chosen to become emperor,<sup>3</sup> it is equally true that he would be circumscribed in his rule by personal obligation to his electors. It is true that his reign was noted for its peace, economy, and culture, but the seeds of many of the dynasty's later troubles were planted during his tenure.

Wen-ti's inability to control his relatives, the regional kings, bore fruit almost immediately his eldest son, Ching-ti, came to the throne. Led by the King of Wu, seven states in the south and east rebelled, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the imperial forces were able to put them down. Initial blundering by the central administration early in the revolt led to the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o, one of the most able of the early Han statesmen. It was he who had advocated military colonization in the far west, the policy which eventually led to the virtual exclusion of the raiding Hsiung-nu. As positive results of the rebellion were the reinforcement of the policy of division of recalcitrant fiefs,<sup>4</sup> and the commencement of the administrative procedure whereby "watch-dog"

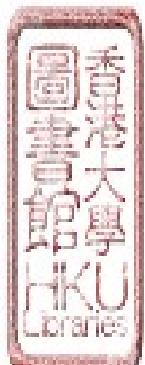


officials of the central government were appointed to the regional kings as their prime ministers. These measures effectively put an end to the political pressure which could be exerted by the kings.<sup>5</sup> In the central court, however, a perennial problem was again making itself felt: the power of the wives and mothers of the emperor together with their families. It was a conundrum which was never effectively solved in this or any other dynasty, and which led, eventually, to the downfall of many. In this case it was the conspiracy by which Ching-ti's eldest sister arranged the appointment of Ching-ti's tenth (of fourteen) sons as crown prince in order to marry her daughter to him.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, this saddled the infant Wu-ti with a wife much older than himself, and by whom he had no children, but on the other, it brought him to the throne at an age young enough to ensure him the longest reign of any of the Former Han emperors.

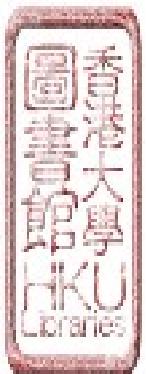
At sixteen, when he ascended the throne, however, Wu-ti was for nine years little more than a seal of approval for others. His first Prime Minister whom he had inherited from his father was quickly replaced by Tou Ying, a cousin of the Grand Empress Tou. It was the latter who was the major political force of the first five years of Wu-ti's reign, for it was she who quickly dismissed the political leaders of the ideological revolt of BC 139 (the most important of whom was her



cousin, the Prime Minister), and imprisoned the two Confucian teachers who were involved (where they committed suicide). Her nominee as Prime Minister conducted government on her behalf until her illness in BC 136, when Wu-ti's uncle, T'ien Fen (the other political leader of the earlier revolt) succeeded to the position. Until his death in BC 131, it was he who, on behalf of his faction, exercised power. In doing so, he encouraged the first effective advances of Confucian teachers into the central bureaucracy, but his motives seem to have been political rather than altruistic. On his death, the full reins of power fell into the hands of the emperor, and these, he never relinquished. It was then that the two main aspects of his reign began to manifest themselves. While the first, territorial expansion, had admittedly been begun before real power was his, it intensified from this point on. Great pushes were made to the south-west and north-west against the indigenous peoples of those areas. It was from the first that the rebellious King of Wu had sought reinforcements during the latter stages of his unsuccessful revolt, and it was in the latter that Han China found the greatest danger to her internal security. The second major aspect of his reign was the accumulation of all power in the hands of the emperor himself. Earlier emperors had deferred to the judgment of their senior advisors, as indeed did Wu-ti for the first decade of his rule. Nothing of T'ien Fen's successor is known but his name, and the



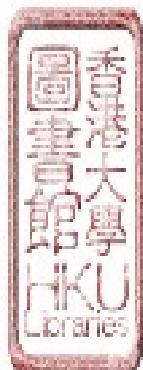
next, the obsequious Kung-sun Hung, is remarkable only because he was a Confucian, the first such to hold this, the highest rank, during the Han. Of the seven Prime Ministers who succeeded Kung-sun Hung, during the final thirty-three years of the reign, only one died a natural death, and few held the position for long. This is not to say that Wu-ti was impervious to advice. Many of the policies which were advocated by Chu-fu Yen while he held relatively low rank were adopted.<sup>7</sup> Taking advice from his minor officials both undermined the authority of their seniors, and gave a dynamism, hitherto unknown, to the dynasty. On the other hand, it was to a certain extent self-defeating, for it led the way to the most vicious of in-fighting in the ranks of the central administration. As with any ruler of China, Wu-ti was faced with the problems of an occasionally hostile nature. Famine, brought on by flood, drought, pestilence, plague and earthquakes was a constant danger to his mandate. In the middle of the reign, the ever increasing requirements of the central coffers (both public and imperial) clashed with the lax economic policies of Wu-ti's predecessors. Huge private fortunes had been accumulated, notably in the salt, iron and wine industries, but also in commerce and even agriculture. The government monopolies imposed on the first three industries, and the huge taxes imposed on the latter, brought much bitterness and later debate, but they also served to bring several very talented industrialists into the administration. On the whole, however, the Han



was relatively peaceful and prosperous under Wu-ti, but his passing marked the apex of the dyansty, and although it was followed by the flowering of Han Confucianism, it was followed also by nothing but political decline.

But the foregoing brief sketch of the political history of the first five rules of the Han, does not adequately cover the total context of the responsibilities of power. As the Son of Heaven, and the holder of Its Mandate, the emperor was the prime mover in all events of religion and ritual. It was he who plowed the field in spring, he who offered up the Feng and Shan sacrifices at the top and bottom of Mt. T'ai, and it was he who greeted the new year with the Suburban Sacrifice. In this he was not alone, for he was assisted and advised by his entire court. As we have seen from Tung Chung-shu's chapters on the seeking and stopping of rain,<sup>8</sup> even the lowest of village functionaries took part in the religious ritual involved. Thus most, if not all of the administration, from the emperor to the lowest village elder had both civil and religious responsibilities, and the latter was of no mean importance. The lengthy discussions of ritual in both Shih-chi and Han-shu, together with the emphasis they place on natural and man-made disaster give ample testimony to this.

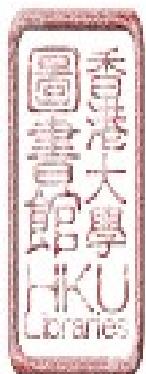
It was in this general context of the early Han that Tung



Chung-shu and the ideology of Confucianism began to gain their importance. Just how this came to be will be discussed in the concluding chapter to this section.

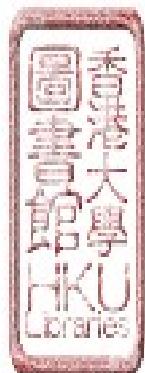
FOOTNOTES:

1. Hsiang Yü is generally believed to have been the better leader.
2. These and other statistics regarding the nobility have been derived from an analysis of HS13-18.
3. See Dubs, CHS I, p.215.
4. Although abolition of primogeniture was not proclaimed until BC 127, the division of troublesome fiefs began under Wen-ti.
5. There was incipient, but never overt trouble in the middle of Wu-ti's reign, and the pressure was quickly and effectively removed.
6. Being of different surnames, the problem of consanguinity could not be raised, and the marriage was permissible.
7. See chapter one above.
8. CCFL 74 and 75.



Tung Chung-shu IV:      "His Writings"

Above, in Part I of this thesis, there have been included translations of all the writings attributed to Tung Chung-shu which are still extant, with the exception of three sections which have been fully translated elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the Han Shu sections, the remainder have come down to us in exceedingly corrupt form,<sup>2</sup> and the actual authenticity of them has been the subject of considerable controversy, particularly since the late Ch'ing resurrection of the New-Old Text argument. In general, scholars can be divided into two camps in their treatment of the sources other than the two earliest dynastic histories: those that accept them in their entirety,<sup>3</sup> and those who find them to be entirely forgeries.<sup>4</sup> The position which will be taken by this study is that it is unlikely that they are all forgeries, but that it is equally unlikely that they are completely free from material which cannot be attributed to Tung Chung-shu. It is a major concern of this thesis and the sole purpose of this chapter to devise a method for evaluating the authenticity of the texts which have survived that are ascribed to Tung Chung-shu. In doing so the approach will be negative; what follows will be largely a discussion around the reasons why a given chapter or passage should not be considered to be representative of the philosophy of Tung Chung-shu. Those chapters not discussed will be considered to be likely to be representative of it.



At the outset it is necessary to make a number of assumptions which, while not unreasonable, do not lend themselves to rigorous defense. The first of these are the assumptions that Sse-ma Ch'ien, and Pan Ku honestly recorded the words and actions of Tung Chung-shu, and that their histories, Shih-chi and Han Shu have maintained their original integrity down to the present. If we take their content, then, and use it as a standard against which to measure the content of those other writings of Tung Chung-shu which have become the subject of scholarly doubt, we shall have the basis for the testing of those writings. Likewise, we can safely assume that anything which contradicts the Kung-yang Commentary or some of the more generally held positions of Confucianism as a whole was not written by Tung Chung-shu. Again, Tung is often referred to in the writings of the Eastern Han sceptic, Wang Ch'ung, and although Wang usually attacked Tung, if we make the most unreasonable assumption that Wang was honest, then it is unlikely that he would deliberately misrepresent Tung. Although they are separated in time by two centuries, it was not a period noted for its forgeries, and it is unlikely that Tung's writings had been tampered with in the interim. Another early and independent source which seems to reflect the thinking if not the exact words of Tung, is the fifty-fourth chapter of the Yen T'ieh Lun, "A Discussion of Disasters", and it is for this reason that a translation of it is included in Part I of this



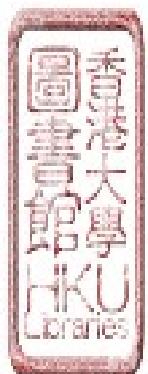
study. It too, with some reservations,<sup>5</sup> can be used as a standard against which to measure the more controversial sections. Also included in Part I above, is a translation of all the quotations of Tung Chung-shu which occur in the one indexed encyclopedia, the T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan, but for reasons which will be discussed in greater detail below, the use of this work as a standard is considerably less sure than it is in the other sources. Finally, when we encounter inner contradiction in the sections under appraisal, the least likely sections will be discarded as false. It is to be understood that the assumption that Tung Chung-shu was a consistent thinker is being made. While this may well be dangerous, it seems to be more satisfactory to do so than to assume that he was an inconsistent thinker.

Let us turn now to a consideration of the kinds of material which would have been included in those sections of Tung's writings about which doubt has been expressed: the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu, and to a lesser extent the Ch'un-ch'iu Chüeh-shih, and the short conversation recorded in the Hsi-ching Tsa-chi (5/5b-8a). First, and of prime interest to us, are those teachings and discourses which belong to Tung himself as a Confucian scholar. Next, and of almost equal importance are the few chapters which seem to represent Tung's transmission of an earlier doctrine or discussion. While these cannot be directly attributed to him, they are, none the less, representative of the kind of Confucianism that he espoused. Among those sections which might



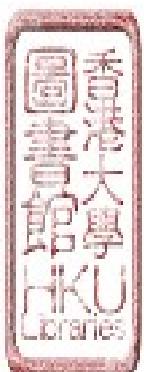
not have come directly from him there would seem to be three types: the writings of his immediate school, tracts of other thinkers which have been inadvertently included,<sup>6</sup> and deliberate forgeries. It is to be recognized, of course, that it will be as impossible to distinguish between Tung's own writings and those of his school, as it will be to make a decision about the degree of premeditation involved in the inclusion of those sections judged not to be his.

When we move now to actual cases, we are at once confronted with a problem of no meagre dimensions. Did, in fact, Tung Chung-shu actually use any of the five elements theories in his metaphysical speculations? In a recent article, Tai Chün-jen argues most persuasively that Tung did not; that, at best, those chapters dealings with the five elements in the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu are the writings of Tung's school.<sup>7</sup> Quoting exhaustively from "The Treatise on the Five Elements" in Han Shu Professor Tai shows that none of these explanations of the anomalous occurrences and disasters ascribed in that chapter to Tung Chung-shu alone involve five elements reasoning; that the only ones of that sort with which he is connected in any way, are those in which his own opinion is recorded only to the extent that his reasoning was similar to that of Liu Hsiang. In defense of this line of reasoning, we must also add that in his Lun Heng, Wang Ch'ung refers oftent to both Tung Chung-shu and the five elements, but never does he associate the



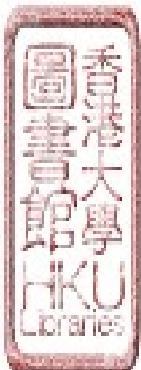
scholar with the theory. Again in the fifty-fourth chapter of Yen T'ieh Lun, the literati who invoke the name of Tung Chung-shu in their replies to the Grand Censor, some of whose questions centred around the five elements theories, never once mention them. On the other hand, in the face of a certain amount of scholarly acceptance that Tung Chung-shu had intimate knowledge of the five elements, we must ask if there is any way in which we can actually connect him with them.

We find at the outset, that Tung Chung-shu does mention the five elements, even though it is only on one occasion. Ssu-ma Ch'ien quotes him as saying: "The Book of Changes makes clear Heaven and Earth, the yin and yang, the four seasons and the five elements."<sup>8</sup> Although it would be better to have a larger number of references, it might be tentatively concluded then, that Tung approved of the Confucian use of the five elements. Because we have this single direct mention only, however, we can conclude merely that it is possible that Tung may have used the five elements in his philosophical discussions. But the trail leads further. In his biography in Han Shu, it is noted that when he was the Prime Minister of Chiang-tu, "... when he was seeking rain he closed off all the Yang and gave free rein to the Yin, and when he (wished) to stop the rain he did the opposite."<sup>9</sup> And Wang Ch'ung on several occasions refers to Tung's procedure for seeking rain, saying that the latter constructed dragons made of earth.<sup>10</sup> Now in the

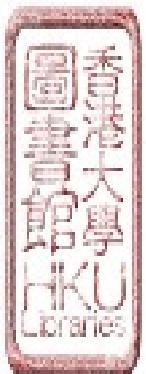


seventy-fourth chapter of the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu, "Seeking Rain", we do find a kind of formula which is contradicted by neither of the brief accounts in two of the sources which we are using as standards. It can be argued, it is true, that this could well be the record of someone else's procedure for stopping rain, and that it is included in the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu either by design or accident. None the less, it is also possible that it does in fact record the method that Tung Chung-shu used when he was Prime Minister of Chiang-tu. Because it is possible that this chapter is his, it is also possible that the following chapter, "Stopping Rain", is his. Both chapters make heavy use of one of the five elements theories, and when we remember that we have the Shih-chi reference which is relatively certain, it would seem that there is a good probability that Tung did write these two chapters and, as a corollary, did make use of the five elements. It is to be remembered, of course, that Tung did come from the north near what had been the state of Ch'i, that Ch'i seems to have been the centre of those philosophers who did use the five elements, and that although his school is given the name of Chao, it was directly derived from the Ch'i school of Confucianism. But these several links are tenuous at best, and we can conclude only the probability, not the certainty of his connection with the five elements.

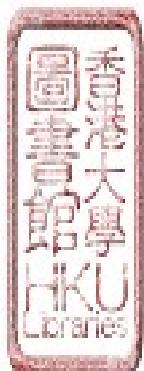
Having done this, however, we are faced with yet another



problem. How can we explain the curious silence of both Pan Ku and Wang Ch'ung where neither of them connect the five elements to Tung Chung-shu? It is important, at this point, to note that both writers, who were more or less contemporary, lived in that period of the Han which came very shortly after the restoration of that dynasty, and that the restoration was necessary to recover the empire from the usurper, Wang Man. And it was Wang Mang who had manipulated the current belief in the five elements to fabricate portents which allowed him to effect one of the few bloodless usurpations in China's history. In this he was aided by Liu Hsin, and it is the latter whom Pan Ku transcribes when writing his "Treatise on the Five Elements".<sup>11</sup> Because Liu Hsin was an intellectual "descendant" of the Lu school of Confucianism, it is certainly possible that he might refrain from recording at length Tung's causal reasoning for any of the events mentioned. To counter this it might be argued that while Liu Hsin did not have a high opinion of Tung, his co-author father, Liu Hsiang, did; and while references to Tung Chung-shu in that treatise are usually short, Tung's memorial describing the causation of the burning of the two mortuary temples to Kao-tzu is quoted at length without any mention of the five elements whatsoever. This gives us, then, the unlikely possibility that the Lius might have failed to mention Tung's thinking on the five elements. But it was Pan Ku and not the Lius who wrote Han Shu, and he cannot have been anything but most aware of

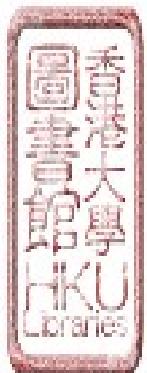


the damage Wang Mang had done to the images of those who used the five elements in their philosophies. It is possible that his admiration of the great stature of Tung Chung-shu as a Confucian thinker might have led him to refrain from recording Tung's connection with them throughout his history in order to avoid sullyng the memory of an historical personage most worthy of amulation. As an historian it was possible for him to do so without detraying his integrity, for it is the duty of all traditional historians to edit in such a way as to enlighten future generations by describing the worthy (as well as the opposite) from the past. And it is not as though Tung made sole use of this theory. It would have been possible for Pan Ku to quote much which made reference to the traditional Confucian sources or merely to the Yin and Yang. And it may even have been simply that in the name of brevity, only those theories held by the most prominent of the five elements thinkers during the period when they gained the most widespread acceptance could be included in the history. Acknowledgment that they were derived in some way from the thinking of Tung Chung-shu is given in "The Treatise on the Five Elements", and perhaps the historian did not feel that there was enough space to tell us just how this was so. The fifty-fourth chapter of Huan K'uan's Yen T'ieh Lun is a prime example of how judicious editing can delete reference to the five elements on the part of Confucian thinkers. Because the

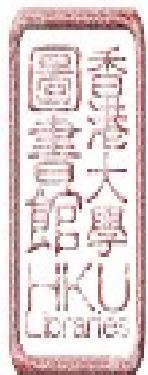


Grand Censor asked pointed questions about them, as has been mentioned above, the literati must have answered in terms of them, but it is clear that Huan K'uan records only the main points of the questions and the answers. Thus just what the literati said about the five elements has been omitted. Arguments from silence, such as Professor Tai's, are never conclusive, yet we are speculating here about possibilities, not certainties, and the silence in Han Shu about Tung's five elements theories is uncomfortable, to say the least. On the other hand, it is certainly a possibility that Pan Ku did not mention them, either because of the requirements of editorial economy, or because of the didactic necessities whereby the traditional Confucian history must create moral models for emulation. Or perhaps it might have been a combination of the two. The silence of the Lun Heng is much more easily dealt with. When discussing the five elements, the sceptic Wang Ch'ung, does not at any point mention any philosopher who is connected with them. We are left then, with the strong possibility that Tung Chung-shu did indeed use the five elements. Given this, then, it is probable that Tung wrote the two chapters in the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu dealing with the seeking and stopping of rain (CCFL 74, and 75).

Having arrived at this probability, however, we have by no means exhausted the problems arising out of the five elements chapters in the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu, for there are

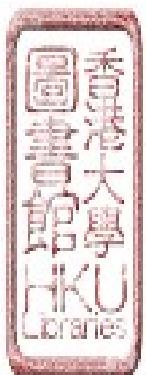


at least four types of five elements theory identifiable in that work. There are those chapters in which each of the five elements acts during one of the four seasons while earth acts in the last month of summer (CCFL 38, 60, 74, and 75). Then there is the cycle in which each of the elements operates for seventy-two days of the year (CCFL 61, and possibly 43). Next there is the cycle in which earth is either ignored or placed in a central position (CCFL 46, 48, 58, 59, 64, and 77). Then there is the cycle in which earth acts in the last month of every season (CCFL 42). And finally there are those chapters which are indefinite and which could fit with any of the above (CCFL 62, 63 and 81). Most analysts of Tung's philosophies have noted this, but seem to have accepted it without question.<sup>12</sup> While it can be argued that Tung Chung-shu could have undergone ideological metamorphosis during the course of his career, or that he might possibly have been demonstrating other methods of using the five elements, it will be argued here that neither of these possibilities is likely. Since we have already decided that Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu's "rain" chapters are probably Tung's work, it is argued here, then, that any chapters which are not compatible with them do not represent the philosophy of that thinker; that they are either deliberate or inadvertent inclusions. This quickly gives us two further chapters which are probable (CCFL 38 and 60), and two and part of a third which we can immediately exclude (CCFL 42 and 61), and part of 43). Because the inner content of much



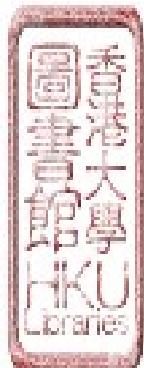
of the chapter "Yang is Honourable While Yin is Mean" (CCFL 43) is for the most part so compatible with our ideological standards (HS material), we will argue that only the short section which refers to the five elements is a later forged inclusion. What of those chapters, however, in which earth is not mentioned or placed in a central position? Are they necessarily incompatible with the doctrine laid out in the chapters we have already accepted as probable? In one of the chapters which we have already accepted (CCFL 38) Tung says, "... earth acts in the last month of summer...". But later in the same chapter he says, "Earth is the child of fire and none is more noble than earth. Earth does not command a season, and does not divide credit and honour with fire." It is possible, then, for earth not to be mentioned in a situation which fits nicely with the previously accepted doctrines.

We might conclude, therefore, that those chapters dealing with the five elements and which do not give earth a seasonal role are also the possible work of Tung Chung-shu (i.e. CCFL 46, 48, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 77, and 81). While there are no more chapters which can be included or excluded on the basis of internal contradiction, there is one further chapter which is suspect because of external difficulties. "The Five Elements: "(Good) Government and Disorder", (CCFL 62), in which the causation of various anomalous occurrences is described, only six of the twenty events given are listed as happening in the Spring and Autumn Annals. We would argue that this



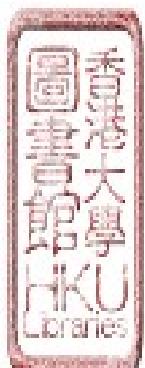
would tend to indicate that this is a very late inclusion indeed.

Before leaving this discussion of the five elements theories in the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu, comment must be made on the opinion held by some scholars that the present rescen-tion of these chapters is considerably changed from the original.<sup>13</sup> Such opinions are based on a comparison of the present text with quotations from it as it existed in T'ang-Sung times in the traditional encyclopedias. It is in order to examine this hypothesis that a translation of all entries ascribed to Tung Chung-shu in the only indexed encyclopedia, T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan, has been included in Part I above. We find, then, that this encyclopedia contains quotations from twenty-three of the seventy-nine chapters of Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu which are still extant. With the exception of minor scribal error, fifteen (listed in thirty-two entries) are quoted correctly from the present text. But evidence of major scribal error does exist; that is to say that there is proof that the difference arises from the copyist and not from a textual variation. If we take, for example, the four quotations from the sixty-third chapter of Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu (in entries 11(ii), 24, 42, and 50), we find that quotations of the same passage are rendered with marked differences. Simply be-cause there are differences, then, we cannot conclude that the reason for this is subsequent alteration of the text. It

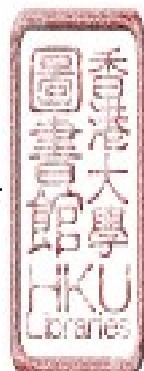


is to be remembered, of course, that the accurate transmission of the text from Han to T'ang was much more perilous than its more recent passage to the present. T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan cannot be shown to demonstrate post-Sung forgery, nor does it, because of the usual terseness of its entries, provide us with any new insights into Tung Chung-shu's thinking.

We must move on now, to an examination of a series of chapters in which a Legalist quiescence on the part of the ruler is advocated (CCFL 18 through 22 and 78), and ask if it is likely that a Confucian could have been the author of such ideas. We know from Wu-ti's questions recorded in the "Biography of Tung Chung-shu" above, that the doctrine of non-action (wu-wei) was not foreign to Confucianism, but from Tung's answers to those questions we know that non-action can exist in Confucianism only in the ideal state. However much the various scholars of the several schools of Confucianism may have disagreed on detail, it was basic to all of Confucianism that vigorous effort (yu-wei) was required on the part of the ruler in order to return to the ideal. Further, it is a widely held opinion that the, perhaps unconscious, motivation in the formation of political ideologies in early Chinese history was the desire on the part of the scholar-gentry class to dilute the power of the emperor. Had Tung Chung-shu embraced the doctrine of non-action, there would have been no need for him to advocate his theories of disasters



and anomalous occurrences, for they were designed to have a like effect on the ruler. On the other hand, Wang Ch'ung does say of him, "... Tung Chung-shu's discussions of the Taoist doctrines are very strange."<sup>14</sup> Non-action was central to Taoism as well as Legalism, and perhaps these chapters represent the "discussions" to which Wang Ch'ung is referring. But later in the same section Wang Ch'ung goes on to say, "The work of Tung Chung-shu is not antagonistic to the Confucian school, ..." <sup>15</sup> Still, as we have already pointed out, non-action is not foreign to the Confucian ideal. Yet it is unlikely in the ideological context of the period in which Tung Chung-shu lived that he would advocate quiescence for the emperor. Legalism was discredited because of the experience of the Ch'in, and Taoism was the favoured doctrine of the Imperial line, and the school of thought with which Confucianism was contending for power. Even though the great political power of the Taoists might have caused the early Confucians to couch their arguments in some of the Taoist terms, it is unlikely that any of the Confucian thinkers of the day would have so strongly advocated non-action as is the case in the chapters we are now scrutinizing. We must find it then, unlikely that Tung Chung-shu is responsible for any of these chapters, with one partial exception. In "Establishing the Original Spirituality" (CCFL 19), it is only the first and last paragraphs which indicate the doctrine which we find unlikely, while the centre of this essay conforms well

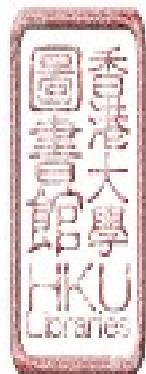


with the material we are using as a standard. Thus we will argue that the first and last paragraphs are an insertion while the remainder is true. A further argument against the last of the chapters we are now examining (CCFL 78) is that its contents directly contradict the series of chapters which advocate the manifestation of the proper mood by the ruler in accordance with the seasons (eg. CCFL 55), which is a theory which contradicts none of our standards.

Apart from the chapters we have discussed thus far which we have found to be unlikely to have come from the pen of Tung Chung-shu, there is the possibility that several or more of the chapters in Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu represent doctrine to which Tung Chung-shu added nothing in his transmission of it. Although only two chapters (CCFL 25 and 28) are clearly of this type, others may well be (eg. CCFL 26). The first of these is clearly an incomplete version of an argument between Master Yüan Ku and Master Huang during the reign of Ching-ti,<sup>16</sup> while the second seems, for the most part, to be a version of the material which eventually became the chapter "Wang Chih" (王制) in the Li-chi. Because Tung Chung-shu was not an independent thinker, but rather an innovator and teacher within the framework of Confucianism, the remainder of the material in Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu to which, at this point, we cannot find any objection, may vary between thinking which is totally his, and doctrine which he is merely passing on.

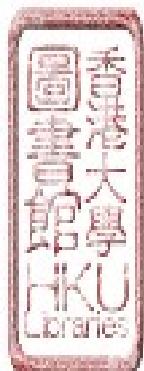


Having thus far discovered a number of chapters to which it is difficult to attach the name of Tung Chung-shu, and having pointed out that at least two of the chapters are mere transmission of previous doctrine, are there any which we can ascribe to him with a fair degree of certainty? We find in the final section of Tung's biography in Han Shu a list of the titles of five essays which he is said to have written,<sup>17</sup> and three of these, Yü Pei, Fan Lu, and Chu Lin can be connected with the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu. The first and third of these are the titles of chapters two and three respectively, while a variant of the second occurs in the title of the present rescentration of the work. It is likely that at some point, part of the title of this collection of essays was lost and that the title of the first chapter of it was transferred to form part of the title of the work, while the first three words of the first chapter were taken as its title. By this argument, then, the title of the first chapter of the book, "King Chuang of Ch'u", should really be a translation of "Fan-lu". It will be argued here that that "fan-lu" means the "tassels on the imperial crown" and that in a manner similar to the way in which fan-ying (簾 翹) is used in the Tso-chuan,<sup>18</sup> this is a reference to the improper wearing of the imperial crown. When we examine the contents of the first chapter we find that much of the argument is a discussion of the actions of one or another of the feudal lords when they improperly assumed the duties of the king, or, to put it another way,



improperly assumed the "tassels of the imperial crown".<sup>19</sup> It should be mentioned at this point that the praise of the chaste behaviour of the widow of Sung early in this first chapter seems to contradict Tung's Han Shu explanation of the fire that cost her her life (HS 27A/8a). It can only be argued that the praise of the widow is for her propriety, while the Han Shu reference implies no moral judgment whatsoever. But to return to the main question. Just because we can find that the first three chapters of the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu have titles listed in Han Shu does not mean that they should not be suspect, but when we find, on examination, that the content is very strongly tied to the Kung-yang interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals, we must conclude that these three chapters and the others like them are most probably the work of Tung Chung-shu. It is interesting to note that many of the points raised are those on which the Kung-yang Commentary and the Ku-liang Commentary are in disagreement. This raises a distinct possibility that they are transcriptions of the arguments which Tung Chung-shu held with his contemporary rival, Chiang Kung, during the reign of Ching-ti. We can find, then, that those chapters dealing with or making reference to the events recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals probably belong to Tung Chung-shu.

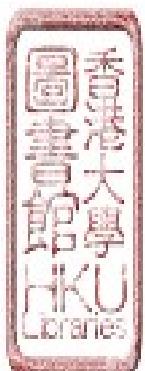
And yet there is a further group of chapters about which we can be fairly certain. From his biography we learn that:



"(After Tung) Chung-shu (retired) to his home, messengers were sent, and (even) Chang T'ang (when he was) Commandant of Justice went to his home to question him when there was a great debate in court."<sup>20</sup> We find in "The Conduct of the Suburban Sacrifice" (CCFL 71), what seems to be a transcript of the memorial that Chang T'ang submitted to the emperor on his return. We can be fairly certain of this one, then, and this gives us the good possibility that all the chapters dealing with the Suburban Sacrifice in particular or with the various other sacrifices in general are attributable to Tung Chung-shu.

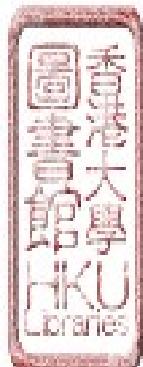
There is one final chapter (CCFL 32) which should be mentioned here although the problem it raises is not major. Han Shu, which is the source we are trusting, records the same incident as is given in this chapter, but says that the exchange recorded was between Tung and the King of Chiang-tu, not the King of Chiao-hsi. As has been discussed above,<sup>21</sup> this is clearly a scribal error in Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu.

It remains, then, to comment on those two other sources which are translated in Part I above, the Ch'un-ch'iu Chüeh-shih and the passage from Hsi-ching Tsa-chi (5/5b-8a). The former is a Ch'ing reconstruction from encyclopedic sources of what was thought to be Tung's legal opinions on a few questions at law. We can find nothing in the content of it that will throw its veracity into doubt, but apart from



providing us with an interesting insight into the legal use of the Confucian Classics during the Han, little of ideological importance is revealed. The latter is of much greater ideological content, and again we can find nothing which contradicts the Yin-Yang theories given elsewhere. One problem which it raises, however, is that the ssu month was not the fourth, and the hai month was not the tenth until after the calendar reform of BC 104, some time after Tung Chung-shu was dead. It is highly probable, however, that later copyists would have changed this when the text was transcribed in order to make it conform with the current calendar. We find, then, that however tenuous the method of transmission,<sup>22</sup> both of these items contain material which could have been written by Tung Chung-shu.

In summary, then, we find the following likely to have been written by Tung Chung-shu: those chapters of Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu dealing with events recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals (CCFL 1-17, 23, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36 and 70 in their entirety, and with the exception of the first and last paragraphs, chapter 19), and those chapters dealing with the Suburban Sacrifice in particular and sacrifice in general: (CCFL 26, 65-69, 71, 72, 74, and 76). On the other hand we have found Tung's authorship of the following sections of that work to be unlikely: those chapters dealing with a theory of the five elements which is not compatible with the



majority (CCFL 42, 61 and 62, in their entirety, and those phrases of Chapter 43 which give the element Earth seventy-two days of the year), and those chapters in which the doctrine of non-action for the ruler is advocated (CCFL 18, 20, 21, and 22 in their entirety, and the first and last paragraphs of chapter 19). The remainder of the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu together with the reconstruction of the Ch'un-ch'iu Chüeh-shih and the section from Hsi-ching Tsa-chi (5/5b-8a) can only be regarded as possible. Some of these, particularly those chapters which discuss ethics (particularly CCFL 35) have a very high likelihood while others are not quite as certain. It is not the intention of this study to be doctrinaire in its conclusions. The Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu is and will remain a very difficult and corrupt text. Whether or not it came from the pen of Tung Chung-shu, it is worthy of more study as representative, for the most part, of several kinds of early Han thought.

#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Selections from his memorials on economic policy are translated in Pan Ku, Food and Money in Ancient China, N.L.Swan, tr., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p.177-183; Ssu-ma Ch'ien's quotation of his comments on the Classics is translated in B. Watson, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Grand Historian of China, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p.50-53; and, the single extant fu attributed to him is translated in J. Hightower, "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien", HJAS, XVII (1954), p.200-203.

2. For a history of the text, see Woo Kang, Les Trois Theories Politiques du Tch'ouen Ts'ieou Interpretes par Tong Tchong-chou d'apres L'ecole de Kong-yang, (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932), and



0. Forke, Studien zur Geschichte des Konfuzianischen Dogmas und der Chineseschen Staatsreligion. Das Problem des Tsch'un-ts'iu and Tung Tschung-shu's Tsch'un-ts'iu Fan Lu, (Hamburg: L. Friedrichen, 1920).

3. cf. K'ang Yu-wei (康有為), Ch'un-ch'iu Tung Shih Hsüeh (春秋董氏學), (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1969).

4. cf. Chang Hsin-ch'eng, (張心澂), Wei-shu T'ung-k'ao (偽書通考), (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1954), V.I, p.412-416.

5. The YTL is not itself free from suspicion of occasional textual problems

6. This kind of error might occur in the Imperial Library when the leather thongs binding the bamboo slips of several different writings came undone at the same time.

7. Tai Chün-jen (戴君仁), "Tung Chung-shu Pu-shuo Wu-hsing K'ao" (董仲舒子說五行考), Bulletin of the National Central Library (國立中央圖書館館刊), Vol.II, #2, October 1969, p.9-19.

8. B. Watson. op. cit. P.51.

9. p.36 above.

10. See for example, Wang Ch'ung, Lun Heng, A. Forke, tr., (New York: Book Gallery, 1962), Pt.I, p.206. It is to be noted that while Forke renders lung (牴) in the singular here and throughout, the original Chinese is ambiguous.

11. B. Watson, op. cit., p.84.

12. See for example, Yao Shan-yu, "The Cosmological and Anthropological Philosophy of Tung Chung-shu", JNCBRAS, LXXIII, 1948, p.45.

13. T. Pokora, "Notes on New Studies on Tung Chung-shu," Archiv Orientalni, 33, 1965, p.266.

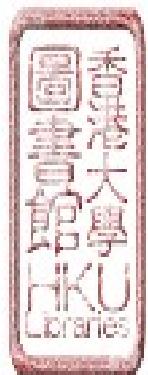
14. Wang Ch'ung, op.cit., p.466.

15. ibid.

16. cf. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Records of the Grand Historian of China, B. Watson, tr., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), V.II, p.403-405.



17. p.38 above.
18. TC, Ch'eng 2.2.
19. This thesis is indebted to Professor Lo Hsiang-lin for this suggestion.
20. p.37-38 above.
21. CCFL 32, ff.1.
22. The former was lost and only reconstructed in the later Ch'ing, while the latter is the subject of much controversy as to authorship, dating, and even authenticity.



Tung Chung-shu V:      "His Contribution"

As might be expected, evaluations of the historical importance of Tung Chung-shu vary considerably. One interpretation of the apocrypha implies that he, "carried disorder into the writings of Confucius,"<sup>1</sup> while, on the other hand, he has been considered important enough to be the subject of four separate studies in the past century.<sup>2</sup> It is important, however, to remember that most of the information we have about him comes from Han Shu, and that in explaining why he wrote a full chapter biography of him, the author, Pan Ku, has this to say:

"Reticent was (Tung) Chung-shu,  
Twice Chancellor to feudal lords;  
Refined, his person, and the states well ruled,  
(When) he left his post and (then) retired.  
Lowering his screen, he pondered long,  
Discussed the Way, and compiled books.  
Council, his words, and penetrating, his replies,  
He was the purest Confucian of his time.  
(Thus) I made the twenty-sixth, 'The Biography  
of Tung Chung-shu.'"<sup>3</sup>

Yet this "purest Confucian of this time" lived to taste the bitterness of disillusionment, and in his old age he said in his "Neglected Men of Worth":

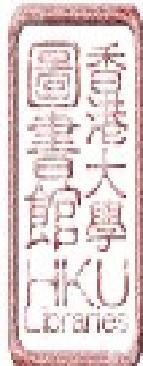
"Oh, alas how far-off, how distant!  
How slowly the chance comes, that so swiftly  
recedes.  
They are no followers of ours who bend their  
will to others' beck;  
Upright I have awaited my chance until now I am  
approaching the grave.  
Times goes on, I cannot expect to be understood,  
My heart is depressed, I cannot hope for  
position.  
Uneasy activity would serve only to add to my  
disgrace,



To butt the fence with all my strength will  
only break my horns.  
If I do not leave my door I may avoid  
trouble."<sup>4</sup>

But perhaps they both were right. However undistinguished his career, his example could still serve as an inspiration to those who followed.

And indeed, Tung Chung-shu's political career was less than distinguished. As has been outlined in greater detail above, we know he served for a while as an erudite in the court of Ching-ti, was summoned among the worthy to an examination by Wu-ti, served as the Prime Minister of one of the feudal states, was dismissed, and after a period as a minor official of the central government, once again acted as the Prime Minister of another small feudal state before retiring to his home where he was occasionally consulted on matters thought important by the court. Twice in his official life he fell into mortal danger: once when his discussion of the causation of the two fires in the mortuary temples to Kao-tzu was judged to be politically imprudent, and it was only an imperial pardon which allowed him to escape a sentence of death; and once when it was only his scholarly acumen which permitted his survival in the service of the second of his states which was ruled by a cruel and whimsical king. As a specialist in the Kung-yang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, and the earliest Han master of the Five Classics, he must have been the most learned



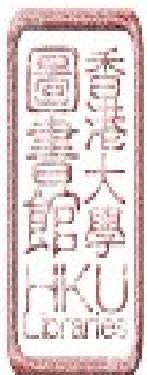
man of his day, and it is little wonder that his limited official success made his old age and retirement a bitter one. That he did live to see one of the policies he advocated, the establishment of an imperial university for the study of the Confucian Classics, realized in BC 124, and that he must have seen the gradual erosion of the power of the other schools of thought which were current during his lifetime, would have done little to ameliorate his disappointment at never having gained high rank himself.

Nominally, his position of Prime Minister of two of the feudal kingdoms of the Han was a high rank, but the reality of the position meant that he was little more than a spy for the central government and a household steward for the imperial relative who held the fief. Never once was his rank high enough to have his name recorded in the "Table of Dukes and Ministers" (HS 19), and many of those who did gain mention in that table were not prominent enough to be referred to elsewhere. But Tung Chung-shu was important enough to Ssu-ma Ch'ien to rate a few paragraphs in Shih-chi which was compiled shortly after his death, and two hundred years later his stature had grown to the extent that in his Han Shu, Pan Ku set aside an entire chapter for him, and records no ill of him, either there or elsewhere in that history. We must agree, then, with Tung's assessment of his own career and find that the reason for his prominence is only to a

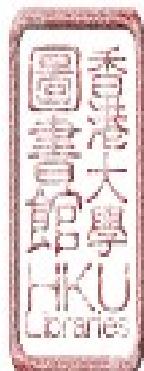


very limited extent his impact on the age in which he lived. The real reasons for his historical importance must lie elsewhere.

Can it be argued, then, that his fame arose from the various aspects of his thought per se? Although the phenomenon clearly arose in the Warring States period, Tung, together with his Confucian contemporaries, demonstrates that no longer do we have the Confucian generalist, but rather the specialist on a certain classic who is also conversant with the other canonical writings. What new thought, if any, then, did Tung Chung-shu bring into Confucianism? Although knowledgeable Confucian scholars prior to the Han must have been legion, we know significant amounts only about Confucius himself, Mencius, and Hsun-tzu. Thus any answer suggested to this question can only be tentative at best, but what we can discuss with some degree of certainty, is the kind of Confucianism which Tung represents. Although Yin-Yang and the five elements are not new to Confucianism,<sup>5</sup> we find heavy dependence on the former to be certain in his writings, and use of the latter to be possible. What this demonstrates, then, is the development, in Confucianism, of a speculative expansion into the realm of metaphysics, which is absent in any identifiable Confucian prior to Tung Chung-shu. Even if Tung's possible use of the five elements is denied, his discussion of Yin and Yang



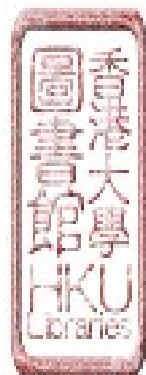
certainly paved the way for the admission of that theory into orthodox Confucianism. Although the naturalistic theories of the Yin-Yang School, which included the five elements did not, in all probability, originate within Confucianism itself, but rather within a separate naturalistic school in the Warring States territory of Ch'i, they were, by the beginning of this era, firmly entrenched in it. Tung Chung-shu, then, was one of the earliest identifiable thinkers responsible for this ideological synthesis. It might be suggested, at this point, that pre-Han Confucians first became attracted to the Yin-Yang School, when Ch'in-shih Huang-ti began his persecutions of Confucianism. Because the Naturalists were not condemned by his regime for their theories, it might well have appealed to the Confucians of the day as an ideological camouflage for their classical erudition.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the case, this synthesis brought into Confucianism almost all the metaphysical concepts needed by the late T'ang and Sung thinkers for them to develop that regenerated and dynamic philosophy, Neo-Confucianism.<sup>7</sup> But it is historical hind-sight which allows us to see this, and this contribution of Tung Chung-shu seems to have gone unrecognized by the philosophers of the Sung. Thus, in the long view of history, we would find it difficult to conclude that Tung's role in the process of synthesis which was operating in the early years of the Han is responsible for his recognizable historical prominence.



It would be more profitable, it would seem, to return to the Former Han, and look for that among his theories which would appear to have had the greatest impact on the dynasty in which he lived. Few would disagree that this was the theory he expounded about the Heavenly response of disasters and anomalous occurrences to events on earth. It can be firmly argued that this doctrine originated at a much earlier date, for references to events held to be one or the other abound in the Kung-yang Commentary, but, on the other hand, Tung Chung-shu is the first thinker with whom we can identify it. It may not have been he who devised the principles on which the theory operated, but it was Tung who gave them prominence. We are sure of his use of Yin and Yang in his causal explanations, and, as we have shown above, it is possible that he also used the five elements.<sup>8</sup> With the passage of time after the death of Wu-ti, Confucian influence flourished, and with it the practice of using the naturalistic theories of the Yin and Yang and the five elements to explain strange yet infrequent natural phenomena, prospered. As we have already seen, it had gained such widespread acceptance by the opening years of this era that manipulation of the belief in it by Wang Mang permitted him to usurp the throne and found his own brief dynasty. And it was these machinations of Wang Mang which sharply curtailed the widespread use of these theories for a long time.



With increasing rapidity in the first century of this era, students were turning to the more humanistic, less meta-physical Old Text School of Confucianism. Wang Mang's hypocritical use of the theory of the response in kind by Heaven to both good and evil on earth which was deeply entrenched in the New Text School, caused the gradual abandonment of that school, once his deceptions were revealed. But while this movement cost us most of the New Text versions of the Confucian Classics, at least historiographical lip-service continued to be paid to the naturalistic theories of Heavenly portents and disasters, for most of the major dynastic histories contained a "Treatise on the Five Elements" under one title or another.<sup>9</sup> Thus, although a serious Confucian preoccupation with this aspect of the natural order flourished only in the first century BC, vestiges of its influence reach down into the present century. Since Tung Chung-shu can be shown to have played a major role in the development of this ideological trend during the early stages of the rise of the state cult of Confucius, and because the importance of his influence was demonstrably recognized by his Confucian successors, we can point to this, at least, as one of the reasons for his fame. Although it has no bearing on his stature in the history of Confucian ideas, modern scientists have good reason to be grateful to the school which caused over two thousand years of odd



natural phenomena to be recorded, for among those entries we find a reliable record of earthquakes and astronomical events.

As might be expected of this fourth important figure in the history of Confucianism, Tung Chung-shu's contributions to the ethics of that school are not insignificant. He gave clear definition to the concepts of jen, "humanity", and i, "righteousness", teaching that the former was the quality in man which ideally characterizes his treatment of others, while the latter was that discipline with which the individual should regulate himself. And in his approach to human nature, he takes a more rational position than either Mencius or Hsün-tzu, when he argues that it is neither originally good nor originally bad, but rather that, at the outset, it contains the potential for either, and that it depends on how the nature is nurtured for an ethical valuation to be made. But he does not talk about human nature alone, and adds a new ingredient to Confucian ethics when he discusses the role of the feelings of man. The effects of his ethical thought on Confucianism as a whole, however, appear to be limited, for the late T'ang and Sung thinkers who were instrumental in causing the renaissance of Confucianism turned not to him but to Mencius for ideological precedent on these questions.



When we turn to the structural political policies which he advocated, we find again, that his influence was limited. The Han inherited the bureaucratic framework of the legalist Ch'in, and although the names of various of the official positions underwent some changes, there seem to have been no major reforms, and none of the minor ones can be traced to Tung Chung-shu. But as part of his advice that a new dynasty should change "the system", the calendar reform of BC 104 can be concluded to have followed, at least in part from his recommendations. But it is not enough to look for concrete results in the age in which he lived, for this is not the only area in which his influence could have been felt. In his discussion of the political idea, Tung always sought historical precedent for his policies, thus we find in his writings a particular way of looking at the past. Although it is recorded nowhere that Ssu-ma Ch'ien was an actual pupil of Tung Chung-shu, we know from the former's autobiography that he had been present when Tung was lecturing on a variety of topics.<sup>10</sup> Because Tung Chung-shu was clearly the foremost specialist of history during Ssu-ma Ch'ien's formative years, it is highly probable that Tung's thinking had considerable impact on this the most influential of Chinese historians.

This brings us to Tung's position as a Confucian in the



age in which he lived. His public life as a sometime official in several sections of the Han bureaucracy was, as has been discussed at length above, not distinguished, but his other career, that of a teacher was anything but undistinguished, even though record of it seems to be less prominent. No less than five of his students were important enough to be listed in the two early histories, and he is said to have had so many students that he was unable to accommodate them all, and his more senior pupils had to teach the more junior. Of the three "schools" of the Spring and Autumn Annals, that taught by Tung Chung-shu, the Kung-yang School, had by far the greatest number of students important enough to mention in Han Shu. It is to be remembered that a thinker is not important for his philosophy and political career alone, but he is famous also for the prominence of his pupils. But because we know only the name of Tung's more senior contemporary of the same school, Hu-mu Sheng, we must look for further reasons for Tung's prominent place in Han history.

Part of this, at least, is no doubt due to the nature of his speciality, the Kung-yang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, for it was the major function of this work to act as a record of the propriety of the actions of the feudal lords and their officials during the "Spring and Autumn" period of early Chinese history. By interpreting

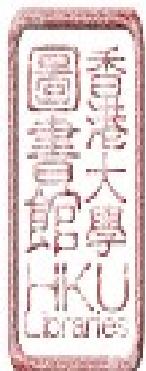


correctly the wording of the Spring and Autumn Annals, specialists on it, who held it to have been the work of Confucius himself, could see clearly how the sage weighed the morality of the actions of the various personages mentioned in it. Thus scholars of the several "schools" of the Spring and Autumn Annals, with the aid of their commentaries to it, could use that work as a legal reference source on the ritual propriety of the conduct of their contemporaries who held political power. And by searching for events in the past which were similar to happenings in the present, it was believed that decisions about the right thing to do in almost any circumstance could be discovered.

As we have seen in Tung's discussion of the burning of the mortuary temples to Kao-tzu (HS 27A/11a-12b) this procedure was applied to the causal explanation of disasters and anomalous occurrences as well. Tung's discussions of historical events in the early chapters of the Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu show that while the Kung-yang Commentary held to a firm morality in all things, nevertheless, it allowed a certain flexibility depending on the circumstances of the case which its rival, the Ku-liang Commentary, did not. Because of this it is likely that Tung's "school" would have been more acceptable to his political seniors, and it is probably as much for this reason as for his opponent's alleged speech defect that he was successful in his court

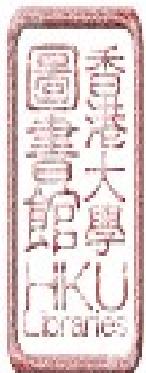


debates with Chiang Kung. Although Ch'un-ch'iu Chüeh-shih shows us that even the Book of Songs could be put to strictly legal usages, the Spring and Autumn Annals and its commentaries, more than any of the other writings considered canonical during the Han, cover the entire spectrum of events experienced in feudal China. Because the categories of events recorded in it are catholic, and because the commentaries give us their interpretation of the ritual propriety, or lack of it, which was involved, it could serve as the complete guide to moral action in all things. Or so the Han scholars of these classics believed. Thus among the Confucian Classics of the early Han, the Spring and Autumn Annals was most central to Confucianism, and of the two commentaries to it which had a following during this period,<sup>11</sup> the Kung-yang Commentary seems to have been the politically more acceptable. As a master of the Five Classics, and the founder of the major "school" of the most central of them, then, Tung Chung-shu was right at the very heart of Confucianism during the period in which it was enjoying its rise to the status of the only political ideology of Imperial China. And it was he who advocated the banishing of rival schools and the establishment of a "university" within the bureaucratic structure for the transmission of the teachings of Confucianism and the production of civil servants well versed in that school of thought. Although both proposals

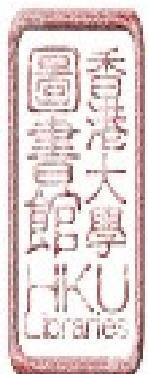


were likely to have been the desires of all Confucians of the day, and in spite of the fact that Tung was not the actual individual who had them put into practice, it is to him alone in the history of the Han that these recommendations are attributed. Even though history unfolded in such a way as to cause the eclipse of the New Text Confucianism of which Tung was a part within two hundred years of his death, and even though Tung's ideological contributions were largely ignored by the later Confucians, his leading position in this movement has been remembered with gratitude by two thousand years of Confucian thinkers.

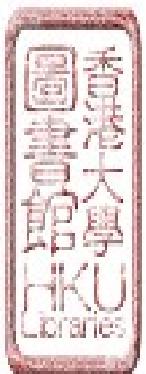
But what was it about Confucianism and the political demands of empire which caused them to flourish together from from the middle years of the Western Han? The legalist experiment of the short-lived Ch'in empire had failed for a number of reasons. Certainly this was in part because of the inability of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti to delegate authority in his declining years, and because the geographical size of the newly united realm proved to be too unwieldy for the demands of centralized control. But the harshness of the legalist policies were also a factor of no meagre dimensions. Its utilitarian pragmatism did nothing but push the people of the nation where they would have preferred to have been led by loftier ideals. Taoism did provide an ideology of a much more satisfying depth, yet it too proved insufficient under



the pressure of the political necessities of the first seventy years of the Former Han. And when Wu-ti wanted to free himself from the pressure of a civil bureaucracy which was staffed almost entirely by the descendants of the families who had brought the dynasty to power, it was to the scholars of the Confucian school that he was able to turn to escape that block of entrenched power. But had Confucianism been merely a convenient ideology useful to him in this narrow context alone, it is unlikely that it would have survived his reign. What then, was it called on to provide for the smooth running of the state? While Confucianism offered much which was suitable to the running and maintenance of the relatively new imperial China, it supplied two very important ideological positions. First it contributed the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, which at once rationalized the superior position of the ruler both in terms of the natural and the supernatural; and assured him of the unswerving loyalty of those of his followers who were Confucian. Secondly, it was the scholars of this school alone who were master of the ritual so necessary to the functioning of the state. Two kinds of ritual were needed, that of the court and that by which sacrificial ceremonies were conducted. The first of these was necessary to maintain proper precedence and order in the bureaucracy, while the second was required in order to fill a spiritual need of the



populace as a whole. Yet the ability to supply the supernatural rationale for rule and the methods of dealing with the various deities is not enough, for if this was supplied as nothing more than "rote" information, it could have had but little appeal for the various emperors whom it quite obviously did attract. The vital ingredient which made it so desirable would have had to be the personalities of the philosophers themselves. Because the passage of time can lead to a growing hypocrisy which obscures the rightness of old axioms, it is most necessary for the thinkers of any age to search for new ways to define old truths. Thus the intellectual activity among the early Han Confucians as they reconstructed their classics after the fires of Ch'in, was extremely timely in that it was reaching a dynamic peak when the necessities of rule called for it. Thus the additions to Confucianism found in the writings of Tung Chung-shu demonstrate the dynamism of his Confucianism, and at the same time show us why he was so successful in causing the spread of a belief in it. While it can be argued that his philosophical contribution has been minimal in the long run, that he did bring anything to it at all, shows that he possessed the dynamism necessary to the promotion of the school of thought as a whole. It was this quality, without which Confucianism might not have done as well, that makes Tung Chung-shu important to Confucianism.

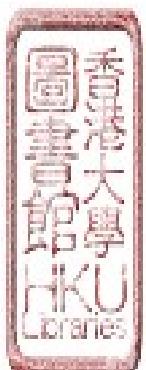


We can conclude then, that Tung Chung-shu is important in the history of Confucianism mainly because he was the founder of one of the most central schools of the Five Classics at a time when that philosophy grew from a regional system of thought to the stature of that of ideology for a succession of empires. That he was active in this movement is evidenced by the fact that history records his recommendations that Confucianism be favoured to the exclusion of all other schools, and that its classics become the sole curriculum at the imperial university he proposed. It is this second suggestion which is really the foundation of the state cult of Confucianism, for it was this system which eventually provided a steady stream of students who were thoroughly grounded in the teachings of Confucianism. Although his contributions to Confucianism went unnoticed or were ignored in the long run, the fact that he made any, underlines the dynamic nature of the Confucian scholars of the early Han. Paramount among these was Tung Chung-shu.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Wang Ch'ung, op.cit., p.566. It is to be noted, of course, that most of the commentators understand this luan (亂) to mean the opposite.

2. K'ang Yu-wei, op.cit.; O. Forke, op.cit.; Woo Kang, op.cit.; and Chou Fu-ch'eng (周輔成), Lun Tung Chung-shu Ssu-hsiang (論董仲舒思想), (Shanghai: The People's Publishers, 1962).



3. HS100B/l3a.
4. J. R. Hightower, op.cit., p.200-201.
5. see History, "The Great Plan" (Legge, Classics III, p.320-344).
6. This thesis is indebted to Professor Lo Hsiang-lin for this suggestion.
7. Tung's metaphysics lack only the concept "principle" (li - 理).
8. see Ch.III above.
9. Shih-chi, San-kuo Chih, Liang Shu, Ch'en Shu, Wei Shu, Pei-ch'i Shu, Chou Shu, Nan Shih, Pei Shih, Hsin Wu-tai Shih, and Liao Shih, (only the first of which is a major history) lack this treatise, while Ch'ing Shih Kao calls it the "Treatise on Disasters and Anomalous Occurrences". The remaining fourteen dynastic histories contain a treatise under this title. See the tables in, Chang Shun-hui, (張舜徽), Chung-kuo Ku-tai-shih Chi-chiao Tu-fa (中國古代史籍校證法), (Shanghai: China Bookstore, 1963, p.224-225 and p.238-239.)
10. B. Watson, op.cit., p.50-53.
11. As we have seen in Ch. II above, the Tso-chuan was known by the time of Wu-ti, but never widely studied until much later.

